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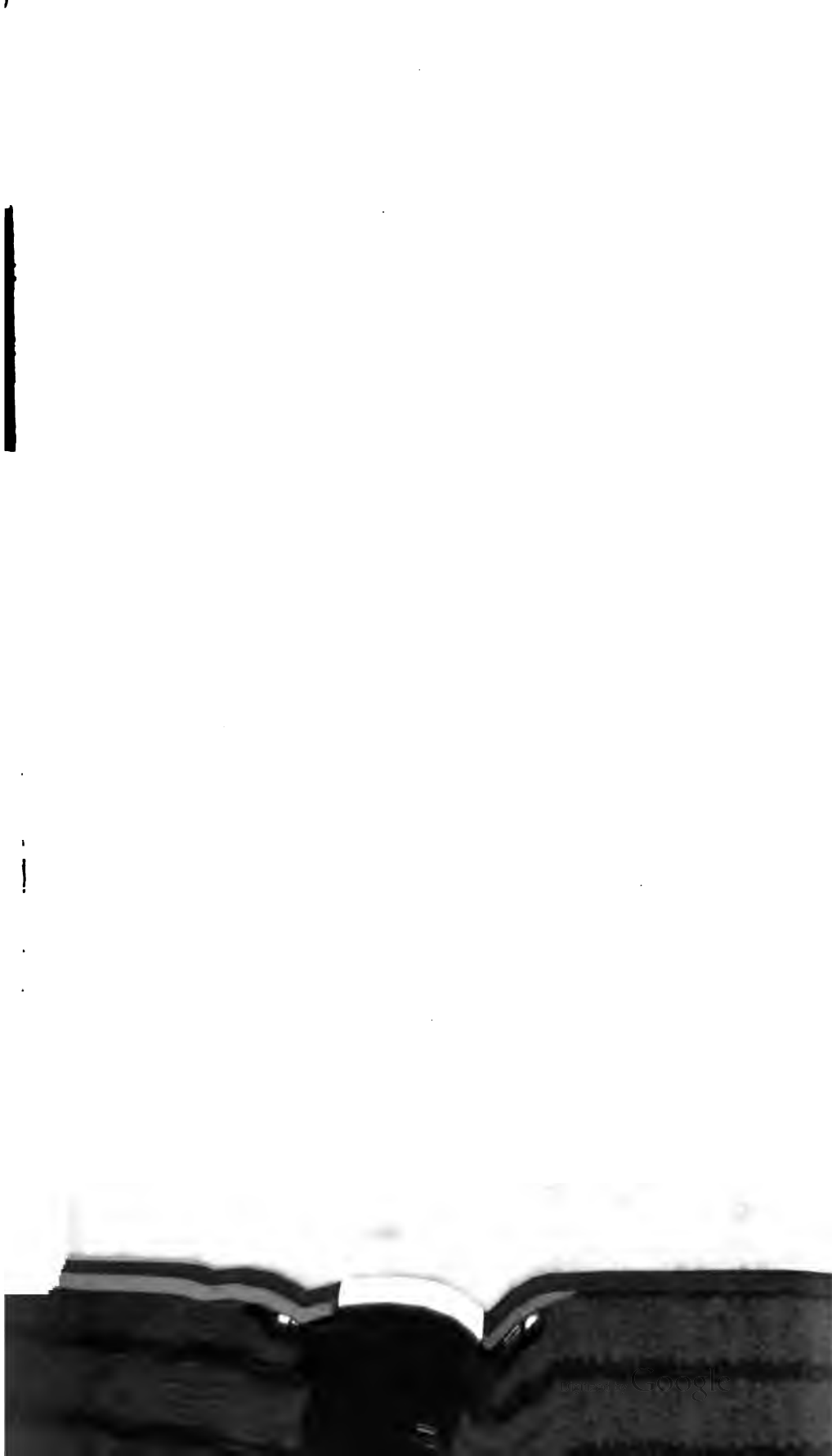
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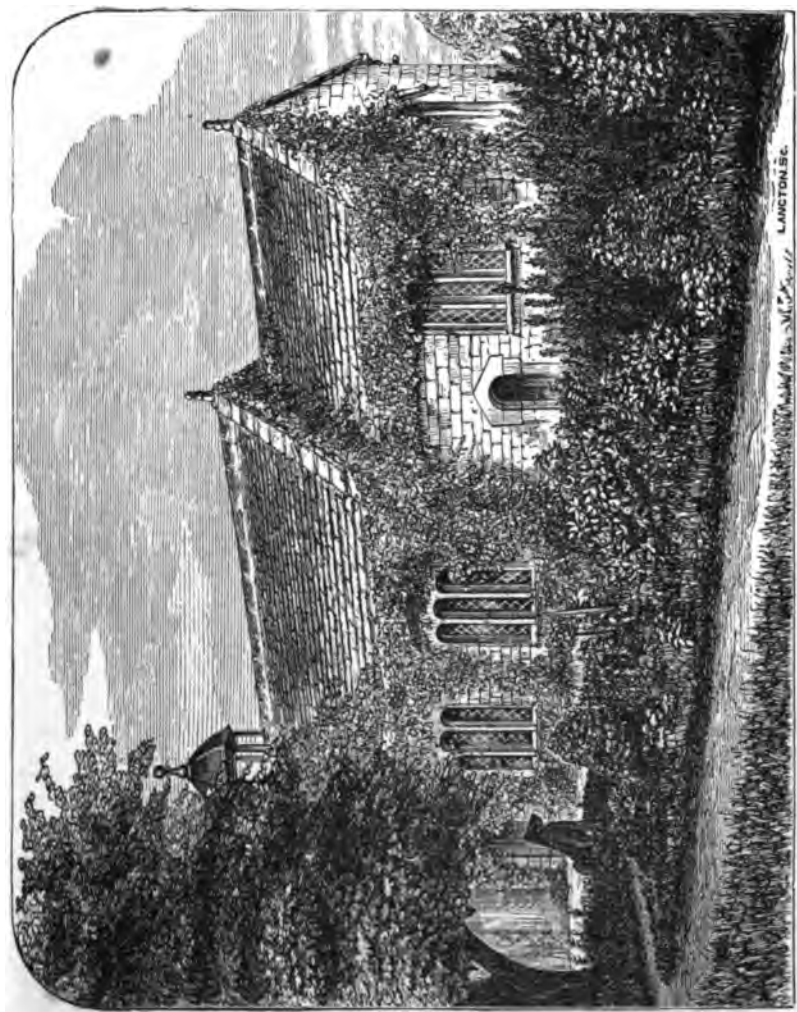
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LANCASHIRE.







DUCKENFIELD [DUCKENFIELD] OLD HALL CHAPEL.

J. B. Whitehead

LANCASHIRE:

ITS PURITANISM AND NONCONFORMITY.

BY

ROBERT HALLEY, D.D.

SECOND EDITION.

MANCHESTER:

TUBBS AND BROOK, 11, MARKET STREET.

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MDCCLXXII.



PREFACE.

THE OBJECT I proposed in writing this book was not to compose a history of Lancashire, nor to confine my narrative to the detail of its Puritanism and Nonconformity; but to notice so much of its history as might elucidate the Puritanism and Nonconformity, and as connected with them the religious life, of that great county. More distinctly than any other English county, Lancashire has a religious history of its own. Its Puritanism has been remarkable for many peculiarities: its Nonconformity has been, in many respects, unlike the Nonconformity of the other parts of England. It has had, more than any other county, on the one hand, a strong and determined Popish party, and on the other, a powerful and zealous Puritan party. Under the government of Elizabeth, Puritanism was encouraged in it, while it was persecuted in other counties. In the reign of James it had its own 'Book of Sports,' enforced nowhere else, and in the time of his son its own religious war distinct from, although simultaneous with, the great religious war of the country. It had a Presbyterian Church legally established within its boundaries, and a Congregationalism unlike the Independency of the eastern and southern counties.

As the ecclesiastical history of Lancashire has so much that is peculiar and distinctive, it seemed to me to deserve, especially from Protestant Dissenters, more attention than it has hitherto obtained. I have, therefore, at the request of several Lancashire friends, made an attempt to describe the religious life of their county to such extent and within such limits as they have desired. To myself the subject is of great interest, although I may not have succeeded in making it interesting to others.

I have gratefully to acknowledge the assistance and encouragement of many friends, but especially of Joseph Thompson, Esq., of Manchester, to whom I am indebted for the loan of many valuable books, and for services too numerous to mention, but too generously rendered to be forgotten. With him have been associated Sir James Watts, of Manchester, and Samuel Rigby, Esq., of Warrington, who have acted as a Committee in promoting the publication of the book. My grateful acknowledgments are also due to Joshua Wilson, Esq.,

for many valuable communications noticed in the course of the narrative, and to Thomas Stamford Raffles, Esq., for the opportunity of consulting his father's MSS. I have further to say that I am greatly indebted to the Rev. William Farrer, LL.B., for assisting me in correcting the sheets as they passed through the press, and for undertaking the labour of preparing the index.

I must take this opportunity of acknowledging the kindness of several Lancashire and other friends, who, in an unexpected emergency, have imposed on me an obligation which, although they have no desire to remember it, I can never forget. I would gladly mention their names, were I not restrained by the advice of one generous friend who took upon himself the trouble of communicating with others, and who well knows their wishes. A reference to the lamentable bereavement which he has recently suffered by the unexpected death of his eldest son, beloved by all who knew him, affords me an opportunity of expressing sympathy as well as gratitude, while it renders any more explicit notice quite unnecessary.

ROBERT HALLEY.

NEW COLLEGE, LONDON: *March 30, 1869.*

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

IN preparing a Second Edition I have made some corrections and additions, which appear to me to improve the accuracy or completeness of the narrative. As the book has been favourably noticed by several reviewers who are not connected either with Nonconformity or with Lancashire, it has obtained a wider circulation than I had any reason to expect. On this account I have, although reluctantly, omitted several allusions to personal friends and to incidents of recent occurrence which, however agreeable to persons intimately connected with the County, excite no interest in the minds of general readers. I have also, as I think, improved the narrative by dividing it into shorter chapters.

I have to express my grateful acknowledgments to James Croston, Esq., of Cheetham Hill, for valuable communications of which I have gladly availed myself in several instances.

NEW COLLEGE, LONDON: *August 3, 1872.*

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THE
PURITANISM AND NONCONFORMITY
OF
LANCASHIRE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

ALTHOUGH of English counties Lancashire at the present time is in population the first, in wealth nearly the first, and in dignity as a royal palatinate equalled only by Cheshire, it did not become a county until long after almost all the others were regularly constituted and generally acknowledged. The name *Lancastershire*, variously spelt, was indeed in use among the Saxons to designate some considerable extent of field and forest, warren and pasture, situate around the old castle of the Lune; just as the names *Blackburnshire* and *Salfordshire* were used to denote respectively the hundreds of *Blackburn* and *Salford*. In the north of England not only hundreds, but even large parishes, were sometimes called 'shires'—as 'priestshires' or 'shriftshires'—in which the people confessed to the same priest, or paid tithes to the same parson. At the time of the Norman conquest the country between the *Mersey* and the *Ribble*, consisting for the greater part of moss, moorland, forest, and sandhills, belonged to *Cestrescire*, and that between the *Ribble* and the *Lune* to *Eurickschire* or *Yorkshire*. In *Doomsday Book*, *Cestrescire* includes the hundreds of *Derbie*, *Neweton*, *Walintune*, *Blacheburne*, *Salford*, and *Leyland*. These six hundreds, severed from *Cheshire*, and formed since their severance into four by the annexation of *Newton* and *Warrington* to *West Derby*, constitute, with the hundreds of *Amounderness* and *Lonsdale*, severed from *Yorkshire*, the county palatine of *Lancaster*. The part of *Lonsdale* which lies north of *Morecambe Bay* has been at times, both before and since the Conquest, accounted part of *Westmoreland*.

On *Roger of Poitiers*, the leader of the Norman vanguard in the battle of *Hastings*, the Conqueror conferred 'the lordship of the honour of *Lancaster*,' and granted to him the greater part of *Lonsdale* and *Amounderness*, together with one hundred and eighty-eight manors lying between the *Ribble* and the *Mersey*. Having erected his castle on a green hill on the south bank of the *Lune*, around which the town of *Lancaster* grew and flourished, he ruled in feudal state a district of territory nearly conterminous with the present *Lancashire*. Under his rule the subordinate barons of 'the honour'

castellated their mansions near the fords and passes of the boundaries of his extensive domain, and in one or two important positions of its central part. Of his castles, one erected on 'the Liverpoole,' an obscure creek of the Mersey, was committed to the custody of 'his trusty friend, Vivian Molineux,' from whom the present Earl of Sefton derives his name and heraldry, if not his lineage.* To strengthen and support him against the incursions of the Britons from the opposite side of the Mersey, Godfrey, the vice-comes of Roger, was established at West Derby. On the north bank of the Mersey baronial houses were fortified, one on a projection opposite Runcorn, another at Warrington to guard the Latchford, and a third at Manchester, the Roman Mancunium, to watch the Stretford as well as the fords of the Irwell. A castle at Newton gave succour and strength to that of Warrington. On the eastern boundary the mountain passes were guarded by the castle of Clitheroe, where a Norman baron De Lacy, 'lord of the honour of Cliderow,' was second in the county only to the lord of the honour of Lancaster. On the north march the castle of Thurland kept watch and ward against the wild Scots and wilder borderers. The entrance of the Ribble was protected by the castle of Penwortham. These castles, with some smaller forts, constituted for some time after the Conquest the strength and defence of the country now called Lancashire.†

By abetting the claim of Duke Robert, the Conqueror's eldest son, Roger incurred the forfeiture of his estates and honours, which remained with the crown until King Stephen created his son William lord of the honour of Lancaster. He was succeeded by John, afterwards king of England, and he again by his grandson Edmund Crouchback, first Earl of Lancaster. His son Thomas, by marriage with the sole heiress of the great house of Lacy, became one of the most wealthy and powerful barons of England. The story of his heading the barons in their opposition to the Spencers, of his leading an army against Edward II., of his defeat at Boroughbridge, disgrace at York, and execution at Pontefract, of the veneration in which he was held by the people of Lancashire, who believed that miracles were wrought at his tomb, and of the attempts which were made to induce the pope to canonize 'the good earl,' however tempting as Lancashire story, must not be allowed to divert us from our proper course. It may be more to our purpose to observe, in connection with the earl, two names which will often occur in the progress of our enquiry, as representing two of the most prominent Puritan families of Lancashire. Having been hereditary high sheriff of the county when summoned to attend the king on his invasion of Scotland, the earl appointed Richard de Hoghton to act as his deputy during the time of his absence. The knight whom he chiefly trusted in his

* Of the families of the Norman barons settled in Lancashire, that of Molineux, originally des Molines, 'of the town of mills,' is the only one which yet retains its ancient name, honours, and estates. The "cross moline" is still preserved in the family arms.

† A good account of the Norman barons and their mansions may be found in Gregson's *Fragments*.

unfortunate expedition into Yorkshire was Sir Robert de Holland. With some of the descendants of Richard and Robert, the Houghtons and the Hollands, we shall hereafter become intimately acquainted, as they were among the most distinguished supporters of Lancashire nonconformity.

On the reversal of the attainder of Earl Thomas, his honours and estates were claimed by his brother Henry, from whom they descended to his son Henry, created the first Duke of Lancaster. As an especial testimony of royal favour, 'with the consent of all the prelates and peers sitting in parliament,' his duchy was made palatinate, and endowed with honours and privileges equal to those of the palatinate earldom of Chester. The duke is said to have been as distinguished for his piety as he was for his heroism; although his pious deeds, so far as we are acquainted with them, consisted chiefly of benefactions to monasteries,* for which the monks of Whalley had especial reason to venerate his memory while they most devoutly prayed for his soul. One of his bequests may illustrate the religion of his times. He left upwards of two hundred and eighty acres of land in the townships of Penhulton and Clideroe for the support of two recluse women, 'in a certain place within the churchyard of Whalley, and their successors, being recluses, there to pray for his soul for ever.' If the value of their prayers is to be estimated in proportion to the virtue of the 'recluses,' it is to be feared the soul of 'the good duke' gained little benefit from their perpetual devotions. Sad disclosures were made in subsequent times of their immorality. Eventually their hermitage near the abbey was confiscated by Henry VI., because 'divers of the wymen . . . servents . . . have byn misgovernyd and gotten with chyld, withyn the seyd plase halowyd, to the grete displeasaunce of hurt and disclander of the abbeye.'†

Henry Plantagenet left two daughters, of whom the younger, Lady Blanche, was married to John of Gaunt, the fourth son of Edward III. On the death of her elder sister without issue, she became entitled to all the honours and estates of her father. Her husband, created Duke of Lancaster, was declared to be through her entitled to 'all the honours, liberties, and regalities' of the palatinate. On the accession of his son, Henry of Bolingbroke, to the throne, the honours and estates of the palatinate became inseparably annexed to the crown.

A brief survey of the county, as it was when it became palatinate in the reign of Edward III., may help us to understand its subsequent ecclesiastical history.

Around the baronial castles and halls of the lords of the soil, the older towns of the county were steadily growing and becoming places of considerable strength and importance. As Lancaster was the residence of the palatine court, and its castle had the regalities of a

* There is one remarkable exception. Offered the choice of many precious things by the French king, he selected a thorn of the Saviour's crown, esteeming it greater riches than all the treasures of France.

† Whitaker's *History of Whalley*, p. 77.

palace, and might with propriety have assumed the name, it was readily acknowledged, in all places except 'proud Preston,' to be the capital of the county. John of Gaunt having made great additions to his ancient castle, its stately towers allured the husbandmen of the neighbourhood to build their houses around its walls, that they might find within its ample courts protection for their movables from the predatory incursions of the lawless Scotch and borderers. Forming our estimate from grants which were made about that time, of lands, meadows, and pastures, we conclude that a considerable tract of the fertile land on the banks of the Lune had been brought under good husbandry. The church, which in the Saxon times had been built in what was called old Lancaster, was under the Normans richly endowed with the tithe of the fishing, the tithe of poultry, calves, lambs, goats, swine, cheese, and butter, all which, by the deeds of the endowment, were vested in the abbey of St. Martin of Lees in Normandy. When these tithes with the advowson were afterwards conveyed to the Abbess of Sion, there were added in consequence of the advance of cultivation the tithes of flax, hemp, pigeons, apples, hay, and the tithe of the mills of the parish. Some fishermen placed their huts by the river under the shelter of the castle hill. Of the little shipping which then belonged to the county the burgesses of Lancaster owned the larger share. A Benedictine priory was built on the slope of the hill. The town obtained by royal charter the exclusive privilege of having the courts of assize for the trial of both the civil and criminal causes of the county. In the time of the Plantagenets it was the most important and honourable, though not the most populous or wealthy, of the towns of Lancashire.

But Clitheroe and Preston were in some respects the rivals of Lancaster. The former flourished under the protection of its castle, which, conveyed to the Plantagenets by a marriage with the sole heiress of the great family of De Lacy, was, of the baronial residences of the county, second in strength and honour only to the castle of John of Gaunt. For a short time, through the influence of its powerful lord, the town obtained the privilege of holding the county sessions within its boundaries, in contravention of the charter previously granted to Lancaster. Situate in the midst of a fertile country, in the neighbourhood of two rich monasteries, whose tenants cultivated a wide tract of pasture and arable land, it became the home and market of a considerable agricultural population. On the northern side of the town was the manorial residence of the Clyderows, a family which supplied knights of the shire to serve in several of the earliest parliaments. Distinguished in arms as were Adam, Hugh, and Gilbert de Clyderow, they were often disposed to assert their independence of their great and haughty neighbours, the Plantagenets, under the shadow of whose castle they were determined to be neither obscured nor plundered. Their ancient inheritance was conveyed by an heiress to the knightly family of the Radcliffes, to whom we shall have occasion hereafter to refer, as taking a prominent part in the ecclesiastical history of the county.

Preston, occupying a position which commanded the navigation,

the fisheries, and the lower fords of the Ribble, became after the creation of the palatinate a town of considerable importance and magnitude. The old castle of Penwortham, situate nearer the estuary of the Ribble, a baronial residence in earlier times of the great Earls of Chester, had, on the merging of their lands in the vast estates of the Duchy of Lancaster, lost its ancient grandeur, strength, and importance. No longer able to protect the village which had grown under its shelter, it was forsaken by the neighbouring fishermen and craftsmen, who preferred to settle in the flourishing town on the opposite side of the river. The Benedictine priory of Penwortham, although only a timber building of moderate dimensions, survived its protector the stone castle until the dissolution of the religious houses. But the rival town, the town of priests as its name denotes, was the favourite residence of ecclesiastics. A borough by prescription, Preston boasts of the antiquity of its charters, the honours of its guilds, and, though never the assize town, its ancient privilege of gibbet and gaol, tumbrel and pillory.

In honour and dignity Preston proudly claimed equality with Lancaster, and supported its claim by the greater magnificence and splendour with which it was accustomed to entertain distinguished visitors. Although Lancaster was the capital of the county, Preston, as its people never forgot, was the capital of the duchy, and all the business of the duchy, at one time more considerable than that of the county, was transacted in the palatine courts of Preston.

In the reign of Edward III., Manchester was undoubtedly the most wealthy and populous town of Lancashire. It seems to have previously consisted of two towns, the one, Aldport or the old port on the Irwell, near the campfield, or site of the chief fortress of the Roman Mancunium, and the other situate near the confluence of the Irwell and the Irk. From the Conquest there had been two churches, the one near Aldport dedicated to St. Michael, the other near the new town dedicated to St. Mary. In no other place in Lancashire, as far as I know, were there, at that early time, two churches so near each other as these Manchester churches. Rude buildings of timber, they were richly endowed by the Gresleys and the De la Warres, the ancient lords of Manchester. Ample funds were provided, not only for the support of the parochial clergy, but also for the maintenance of a considerable service of chaplains and chantry priests. Next to the great monasteries, the most important ecclesiastical establishment of the county was that of Manchester, whose rector, usually called the dean, was the first of the secular clergy resident in Lancashire. When the bishop of the diocese resided as far away as Lichfield or Coventry, the dean must have been a very important personage.

A stone bridge, probably the first erected in the county, crossed the Irwell and connected the town with Salford, which had obtained the charter of a free borough. There were therefore at that time two boroughs in close proximity, separated only by the Irwell, although neither of them had a mayor or corporation. On the bridge a chapel or oratory had been erected by Thomas del Booth, and on the opposite side of Manchester the chantry or field-kirk of Didsbury

had been built, endowed with land for the burial of the dead, and consecrated for the observance of such religious rites as might be required by the residents of that ancient chapelry.

On the Irk was the lord's mill, to which the burgesses and tenants were obliged to carry their corn to be ground, and near it was the lord's oven, in which their bread was to be baked. There was also a fulling-mill on the Irk, a flour-mill on the Gorton brook without the borough, and some other water-mills, as well as a wind-mill, in the parish. The fisheries of the streams, the property of the lord, were valued at an annual rental of two shillings for the Irwell, and of twelve pence for the Irk and the Medlock.

The industry and wealth of the town were greatly promoted in the long and prosperous reign of Edward by the encouragement which he gave to a number of Flemish emigrants, fullers, dyers, and other craftsmen, who settled in Manchester and communicated the knowledge of their craft and mystery to the peasantry of the neighbouring villages.* The woollen trade thus established in Manchester crept up the streams northwards through Rossendale, Rochdale, and other dales of that inclement hill country. Since the Conquest parochial churches had been erected in Ashton and Rochdale, the former having been separated from the parish of Manchester, and the latter from the great parish of Whalley. In the reign of Edward, Oldham was formed into a chapelry of the ancient parish of Prestwich, which from that time acquired the name of Prestwich-cum-Oldham. These ecclesiastical changes intimate the increase of the population and wealth of that neighbourhood, which soon afterwards became so remarkable as to induce the papal nuncio, in 1465, to establish in Manchester a sale of indulgences, as profitable to the purchaser (and perhaps also to the seller) as if he had made the wearisome and expensive pilgrimage to Rome to procure those spiritual privileges.

But the growth of Manchester at the close of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth century more distinctly appears in the proposals which were made and accomplished, to found and endow a

* Fuller gives a curious account of the manner in which King Edward allured these craftsmen into England. 'Emissaries were employed by our king, who wrought themselves into familiarity with such Dutchmen as were masters of their trade but not of themselves, being either journeymen or apprentices. These emissaries bemoaned the slavery of these poor servants whom their masters used rather like heathen than Christians, yea, rather like horses than men. Early up and late in bed, and all day hard work and harder fare (a few herrings and mouldy cheese), and all to enrich the churls, their masters, without any profit to themselves. But O! how happy would they be if they would come over to England, bringing their mystery which would provide their welcome in all places! How they would feed upon fat beef and mutton, till nothing but their fullness should stint their stomachs! Their beds should be good and their bedfellows better, seeing the richest yeomen in England would not disdain to marry their daughters to them. Such are the English beauties that the most envious foreigners could but commend them.' How far the Dutchmen were moved by such eloquence I cannot tell, but a great many of them, whether allured by the beauty of the Lancashire witches or not, settled in Manchester and planted the sapling of that industry which now overshadows and enriches its neighbourhood.

collegiate church with ample provision and support for its warden and fellows. Thomas, Lord de la Warre, the lord of the manor, convened the parishioners 'by the sound of the bell.' Among the attendants were the ancestors of many of the historic families of Manchester, as Sir John le Byron, Sir John de Radcliffe, Edmund de Trafford, John de Booth, Thurstan de Holland, Robert de Hyde, James de Strangeways, Otho de Redditch, John de Barlow, Ralph de Prestwich, John de Hulton, James de Hulme, William de Birches, Geoffrey de Hopwood, and others. The descendants of these men, whose names continued for two or three centuries to grace the history of Manchester, will hereafter appear acting their several parts in the narrative, no longer in concert for a good object, but sadly divided, the Traffords and Barlows as Catholics, the Byrons and Hulmes as Churchmen, the Hollands, Hydes, Booths, Birches, and Hultons, as Puritans.

At the meeting De la Warre spoke of the increasing magnitude and population of the town, of the deficiency of its religious instruction, of the decay of its old churches, and of the non-residence of its rectors. He proposed that, for the honour of the town and good of its people, a collegiate establishment, consisting of a warden and his fellows, should be founded and endowed with the estates of the existing rectories. If the parishioners approved and a charter could be obtained, he engaged at his own expense to erect the costly buildings that would be required, and to secure such additional endowments as would liberally sustain the honour and dignity of the new establishment. On the obtaining of the charter and consequent founding of the college, Manchester became in its ecclesiastical, as it had previously been in its industrial, character the most important town in Lancashire.

Warrington and Newton were in the reign of Edward III. considerable towns, protected by the fortified residences of their respective barons. The church of Warrington was the principal church in the enlarged hundred of West Derby, which *quoad sacra* was often called the deanery of Warrington.

Wigan, though not mentioned in Doomsday, had become in the reign of Edward the most populous town in West Derby. When in that reign writs were directed to the mayors of the most wealthy towns of England, requiring contributions for the prosecution of the Scottish war, the towns of Lancashire selected as the most able to contribute were Lancaster, Preston, and Wigan. 'The parson of Wigan,' as in old time he was always called, was entitled to all the rights and privileges of the lord of the manor, and held his Monday market and Easter court-leet in rivalry of the mayor's Friday market and Michaelmas court-leet. A great man this glorious old 'parson' must have been in the reign of Henry IV., when in his house in London 'he feasted two kings and two queens with their attendants, seven hundred messes of meat scarce serving for the first dinner.' In the twenty-fourth year of Edward III. Wigan was constituted a parliamentary borough, and for a short time enjoyed the privilege, or

submitted to the burden, of sending two representatives to parliament.*

Liverpool was becoming at that time a place of some importance. As early as the reign of Henry II. its fishermen and traders had been incorporated, and in the time of Edward I. they were able to defray the expenses of sending two representatives to parliament. In the reign of Edward III. the ancient chapel of St. Nicholas, an appurtenance of the vicarage of Walton, was consecrated as a sanctuary in and around which the inhabitants of the chapelry had the privilege of interring their dead. About that time a tower was erected, on the site now covered by the warehouses of Water Street, by Sir Thomas de Lathom, through whose heiress it was conveyed to the Stanleys, and was long held by them to the grievous offence and annoyance of their powerful rivals, and often bitter enemies, the Molineux of the castle. In the deadly strife of these families for pre-eminence, the burgesses prospered or suffered with their respective patrons, although their chief family, the Mores, contrived to get something considerable from both sides.† In the course of our history we shall find these three families as the leaders of the three religious parties into which Liverpool was divided. The Molineux, like many of the old nobility, were the leaders of the Catholics; the Stanleys, belonging to the comparatively new aristocracy, the leaders of the Episcopalians; and the Mores, wealthy merchants, of the Presbyterians.

The comparative importance of the port of Liverpool in the time of Edward III. appears in the assessment which was then made, to provide a navy for the prosecution of the French war. London had to contribute twenty-five ships and six hundred and sixty-two men; Bristol twenty-four ships and six hundred and sixty men; Hull sixteen ships and sixty-six men; Portsmouth five ships and fifty-six men; and Liverpool one bark and six men.

Of the ecclesiastics residing near Liverpool the prior of Birkenhead was the most considerable. He claimed property in the ferry for carrying passengers and goods across the Mersey, and the monopoly of providing accommodation for them on his own side of the water.‡

In the fourteenth century Liverpool consisted of the castle of the Molineux, the tower of the Stanleys, three or four manorial residences, one-hundred and sixty-eight cottages with timber sides and thatched roofs, a few fishing vessels in the Lyrpool, a fire beacon-tower on Everton Hill, a water-mill, and two wind-mills, the chapel of St. Nicholas, and a statue of that favourite saint of the sailors standing at the edge of the water. Adjoining the town were the park and forest of Toxteth, in which were the houses of a Stanley

* After long intermission, Wigan resumed its privilege or duty in the reign of Edward VI.

† The names of the Mores appear as wealthy burgesses of Liverpool from a very early time. In 1295, John de le More is the first name on the list of the burgesses who guaranteed the payment of the wage of the members returned for Liverpool. In the next return of which we have any record, in 1306, the members returned were John de More and Richard de More.

‡ He was charged with grievous extortion for raising his ordinary fare of a farthing for every passenger to a halfpenny 'on the market day at Lyverpol.'

who was the parker, and of a Scarisbrick who was the forester, with some cottages for their servants, and stabling for their horses and dogs.

Lancaster, Preston, Liverpool, and Wigan were the old parliamentary boroughs of Lancashire. Their privilege, however, through their poverty or their parsimony was in abeyance for more than two hundred years. During this interval the returns of the sheriff often stated that 'none of the boroughs was able to send members by reason of their debility and poverty.' The pay of the borough members was usually two shillings a day besides the expense of travelling to and from Westminster. The knights of the shire were allowed four shillings and afterwards five shillings a day, which great expense on one occasion induced the careful freeholders of Lancashire to unite with their neighbours of Cumberland in sending one member between them, each county paying half his wages. On the accession of Edward VI. the four ancient boroughs resumed the exercise of their privilege: and, in the reign of Elizabeth, Clitheroe and Newton were added to the parliamentary boroughs of the county.

The churches of Lancashire were at the time of Edward III. few, and for the most part small and poor buildings, as compared with the churches of the south of England, or even of the adjoining county of York.

In the hundred of Salford, eight parish churches existed soon after the Conquest, though only the two which belonged to Manchester are noticed in Domesday. Three more were added before the creation of the palatinate. These eleven churches, with four or five dependent chapels and a few private chantries, were all the places of worship then erected in that large and populous district of the county. The hundred of Blackburn was nearly conterminous with the great parish of Whalley, whose 'white church under the Leigh' was probably the earliest Christian edifice erected in the country afterwards called Lancashire.* Blackburn had been recently constituted a parish, the church of which was the property of the abbey of Whalley. Several chapels were soon afterwards erected in different townships of the great parish, in which the monks solemnised divine service with more or less regularity, as they were required or rewarded by the inhabitants. In Leyland were seven churches. In Amounderness the three churches mentioned in Domesday had increased apparently to ten. There were four churches and four dependent chapels in the deaneries of Furness and Cartmel. In the hundred of West Derby were fourteen

* According to a prevalent tradition, the rectors or deans of this ancient church were a sort of nonconformists. Living in the midst of a remote forest, they acknowledged no other ecclesiastical authority than that which was implied in receiving institution from the distant Bishop of Lichfield. Left to do as they pleased, they pleased to marry, and so to perpetuate a race of married priests, who transmitted their office from father to son in opposition to the decrees of the popes, until the Lateran council, not only prohibiting but annulling the marriages of priests, destroyed the constitution by which the church of Whalley had been governed for four hundred and seventy years.

churches. These churches and chapels, with a few private or family places of worship, constituted, so far as the secular clergy were concerned, the religious establishment of Lancashire at the creation of the palatinate.

But the monasteries were the more important ecclesiastical institutions of the county, and especially the magnificent Cistercian abbeys of Whalley and Furness. Although neither of them claimed the dignity of the mitre for its abbot, they were, of the great monasteries of the north of England, inferior in importance only to two or three.

Near the end of the thirteenth century the Abbot of Stanlaw in Cheshire took possession of the parsonage of Whalley, and finding, as Whitaker says, 'the glebe fertile, the house warm, the incumbent aged, the monks importunate, and their patron bountiful,' removed the greater part of his establishment to this new and comfortable home. It was the custom of the Cistercian monks to erect magnificent buildings in rural situations. True to their order, these monks resolved to build a monastery worthy of their munificent patron, Henry of Lancaster, for the good of his soul, and possibly for the comfort of their own bodies. Monasteries rose slowly: monks were never in a hurry. These Cistercians had a grand idea, and were willing to allow time for its becoming a reality. One hundred and forty-two years from its commencement John Eccles, the ninth abbot of Whalley, had the honour and satisfaction of completing the building which had cost his eight predecessors so much care, labour, and money.

The Cistercian establishment at Furness was older, more richly endowed, and, from its secluded situation across the sands of Morecambe Bay, more independent of external authority, civil or ecclesiastical, than its great rival of Whalley. In the twenty-sixth year of Henry I., the abbot and twelve brethren laid the foundation of their abbey in the gloomy recess of Bekansgill, the valley of nightshade. To any other than monks a less inviting situation could scarcely be found in the county. The hills were bleak, but the Cistercians were fond of sheep-farming, as they knew how to find a market for their wool among the Flemish merchants. The valley was their own. With much of the neighbouring country they were endowed by the liberality of their patron, Stephen of Boulogne. Several of the neighbouring proprietors were willing for the good of their souls to make considerable additions to the estate of the abbey. The fells supplied stone and the forests timber for the building of such an edifice as the Cistercians loved to build. They soon acquired the fisheries of the bay that bounded their domain, and built two forges to work the rich iron ore of the island of Walney. Thus flourishing as lords of the soil, they patiently and perseveringly worked on from one generation to another in the erection of that structure which is still grand and beautiful in its ruins.

Besides several smaller religious houses of various kinds, the other monasteries of the county were the abbey of Cockersand, reckoned the third in dignity of the Lancashire monasteries; the

priory of Cartmel, richly endowed, but restricted by a provision of its founder from ever assuming the name or honour of an abbey: the priories of Conishead, Hornby, Penwortham, Burscough, and Up-Holland.

In the ecclesiastical arrangements of that time the four southern deaneries, conterminous with the four southern hundreds, belonged to the Archdeaconry of Chester in the great diocese of Lichfield, Coventry, or Chester, as it was sometimes called.* The part of the county situate on the north of the Ribble belonged to the Archdeaconry of Richmond, in the diocese of York.

Lancashire at that time, as compared with the south of England, or the adjoining county of York, was thinly peopled and ill-cultivated. In the south-eastern parts extensive mosses and fens scarcely allowed pathway for travellers, much less pasturage or corn-fields. A great part of the eastern, central, and northern districts consisted of mountain and moorland, in which the climate was bleak and the soil bare and unpromising. The western side, exposed to the winds of the Atlantic, was covered to a great extent with light sand, the scanty and unwholesome grass of which afforded shelter and sustenance for no better animals than wild rabbits. The land, so far as it was reclaimed from the waste, was cultivated partly by villeins bound to the soil, and partly by men and women called natives, who might be bought and sold as slaves.† When the proposal was made to found the abbey at Whalley on the fertile lands of Ribblesdale, the monks of Salley, settled six miles higher up the stream, were alarmed lest the country should not provide sufficient food for so many new people, and petitioned on that account against the coming into their neighbourhood of an abbot and thirty-four monks.

The county, however, was in the reign of Edward III. making some advances in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. The Cistercians soon learnt to plough their fertile valleys and pasture their flocks on the slopes of Pendle and the fells of Cartmel. The burgesses of Manchester became purchasers of their wool, the spinning and weaving of which were soon succeeded by various processes in finishing and preparing the cloth for distant markets. The fulling-mills and dye-works of Salfordshire were in the fourteenth century the auspicious beginnings of the vast manufacturing industry and wealth of that district.

Dense forests, supplying fuel for several iron forges, covered large tracts of the great parish of Manchester. A forest of oak, elm, birch, and thick underwood stretched over the lands of Broughton, Cheet-ham, and Blackley, and eastward over most of Bradford, Openshaw, and Gorton. On the edge of this forest of Arden was a village or wick which, by its name, Ardwick, preserves a memorial of the forest

* Before the division of the diocese there was an episcopal palace, although there was no cathedral, in Chester.

† The last record of the sale of slaves in the county is found, I believe, in the archives of Whalley Abbey, where, in 1309, the abbot sold, for one hundred shillings sterling, 'one native with all his family and all his effects.—Baines, *Hist. of the County, &c., of Lancaster*, vol. iii. p. 187.

long since destroyed. Manchester people may be amused to learn that one park in their parish, that of Blackley, was worth 'in pannage, aëry of eagles, herons, and hawks, honey-bees, mineral earths, ashes and other issues, fifty-three shillings and fourpence.' * A smaller wood near Aldport was worth in 'pannage with the aëry of eagles, herons, and hawks, honey-bees, and the like issue, six shillings and eight pence.' Foresters were appointed in the manorial courts of Manchester to protect the woods and to enforce against all trespassers the strict forest laws of the time. The following curious regulation, found in the records of Manchester, may illustrate the state of the hundred of Salford: 'In the season of the year when the hawks begin to prepare their nests, the villagers by forewarning of the foresters shall assemble in Horwichley, and being sworn they shall go through all the forest to see how many nests they have made. From the time of this survey the foresters shall remain until the feast of St. Barnabas. And on the said day of St. Barnabas, when the hawks shall have been hatched, the said villagers shall return to the forest to take the chickens from their nests, delivering each to the foresters or other of the lord's bailiffs then present. And if they fail in any article of the said customs, they shall be prosecuted by the foresters in the court of Manchester, and there be punished according to the law and custom of ploughing, to wit, they shall plough every bovat of land arable of old time, belonging as well to Michael de Longford as his tenants.'

The gentry of Lancashire were almost universally addicted to field sports, for which the forests of the eastern side afforded abundant facilities. The old surveys of the parish of Manchester mention 'deer leaps' in several parks, as at Blackley, for which a considerable rent was paid. The yeomen often had their days to hunt the otters which infested their streams, and as some compensation for devouring their salmon afforded them capital sport. The favourite dog or hawk with his silver bells was often the companion of the country squire in his occasional attendance at church, and gained from the villagers quite as much notice as the priest in his poor and soiled canonicals. The common people were devoted to rustic sports and athletic exercises. Of merry England, Lancashire, poor as it was, was about the merriest part. Morris-dancing, rush-bearing, and egg-pacing, came at their appointed times to all the parishes of the county. Every village church had its annual wakes, its Sunday feasts, and its church ales, sometimes for the profit of the clerk or sexton or poor curate. Many places had their special enjoyments: Eccles celebrated its festival with its own sweet cakes; Bury ate simnels on Midlent Sunday; and almost as soon as figs were imported into the country, Fig-pie Sunday was a grand day in Burnley. In the large towns, as in Manchester, on festive Sundays processions of gaudy pageantry passed through the churches under the countenance of the lower sort of priests. Every parish had its butts where the men assembled on Sunday to try their skill and strength in archery, in which (although the same practice was

* *History of Blackley Chapel*, p. 8.

observed in other counties) they were probably second only to the Kentish bowmen. Every village green had its pole for May time, and every town its cockpit for Shrovetide and Easter. John de Brentford says of Lancashire people—'They are similar to those of the neighbouring counties, save they eat with two-pronged forks. They ride and hunt the same, but not with that grace, owing to the whip being carried in the left hand. The women are most handsome, their eyes brown, black, hazel, blue, or gray.' (What colour are the eyes of other women?) 'Their noses, if not inclined to the aquiline, are most of the Grecian form, which gives a most beautiful archness to the countenance, such as is not easy to be described.' The beauty of the Lancashire witches has been long celebrated by grave scholars as well as by gay poets. Quaint old Fuller cannot speak of the worthies of Lancashire without delivering himself of a sage homily on the vanity of 'women's beauty,' which is the pride of Lancashire and the envy of other counties.

With the exception of a few in the higher places of the Church, as the Warden of Manchester, the parson of Wigan, and the rector of Winwick, the secular clergy of Lancashire were poor, rude, ignorant, and often scandalously immoral. Before the Reformation, Harrison says: 'Many of the clergy went either in divers colours like players, or in garments of light hue, as yellow, red, green, with their shoes piked, their hair crisped, their girdles armed with silver, their apparel for the most part of silk, their caps laced and buttoned with gold; so that to meet a priest in those days was to behold a peacock that spreadeth his tail when he danceth before his hens.' Very few of these clerical peacocks spread their tails to dance before the beautiful hens of Lancashire, as many of their benefices were not worth more than four or five pounds a year.*

It is, however, to be remembered that before the Reformation the poor priests of Lancashire had many ways of eking out their small 'wage.' Besides christening and shriving, marrying and burying, they were occasionally employed in writing the farmers' letters, keeping the traders' accounts, making the wills of the dying and executing the bequests of the dead, arbitrating in disputes, bearing testimony, and sometimes making it, in law-suits.†

* According to the Book of the duchy and county palatine of Lancashire the stipend of a clerk to serve in the chapel at Litherpool was 4*l.* 17*s.* 5*d.*; of a clerk and schoolmaster at Manchester 4*l.* 0*s.* 2*d.*; of a clerk and schoolmaster at Preston 2*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*; while the wages of 'seven women praying in the college' were 35*l.* 15*s.*

† A good illustration of the business of the priests in country places may be seen in a curious document found in the muniment room of Middleton Hall, entitled, '*Examinations touching Cockeye Moor in a dispute between the Lords of the Manors of Middleton and Radcliffe.*' The document, edited by the Rev. F. R. Raines, M.A., has been published by the Chetham Society. The dispute was brought before the attorney-general of the county and a jury of the principal gentlemen of the neighbourhood. The witnesses were old priests, Sir John Barton, Sir Lawrence Smith, Sir Oliver Issherwood, who swore not only what they remembered, but what older priests had told them, and had not told them, in their younger days, as Sir John Byndeglass, Sir Thomas Blacklaw, Sir Hugh Radcliffe, Sir Oliver Smethurst, and 'other good priests.' This array of sirs

From the time of Edward III. until the Reformation there is little material for the ecclesiastical history of Lancashire. The two great abbeys grew steadily, it may be said rapidly, more wealthy and powerful. As their records testify, they frequently acquired considerable additions to their estates by purchases, gifts, and bequests, especially of advowsons, tithes, and other Church property. Their abbots were for a considerable time the most important persons in the county, as it was only on the extraordinary rise of the Stanley family that the Lords of Lathom were able to control the power of those arrogant Churchmen. The coucher book of Whalley shows what luxuries found their way to the larders, storerooms, and cellars of the monks, not only from their own farms, forests, and fisheries, but from distant towns and foreign lands. Although their fasts were numerous, their consumption of animal food was enormous. An approximate estimate of the flesh eaten at Whalley may be formed by an examination of two accounts of the bursars, one belonging to the fifteenth century, the other to the time of the last abbot. The annual consumption made at the abbot's table alone is computed at seventy-five oxen, eighty sheep, forty calves, twenty lambs, and four pigs; while the refectory and other tables within the house were supplied with fifty-seven oxen, forty sheep, twenty calves, and ten lambs.

We may compare these accounts with the household books of Edward and Henry, the great Earls of Derby,* who in the sixteenth century maintained their hospitality with so much profusion and magnificence that the admiring chroniclers of the time describe it as unsurpassed by any nobleman in England. In the household of Lathom the weekly consumption when the earl was in the county was about an ox every week and twenty sheep. If the household of the earl consumed more mutton than that of the abbot, the reverend father provided greater abundance of beef for his establishment. In both houses the supply of beer was enormous. The earl provided about fifteen hogsheads every week; the abbot in 1521 brewed one hundred and forty-seven quarters of malt. Both earl and abbot had large quantities (it is not possible to say how large) of venison from their parks, game from their woods, water-fowl and fish from their waters. At Lathom thirteen tuns and a half of wine were drunk in 1561. At Whalley it is computed from the average price of the sixteenth century, that the consumption of red wine was about eight pipes a year, besides a much larger quantity of what are called in the coucher books the 'sweet wines.' With the delicacies of the table the abbot seems to have been better furnished than the earl. At Lathom the steward paid for 'spices and fruits brought from London,' the sum of 131*l* 13*s*. 4*d*.; but the abbot is debited by his bursars with larger payments for figs, raisins, almonds, nuts, pepper, looks formidable, but they were very poor, some of them only chantry priests. At that time priests, especially in the north, assumed the title of Sir, unless they had an academical degree which entitled them to be called Maisters. They swore both negatively and positively hard and fast for their patrons.

* *Stanley Papers*, edited by Canon Raines.

ginger, cinnamon, saffron, spice wood, nutmegs, sugar,* and other articles of modern grocery, at that time scarcely known in the country houses of the great nobility. A novelty of luxurious feeding was not long in London before it found its way, by some means or other, to the refectories of Whalley and Furness.

In the magnitude of his domestic and servile establishment the earl unquestionably surpassed the abbot. At one time six gentlemen of the county were the grooms of his chamber, and their servants were provided with food in the great establishment. 'The Checkerowle of my Lord of Derby's Household,' in 1587, informs us that 'Mr. Steward' had three servants, 'Mr. Comptrowler' three, and 'Mr. Receiver General' three. Seven 'gentlemen waiters' had each a servant, and the chaplain, Sir Gilbert Townly, had one. There were nineteen 'yeomen ushers,' six 'grooms of the chamber,' two 'sub-grooms,' thirteen 'yeomen waiters,' two 'trumpeters,' and inferior servants, making the total in daily attendance one hundred and eighteen persons. The last, though perhaps not the least, in the goodly catalogue is 'Henry y' ffoole.†' The earl is also said to have kept a conjuror, who 'cast out devils and healed diseases.'

The abbot was content with a smaller retinue. The servants tabled in the abbey were about ninety, of which probably not one half belonged to the personal establishment of the abbot. Of the shepherds, herdsmen, foresters, fishermen, woodmen, turf-diggers, slaughtermen, and other out-door labourers of the abbey, I have no means of forming a correct estimate. Among other payments entered in the coucher book are those made to the clock-keeper, the chimes-keeper, and the organist.

While it appears on comparing their accounts that the establishment of the lay-lord surpassed in some respects that of the ecclesiastic, it should be observed that Lord Derby was the only nobleman who in Lancashire maintained any great state or magnificent hospitality, while the Abbot of Furness lived in luxury and rude magnificence as became the equal of his spiritual 'brother beloved of God' of Whalley.‡ Besides his magnificent residence in the

* Sugar is first mentioned in 1488, when fourteen pennyworth was bought for the use of the abbot, but whether as luxury or medicine I cannot say. See Whitaker's *Whalley*, p. 108, and the coucher book of the abbey.

In 1530, sugar was purchased in Lancashire at seven pence a pound, as appears from an account of the charges of a dinner given by Sir John Neville, on occasion of the marriage of his daughter. As four dozen of chickens cost only six shillings, a pound of sugar was worth nearly five chickens.—Gregson's *Fragments*, p. 37.

† It may amuse the people who affect to spell their names with a double f, to be told that not only were the ffaringtons and the ffrenches so spelt, but also the ffools and every ffriday in the year. It was the old way of writing a capital F.

‡ Of these two great abbots, he of Furness was the superior in rank and dignity, being, of the Cistercian order in the north of England, second only to the Abbot of Fountains. Of his manner of life in the seclusion of Bekansgill (vale of Nightshade) we know but little, but his state and consideration could not have been small, when the Earl of Derby held the honourable office of his steward, the duties of which were no doubt discharged by a deputy. The journeyings of the abbot to York were grand processions, in which he was lodged in great state in his 'hall' and 'grange,' situate at convenient distances on the road.

abbey, he had his 'spacious hall' in Lonsdale, his 'stately grange' in Craven, and his 'great inn,' called Furness House, in York, where he resided during the meetings of convocation and on other public occasions. These two great ecclesiastics certainly maintained the dignity of the Church in Lancashire to the satisfaction of its most devoted admirers. What the poor, ill-clad, ill-fed rural and chantry priests thought of that spiritual dignity I need not take the trouble to enquire.

But it must not be supposed that these great monasteries conferred no advantage, or even small advantage, upon the people of Lancashire. No abbeys, especially when built in a rude and ill-cultivated country, were more beneficial than those of the Cistercians. The monks, allowed to travel only on extraordinary occasions, and seldom visiting the populous towns, generally preserved a kindly feeling to their poor neighbours, who shared largely in their daily benefactions. If these Lancashire Cistercians did little for the literature of the county, they did much in clearing its forests, reclaiming its bogs, cultivating its wastes, and pasturing their flocks on its bleak moorlands. Their farms, let on moderate terms, usually afforded a permanent home and comfortable living for the families of their tenantry. Their cloisters provided shelter and accommodation for pedlars and chapmen, corn-dealers and wool-staplers, as if they had been the regular markets of the neighbourhood. Their labourers and villeins were treated with more consideration than were the people who worked upon the lands of the lay proprietors. Their natives were not often overworked or punished severely. Their worst punishment seems to have been in selling them and sending them away from their native home. Whalley was the '*locus benedictus*' to many others than the magnificent abbot and his spiritual children.

The vices of monks were everywhere scandalous, but the rules of the Cistercians provided for their peculiar immoralities wiser and more effective restraint and discipline than those of any other order. In their large monasteries and rural establishments useful work was always to be done; while in the small or urban religious houses of other orders the time was spent in praying by those who had no devotion, in reading by those who had no learning, or in idleness by those who had no self-government. Bad as many, probably most, of the religious houses were, it is difficult to say how in the middle ages the good done by some of them could have been done without them. Let us charitably believe that with all their faults many a Cistercian read with a quiet conscience and a grateful heart the motto of his house, *Bonum est nos hic esse, quia homo vivet purius, cadet rarius, surget velocius, incedet cautius, quiescet securius, morietur felicius, purgabitur citius, præmiabitur copiosius.*

In the interval between the founding and the dissolution of these monasteries, great and important changes had been produced in Lancashire by the growth of manufactures and trade, especially in its south-eastern parts. The industrious inhabitants of that district had made the most of the knowledge and skill which they had ac-

quired from the Flemish immigrants. Dye-works, fulling-mills, and other factories were placed on the waters of the Irwell and its affluent streams. 'Manchester cottons,' as Lancashire woollens were then called, were carried on pack-horses to London and Hull, and from those ports frequently shipped for foreign lands. The traders of Manchester in the beginning of the sixteenth century had their correspondents in the Low Countries, and occasionally made a journey of business to the great fairs of Amsterdam, Frankfort, and other continental marts. In 1533, Leland wrote: 'Manchester on the south side of the Irwell standeth in Salfordshire, and is the fairest, best-built, quickest, and most populous town in Lancashire. . . . On Irk be divers fair mills that serve the towne. In the towne be two fair market-places, and almost two flyte shottes without the towne.' Although the old timber churches had been destroyed, the magnificent edifice dedicated to St. Mary, with its double aisles, collegiate establishment, and ample revenues, had more than compensated their loss. In the interval, or very soon afterwards, chapels had been consecrated in the dependent townships of Salford, Blackley, Denton, Newton, Didsbury, Stretford, Chorlton, and Gorton. Hollingworth, in his 'Mancuniensis,' refers to a 'famous clothier,' one Martin Brian (or Byrom), who, in 1520, 'kept a great number of servants at work, as carders, spinners, weavers, fullers, dyers, shearmen, to the great admiration of all that came to behold them.'

In the reign of Henry VIII. the trade of Manchester had become so important that a statute was enacted, by which it was deprived of its privileges as one of the seven sanctuary towns. The reason assigned for this measure is curious: 'Because the sanctuary men are prejudicial to the wealth, credit, great occupyings, and good order of the said town by occasioning idleness, unlawful games, unthriftiness, and other enormities.' These idle sanctuary men were accordingly removed to Chester, which being poor could not lose much by thieves, and therefore was made their sanctuary instead of thriving Manchester—

Cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.

Bolton was then, in its manufacturing prosperity, rather a rival than a dependency of Manchester. For some time it seemed doubtful which of the two would become the great mart of the manufactures of the district. On the growth of its wealth, its church was greatly enlarged and improved, and two of its townships, Dean and Pilkington, sharing its prosperity, became distinct parishes around their own churches. Ashton, Oldham, Rochdale and the neighbouring villages contributed to the wealth of Manchester, and obtained a share of its gains, by purchasing their materials and selling their productions in its markets.

The flourishing manufactories of Salfordshire did little to stimulate or encourage the industry of the other divisions of the county. There is no good evidence of any important factories, except a few iron forges in Furness, having been established without the boundaries of the hundred until the beginning of the seventeenth century, when

Blackburn checks and Blackburn greys were sent on pack-horses to be dyed and printed in London, and thence distributed by the fairs through the southern counties, or exported to the continent. From that time the hundreds of Salford and Blackburn, associated in their industry and wealth, became the strength of the Puritanism and afterwards of the Nonconformity of Lancashire.

As these inland districts enlarged their factories, the ports of the county began to take advantage of the demand which was made for the exportation of their goods. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, Lancaster had established a profitable trade with the newly-formed settlements in the West Indies. Preston, less enterprising, perhaps more careful, was content for a time with a less hazardous traffic with Ireland. Liverpool was then steadily advancing. Instead of its little bark and six men, which it sent to help King Edward in conquering France, it had in the reign of Henry VIII. twelve ships, manned with seventy-five sailors, engaged chiefly in trading to the Welsh coast and the wild Irish country. It consisted, in 1565, of one hundred and thirty-eight inhabited houses, most of them built in seven streets between its humble chapel and its ancient castle. The municipal authorities of the ports of Liverpool, Preston, and Lancaster were then beginning to assume some considerable state and importance. John More, the mayor of Liverpool, maintained with various fortune protracted litigation for fees, market tolls, ferry dues, and other privileges, with the great family of the Molineux of the castle, and even with the lessee of the Crown and through him with royalty itself. The thrifty manufacturers of the prosperous inland towns, Manchester, Bolton, and Blackburn, seem to have regarded mayors as expensive toys, and contrived to do without them, as they did without members of parliament.

In the interval to which we have referred, whatever may have been the advance of manufactures, commerce, wealth, and luxury, the progress of learning was very slow in the manufacturing districts, and in the other districts it is doubtful whether it made any progress at all. Previously to the Reformation only three grammar schools existed in the county, and they had been recently founded: that of Farnworth in 1507, that of Manchester in 1515, and that of Warrington in 1526.* The common people of that time were universally represented as illiterate, rude, boisterous, and, though the merriest of Englishmen, as superstitious as they were merry. In no other county were the witches and bogarts so plentiful, so frightful, or so mischievous. They went everywhere, intermeddling with the concerns of everybody, haunting every abode, from the mansion of the Stanleys to the poorest cottage on the mountain side. Tortured, hanged, drowned, burnt, witches, like some better things, seem to have grown in the midst of persecution. Witch-finding was a sort of trade, and sometimes a gainful one. Witches were seen, as it was attested before magistrates and ministers, carrying their imps to Pendle-hill, where the devil baptised them with fire. Horrible attestations were sworn, and what was still more horrible, the poor

* Introduction to Cardinal Allen's *Defence of Stanley*, p. lxiv.

creatures, through terror or distraction, confessed to the commission of incredible, impossible crimes. On such confessions many were executed.

Before the founding of the grammar schools, the only education to be obtained by the poor was in the monasteries, and the boys there educated were usually trained for the priesthood. Even in the towns few of the tradesmen could write. As late as the reign of Elizabeth, of thirty chief men who exercised some sort of authority over Kirkham, only one could write, and consequently in his absence business had often to be postponed.

Manchester, after the establishment of its grammar school, long continued to be reckoned the best educated town in the county. The founder of that school, Hugh Oldham, a native of Lancashire, had obtained the bishopric of Exeter. The good bishop, as Hollingworth, in his 'Mancuniensis,' says, 'out of the good mind he bore to the county of Lancaster, perceiving that the children thereof, having pregnant wits, were for the most part brought up rudely and idly, that knowledge might be advanced, and that the children might be better taught to love, honour, and dread God and His laws, founded the free school of Manchester.'

Although Oldham passed the greater part of his active life in the remote dioceses of Lincoln, Salisbury, and Exeter, he retained his love for his native county, and spent a great part of his property in promoting its learning, virtue, and good order. A bishop of strict morals, severe duty, incorruptible integrity, and a dauntless spirit, zealous for the liberties both of his country and his Church, and firmly opposed to the vices and corruptions of the monasteries, he prosecuted a long and vexatious controversy with the Abbot of Tavistock, and sternly refused to submit the decision of his cause to the arbitration of the pope. For his contempt of the papal authority it is said that he was excommunicated, and as he died under the sentence was excluded from burial in his own cathedral, until eventually his friends obtained permission to inter him in a private chapel built by himself.* Had he lived a few years longer, he would probably have taken the foremost place among the leaders of the English Reformation. No other bishop of the early years of the

* This is said by Hollingworth, and other writers. I, however, do not believe it to be true. Oldham left directions in his will for his interment in the chapel, which on his death was not completed. His burial seems to have been delayed until the completion of the burial place which he had selected. A communication to this effect, which I sent to the *Manchester Guardian*, received the following reply :—

THE FOUNDER OF MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL.—The letter in yesterday's *Guardian* from the Rev. Dr. Halley, in respect to the story of Bishop Hugh Oldham's excommunication, reminds us that some 12 or 14 years ago there died in the Manchester workhouse an old woman named Kay, who was a collateral descendant of the Bishop of Exeter; and she told Mr. Rickards, the then chairman of the Board of Guardians, as a tradition of the family, that the Bishop's body remained unburied for three months after his death. Mrs. Kay once walked from Manchester to Exeter to see if her ancestor had built almshouses there, in the hope that his kin might be favoured in the appointment to a vacancy. She was disappointed, but saw "Maister Philpotts," the present bishop, whom she

reign of Henry VIII. seemed so likely to become a reformer, or so fit to conduct a reformation, as Hugh Oldham.*

The school at Farnworth, as we shall see in the course of our narrative, became a sort of nursery for Lancashire Puritans, and educated several of the ablest divines of that persuasion who went from the county to the University of Cambridge.

Long before the Reformation, the arrogance of the higher ecclesiastics, the corruption of the secular clergy, the scandalous immoralities of the monks, and the notoriously unequal laws enacted in favour of churchmen of all degrees, were gradually producing in the hearts of Englishmen a deep and settled hatred of the Romish Church. The petitions presented to parliament at different times, from the reign of Edward III. to that of Henry VIII., praying for protection from the oppression and exactions of the clergy, show the unpopularity into which the Church had fallen among all classes, but especially among the inhabitants of the cities and large towns. Strong as that Church seemed to be in England by its vast wealth, its territorial episcopacy, its great monasteries, its large charities, its venerable traditions, and the influence of its priesthood upon an ignorant and superstitious peasantry, its friends might have seen portentous signs of its fall, which waited only the resolve of some powerful and determined monarch like Henry, whose will should be crossed by its authorities, and whose kingdom should be humiliated by its arrogant pretensions.

In Lancashire there were fewer and less threatening signs of the fall of the ecclesiastical power than in many other parts of England. The gross ignorance and grosser superstition of the people afforded some sort of screen for the negligence and immorality of the clergy. The light which emanated from the pulpit of Lutterworth seems scarcely to have penetrated this dark and secluded county. Hardly a single gospeller of the Lollards is seen acting his part in the religious history of Lancashire.† There were enlightened natives of described as a "gradely old gentleman," and he paid her fare back to Manchester, and put some money in her pocket besides. Other descendants of Hugh Oldham are, we believe, still living in this city.—*Manchester Guardian*, June 1st, 1869.

* A grateful scholar thus commemorates his liberality :

'Who determined, his heart with benevolence fraught,
That Lancashire lads should the classics be taught;
He founded a school into boys' heads to hammer
The eight parts of speech and a knowledge of grammar;
And for those who a pleasure in knowledge might seek,
He further left orders to teach the boys Greek.
To support the magister he left by his will
A toll by the town to be paid at the mill
Where famed Sir John Barleycorn, turned into malt,
Is crushed without mercy and bruised without fault.
Though he gave toll of malt, yet so liberal his hands,
He left in support of the school some good lands,
Increased so in value it is now very clear
The income's at least fifteen hundred a year.'

† It is true that in the reign of Henry V. a proclamation was addressed to the sheriff of Lancashire, prohibiting him from allowing 'certain of the new sect of

the county, and some of them, like Hugh Oldham and Henry Standish, were enlightened priests, but they gained their light and diffused it in more favoured parts of England. Excepting the neighbourhood of Manchester, where the commercial spirit of the people had promoted some intercourse with Holland and Germany, no English county was less prepared to receive or ready to welcome the reformation of religion than sportive, secluded, illiterate, superstitious Lancashire.

In the early part of the reign of Henry VIII., parliament, induced by numerous petitions of the people, wisely determined to limit and regulate the unjust and intolerable benefit of clergy. All who held any sort of ecclesiastical office however mean, or professed any sort of ecclesiastical character however low, parish clerks, sextons, subdeacons, vergers, choristers, beadsmen, dependents on clerical bounty and servants of clerical persons, claimed the benefit of clergy, and provoked the laity by the insolent assertion of their invidious privileges. In London especially the opposition to the immunities of the clergy was vehement and persevering, and it found an able and determined leader in a Lancashire man, himself a clergyman, and no less a personage than provincial of the order of Franciscan monks. Dr. Henry Standish, of the ancient and honourable family of the Standishes of Duxbury, a priest of great learning and greater ability, of unwearied energy, of dauntless spirit and intense zeal for liberty, acted an extraordinary part on the approach of the English Reformation. The reformers had not a better friend when he was with them, nor a worse enemy when he was against them. The only priest of influence and consideration who at that time asserted and defended the equal rights of the laity, and strove with the lawyers to abate the exclusive privileges of the clergy, he zealously defended against all innovators the whole doctrine and ceremonial of the Catholic Church. With a voice to which all London listened with respect, he denounced the claims of the priests, and vindicated the faith of the priesthood. As with Father Passaglia in the modern Italian Church, there seems to have been combined in the soul of this learned father intense reverence for antiquity with ardent love of liberty and equality.

In 1512 parliament, after long debates, passed an Act by which the 'benefit of clergy' was restricted to bishops, priests, and deacons; all other ecclesiastics accused of capital offences were to be tried in the secular courts, without being allowed to 'pray their clergy.' The priests, although left in the possession of all their privileges, were incensed with the restriction of those privileges to themselves. Holy Mother Church, they said, cared for her smaller as well as for her greater servants. The higher ecclesiastics made common cause with their lower brethren in maintaining a common exemption from

the Lollards from holding conventicles,' as another was addressed to the chancellor of the duchy, denouncing a 'most cunning and subtle enemy, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham;' but these proclamations may have been only precautionary, as they were similar to many others issued in different parts of the kingdom.

punishment, as became those who had often been accomplices in crime. If parliament were allowed to deprive the inferior clerics of the privileges of the Church, what would prevent them from attacking in the same manner the ancient sanctities of the priesthood, or even of the hierarchy itself? The prospect of bringing the clerical orders under the jurisdiction of the civil courts, however desirable it seemed to laymen, was intolerable to a priesthood charged, and often justly, with the most shocking crimes. The punishment of priests by their own authorities often brought more scandal upon the Church than would have done the avowed tolerance of their sins. A priest convicted of fornication purged himself by offering two wax candles of the value of one penny, saying some prayers, and paying a fine of six and eightpence.

The new Act of Parliament excited so violent an opposition among the clergy that the king, overcome by their importunity, allowed them to carry on a debate respecting it in the presence of the judges of the realm. Only clergymen were to plead. The eloquent Abbot of Winchelcomb defended the inalienable privileges of the Church. To the mortification of his own order and the offence of all other orders, Dr. Standish, not content with defending the Act, pleaded for the abrogation of all the immunities of the clergy, not only in justice to the laity, but as necessary to maintain the morality, influence, and respectability of the clergy themselves. He satisfied the king, and gained his cause amidst the applause of the laity, but thenceforth he became the object of the most bitter and unrelenting hostility of the clergy. What their hostility was may be inferred from the fact that one of the first citizens who dared to sue a priest in the court of King's Bench was murdered, and on the inquest evidence was adduced to show that several of the clergy and even the bishop's chancellor were implicated in the foul deed.

So much indignation was excited by the disclosures which were made at the inquest, that the clergy felt they must do something to appease or divert the popular feeling. In doing what they did, they stimulated rather than allayed the opposition of the people. They charged the murdered man with heresy, and held an ecclesiastical court for his trial. With becoming gravity three bishops obtained a goodly attendance of priests, proctors, and notaries to receive the evidence, and announced that they were ready to hear any ecclesiastic who had anything to say in defence of the dead man before they pronounced sentence upon him. They no doubt hoped that Standish would undertake the dangerous service of defending the man who had brought a priest into a secular court of justice, and that thus they might find an occasion of accusing their enemy, whose great speech against them had been delivered under the protection of the king's presence. Standish, though bold, was too wise and wary to expose himself in the useless defence of a dead man. The priests found the man guilty, and, to the annoyance and disgust of the people, exhibited the revolting spectacle of taking the body from its grave and burning it in Smithfield.

The clergy, disappointed in their victim, summoned Standish to

appear before convocation and to answer their accusations of heresy which he had taught in his sermons at Paul's Cross. So determined were the clergy on the one hand to destroy Standish, and the laity on the other to protect him, that, finding other efforts unavailing, the judges of the realm, the House of Commons, and even the lords temporal petitioned the king to rescue him from the arbitrary and vindictive proceedings of the convocation. In the fierce contention Henry for once in his life showed signs of fear and hesitation. Having consulted his advisers, he required Standish to defend himself in his presence against the accusations. After the advocates of the clergy were heard, Standish, without faltering or hesitation, defended at great length and with great power the equal rights of the laity, and especially the authority of the civil courts over all the king's subjects, lay or clerical. The king, after consulting with the judges, was about to pronounce his judgment, when Cardinal Wolsey, anticipating the decision, fell upon his knees and implored the king to remit the momentous question to the judgment of his holiness the pope. Although the cardinal was supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the king gave his decision in favour of Standish, and declared his determination to maintain the authority of his courts over all persons of all ranks and orders in the realm.

When the clergy, more ferocious than ever, would have burnt Standish for heresy, his life depended upon the good will of the king. But to him life was not everything. Within him breathed the spirit of the Standishes, dauntless, intrepid, unselfish, very unlike that of their politic, accommodating, temporising neighbours, the Stanleys. His most powerful defender must be opposed in his attempt to oppress the feeble. Against the king, his protector, he undertook the defence of Queen Catharine, and maintained it with all the ability, resolution, and boldness which he had previously shown in the defence of the liberties of the laity. He was no more intimidated by the voice of the King's Majesty than he had been by the noise of the clerical power which he had challenged and humiliated. No ecclesiastic adhered more faithfully and boldly than he to the cause of the unfortunate queen. Without conciliating the clergy, he alienated many of his old friends, especially those of the courtiers who were looking favourably towards the Reformation. Ecclesiastical supremacy would have been as loathsome to him when asserted by a king as when asserted by a pope or his priests. Advanced in years, he did his best for the queen, and therefore ceased to be the friend of the king and the idol of the reformers. Catholic in his doctrine, strict in his ritual, severe in his life, liberal in his spirit, detested by the clergy, opposed to the king, distrusting the courtiers, disliking the reformers, through his long and troubled life he made his voice to be heard in opposition to all parties, and always in favour of the feeble against their oppressors, until he found rest and quietude beneath his tomb in the church of the Grey Friars in London. Dr. Henry Standish was one of the many brave men of whom Lancashire has reason to be proud.

Standish, whether he intended it or not, did much to promote the

English Reformation. Henry, having decided in his favour against the clergy, was soon disposed by unexpected events to do a great deal more in the same direction. Having made his own courts supreme, he virtually, as afterwards avowedly, established his supremacy over the Church. Unable to brook the dilatory and vexatious proceedings of the pope (and may we not give him some credit for being displeased with the arrogant assumptions of the clergy?) he brought his dispute with the ecclesiastics to a decisive issue by assuming spiritual authority in union with his temporal power. This was a new thing in the world. A national Church might have been occasionally the dream of liberal lawyers or patriotic statesmen, but the reality had never before been seen in Christendom. There came into being a Church separated from the community of Catholicism, limited by the boundaries of England, ruled by the king in spirituals as well as in temporals, having its ritual, its doctrine, and its discipline determined by the civil power, the creature, the servant and the hireling of the State, as absolutely as the army, the navy, or the justiciary of the kingdom. Right or wrong, it was certainly something strange. It was indeed said, although not until the next age, in reply to the objections of Papists and Puritans, that the king has not power to administer the sacraments. This is true, just as the constitution does not give the king authority to decide suits in his own chancery, or administer criminal law at the assizes held in his name; but equally both in Church and chancery the king appoints his officials, and enacts with the consent of parliament how all things are to be done by those officials. If the king does not pray, he, as representing the people, prescribes what his clergy shall say or do in offering his prayers. Who, in praying for the people, is supreme, he who prescribes the prayers, or he who repeats them without the liberty of altering a single word?

The opposition of the clergy to the supremacy of the king, although often ignored by those who tell us that the Church of England reformed itself, is too important to be overlooked and too well known to require any citation of authorities. To give to a layman the supremacy of the Church seemed to the clergy, educated in the faith of an inalienable distinction between civil and ecclesiastical authority, an utter subversion of the institutions of Christ. To break the Catholic Church into fractions and subject them severally to the domination of the temporal authorities was in their estimation to secularise the Church itself, not its revenues, but its priesthood, its discipline, its essential principles and powers. To such a revolution the clergy were compelled to submit, and their submission was the more abject and humiliating, because it was exacted as the price of their pardon for acknowledging what they believed to be a capital article of the Catholic faith, the appelland jurisdiction of the papal court.

The clergy of the convocation of Canterbury, on being compelled to acknowledge the king as the supreme head of the Church of England, appended the words, 'so far as is agreeable to the laws of Christ;' but neither the king nor the parliament would accept any such restrictive clause. By the fundamental law of the English

Church, enacted by the temporal power, and accepted (not approved) by the spiritual, the king is declared to be without any limitation the supreme head of the Church of England.

The clergy of the northern convocation were more difficult to manage than their brethren of Canterbury.* Hoping to gain some advantage by delay, and wishing to defer as long as possible the dreadful act of apostasy from the faith, they had recourse to verbal criticisms until the impatient king would allow no more trifling with words and phrases. They proposed to declare that the king was head of the Church in all temporal matters, but Henry insisted upon being acknowledged supreme in all things spiritual as well as temporal, that is, upon an absolute and undivided supremacy. Through terror of premunire, they yielded in 1532, in opposition to the solemn protest of a Lancashire man against the profane acknowledgment. Cuthbert Tunstall, one of the ancient family of Tunstall of Thurland Castle, then Bishop of Durham, courageously refused to assent to the humiliating vote which the king extorted from the northern convocation. The good bishop is worthy of honourable notice, not only for his honest and faithful adherence to his own convictions, but for his tolerance of the religious convictions of others. A sufferer for his principles under Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth, he was under Mary the most lenient and forbearing of the Catholic prelates.

As the Act of Supremacy is the foundation of the English Church, it ought ever to be considered in answering the question, What is English Nonconformity? The meaning of the Act is clear, unambiguous, capable of only one construction. Whatever may be said about the uncertainty of Acts of Parliament, there is one of them not chargeable with the least ambiguity. According to the only interpretation which the Act admits, the Church of England is in doctrine and discipline what the king speaking through the constitutional authorities declares it to be. He makes its laws by his court of parliament, and interprets them by his courts of judicature. The Church! that is the king.

The royal supremacy, I readily admit, like many other things, has a twofold aspect. Something may be said for it as well as against it. How, it may be asked, and more readily asked than answered, could the English Reformation have been accomplished without it? We need not wonder that some good Protestants regarded the supremacy as their only protection against the hateful papal domination. Both aspects of the king's rule, as it in one form restrained religious liberty, and in another protected it, were seen, though indistinctly, by the early Puritans, and produced some wavering and inconsistency both in their professions and their practice. But be it good or evil, the royal supremacy was the power which formed the English Reformation, the progress of which in the county of Lancaster it will be my duty to trace and illustrate in the next chapter.

* At that time the clergy of Lancashire benefited in the four deaneries south of the Ribble, belonging to the diocese of Lichfield, were represented in the southern convocation, and those north of the Ribble, being in the diocese of York, were represented in the convocation of the northern province.

CHAPTER II.

THE REFORMATION.

IN Lancashire the Reformation made very slow progress, in some parts of it scarcely any, as it long continued to be, and probably still is, the most Catholic county of England. During the reigns of Henry and Edward the greater part of its gentry adhered as firmly as they dared to the old religion of their families, while most of the clergy were Protestant in nothing else than in a reluctant submission to the Act of Supremacy. The parochial clergy were few, as the parishes were very extensive, and many of the rectories belonged to the monasteries, whose vicars appointed to discharge parochial duties looked for guidance and approval rather to their ecclesiastical superiors than to the temporal authorities. As to the priests who officiated in the chapels and field kirks which had been erected in the outlying townships of the great parishes, they were generally too poor and illiterate to feel any interest in the theological controversies which were agitating the minds of many in the more instructed or more busy parts of the country.* In the observance, or rather in the neglect, of public worship, the new doctrine was little regarded, while in private the priests were generally ready to perform all religious duties according to the ancient ritual. The tenantry were like their lords, and the common people, ignorant and superstitious, depended upon the priests to take them safe through purgatory to heaven, as their fathers had been taken there by the wise and good priests of the old times.

But in the south-eastern part of Lancashire the Reformation speedily obtained great strength, and, from its commencement, assumed a Puritanical form and character. The busy manufacturers and traders of Salfordshire, having formed mercantile connections in Holland and Germany, became acquainted with the great changes which had been so wonderfully wrought in the religion of those countries. Better educated than their rustic neighbours, and having more money to spare and more opportunity to spend it, they purchased books, conversed with foreigners, occasionally travelled to continental fairs, knew more than their priests, prided themselves on a sturdy independence of thought, and became many of them firm and zealous adherents of the Reformation. Bolton soon obtained the name of the Geneva of Lancashire, while in zeal for the new doctrine Manchester and Rochdale were not far behind that 'godly town.' It is true that even there, especially in Manchester, the Protestant party had to contend against much opposition, which was the more difficult to overcome because it was maintained by two of the most virtuous and honourable priests the old religion ever pro-

* In 1531, the Archbishop of York did not know in his diocese, including at that time the northern part of Lancashire, twelve ministers who could preach.

duced in Lancashire. Eventually, however, the new faith gained complete ascendancy. It is the contrast between its prevalence in the south-eastern part and its feebleness in the central, western, and northern parts of the county which gives so much interest to the religious history of Lancashire throughout the conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But we must turn to the northern part of the county to observe the beginning of the more exciting events of the contest between the two great parties.

As the king had contrived to accomplish his divorce without the sanction of the pope or of any acknowledged ecclesiastical authority, his intimacy and marriage with Anne Boleyn furnished the material of insufferable scandal among the priests, and especially in the monasteries of the country. When the priests at Paul's Cross preached directly at the king's ministers and indirectly at the king himself, we may be sure the talk of the monks in the remote parts of the north was as free and unrestrained as the winds of their own wild mountains. When Father Peto, in the pulpit of the royal chapel at Greenwich, on May 1, 1532, preached on the text 'Where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth, even there shall they lick thy blood, O king!' and looking directly at the royal seat began, 'Now, O king, hear what I say to thee. I tell thee truly that thy marriage is unlawful. Although I know that I shall eat the bread of affliction, and drink the waters of sorrow, yet, because the Lord hath put it into my mouth, I must speak it. There are other preachers, yea too many, who preach and persuade thee otherwise, feeding thy folly and frail affections, upon hopes of their own worldly promotion, and betray thy soul, thy honour, and thy posterity to obtain fat benefices, to become rich abbots and bishops. These, I say, are the four hundred prophets, who in the spirit of lying seek to deceive thee. Take heed lest thou, being seduced, find Ahab's punishment, which had his blood licked up by the dogs'—when many such things as these were said in the royal chapels, we need not wonder at the inflammatory harangues or coarse abuse of the 'lewd monks' of Whalley and Furness.

In the locutory of Furness the monks put no restraint upon their licentious tongues, but spoke freely from the abundance of their hearts. They called the king a heretic, a tyrant, a usurper, and something worse; and they called Anne Boleyn in plain English what plain Englishmen never call any woman unless they are very coarse or very angry. Although Henry affected indifference to all that the preachers publicly said of him at Greenwich or Paul's Cross, he secured the means of discovering what was said and done in the seclusion of the religious houses, where conspiracies and plots might be formed, and intelligence clandestinely conveyed from one monastery to another. Espionage, so hateful to honest Englishmen, was encouraged among the monks by their superiors, who found to their dismay that their own brethren disclosed to the secular authorities the secret sayings and doings of their fraternity. Among the depositions which were forwarded to the king's council was that of Robert

* Froude's *History*, vol. i. p. 355.

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would allow him to be concerned in any perilous enterprise. Whatever may have been his religious principles, he was careful for the emoluments of the Church, of which he had a goodly portion, and for the privileges of the monastic orders, of which he had the happiness of being a rich and powerful abbot. Although sometimes spoken of as bold and determined, the local traditions, with much more appearance of truth, represent him as an energetic but cautious man, considerate of his own interest, and distrusted by the zealots of his party. According to those traditions he secretly encouraged the insurrection, but hesitated to connect himself irretrievably with its perilous fortunes, until an emissary of the insurgents, knowing his temporizing disposition, kindled his beacon fire on Pendle-hill, the signal to march and join the insurgent multitude. Finding himself thus implicated by the act of another, he considered it would be a safer course, when neutrality was no longer possible, and his beacon fire bore witness against him, to join the Pilgrimage of Grace, than to make a hopeless attempt to conciliate the government.* However that may have been, Paslew, on the approach of the royal army, forsook the camp of the pilgrims, returned to his abbey, and immediately executed a deed 'by y^e assente and consente of y^e convente,' granting to 'Maister Thomas Cromwell, secretarie general and principal official to our most Sovereign Lord the King an annual rent or fee of £vi : xiii : iv yearlie.' But the offence of the abbot was not to be expiated by the annual payment of ten nobles. Within a few days of his executing this humiliating deed, John Paslew was committed to Lancaster Castle on a charge of high treason. Arraigned and convicted, the poor old abbot (he must have been very aged at the time, for the prior, who is said in a letter of the Earl of Sussex to have been nearly fourscore years old, was his junior in the convent register) was drawn on the traitors' hurdle to the gallows, and hanged on an eminence in front of the abbey.†

As the abbot held the lands of the monastery by the same legal tenure as a father holds lands entailed on his descendants, the lawyers decided that on account of the attainder of Paslew, the abbey with all its lands and appurtenances became the property of the Crown without even the formality of a surrender. The society was thus dissolved three years before the general dissolution of the greater monasteries. Smith, the poor old prior, probably obtained an allowance of six or seven pounds a year, which the commissioner who took possession of the estate solicited on his behalf. Two old and feeble monks were allowed to attach themselves as chantry priests to the church of Whalley, and even after the Reformation were permitted to celebrate mass for any who sought their services. As the survivor of them lived to the second year of Elizabeth, and continued to gain a pittance by the chantry prayers, he was, says Whitaker, 'a remarkable instance of toleration.' Another of the monks, Thomas Holden, one of the latest on the register, became a zealous preacher of the Reformation and obtained the curacy of Haslingden. The

* See the tale well told in Roby's *Traditions of Lancashire*.

† Baines, *Hist. of Lancashire*, vol. iii. p. 188.

others, most of whom were concerned in the Pilgrimage of Grace, had, so far as I can discover, no provision whatever made for their declining years. They continued, as Whitaker says, 'like bees about a hive rifled of its honey,' to seek miserable shelter in the neglected rooms and outhouses of the venerable abbey. The rich lands were disposed of, no doubt on liberal terms, to members of considerable Lancashire families, John Braddyll of Braddyll, and Richard Assheton of Lever, both of whom became, like most of the purchasers of abbey lands, very sound and steady Protestants. The ecclesiastical patronage was ceded to the See of Canterbury, and consequently the archbishops long retained the advowsons of the great parishes of Whalley, Blackburn, and Rochdale.

As soon as the Earl of Sussex had finished his business at Whalley, he turned his attention to the establishment at Furness, and thought of the good service he could do the king and himself by obtaining possession of the lands, mines, fisheries, tolls, rectories, and other valuable property of that richly-endowed abbey. Although the monks of Furness had obtained the repute of being more treasonable talkers and more inveterate conspirators than their brethren of Whalley, they contrived in their sequestered glen to furnish a very small amount of legal evidence available on a trial for high treason. Sussex acknowledged that there were only two monks whom he 'could prove faulty.' Whatever might have been proved against them, the hanging of two monks would provide no sort of title to the lands of the monastery. Having committed them to Lancaster Castle, the earl attempted by promise and threatening to obtain evidence which would criminate old Roger the abbot; but old Roger was wary, his monks cautious, and his servants faithful and silent. If any good could come from hanging an abbot, there would have been in those times no great difficulty in accomplishing the purpose; but when the good might be as easily gained by other means, the earl, who seems to have been a kindly disposed man, was not unwilling to have recourse to the gentler expedient. As the abbot set some value upon his life, and the earl upon the abbey lands, the way was open for a compromise to secure their several interests. The earl wrote to the king that as he was unable to prove 'any material thing against the abbot . . . he would assay him whether he would surrender, give, and grant unto your Highness, your heirs and assignees, the sayd monestery.' Finding him 'very facile and ready mynded,' the earl soon obtained the surrender of the abbey in the handwriting of the abbot. The document, preserved in the British Museum, begins, 'I Roger, Abbot of the Monastery of Furness, knowing the misorder and evil life both unto God and our prince of the bredren of the sayd monasterie, in discharging of my conscience do freelie and whollie surrender, giff, and grant unto the Kyng's Highness all lands, rents, possessions, revenues both spiritual and temporal, of and in all goods and cattals and all other things, whatsoever they be, belonging to the sayd monasterie, in consideration of the evil disposition of the bredren of the sayd monasterie.' To the formal deed of surrender, signed by the abbot, prior, and twenty-

eight monks, was appended the seal of the Blessed Lady of Furness, and prefixed to each signature was the representation of a plant of nightshade, which for four centuries had been the device of the great Cistercian house of the valley of Bekansgill. The seals of the house were then broken, and the nightshade as a device exists no longer, although it still grows luxuriantly among the ruins, as if claiming its right to be the memorial of the place of which it was so long the badge and favourite device. The lands were attached to the Duchy of Lancaster. The abbot secured for himself the rectory of Dalton, and the 'bredren of disorder' small pensions for their lives.

These monasteries fell before the general dissolution of the religious houses, and the smaller convents did not long survive these magnificent establishments. As soon as it was known that inquisition was to be made into the state of the monasteries, many persons offered their services, well qualified in their own esteem to detect and expose the wickedness of the monks. In a letter addressed to Thomas Cromwell, one Richard Layton prayed that he and Dr. Lee might be appointed to visit the northern monasteries, on the ground that they had such 'familiar acqwayntance' with monasteries that 'no knaverie could be hyde from us.' These inquisitors proposed such interrogatories as make us wonder that any decent abbot should have condescended to answer them. The answers obtained suggest thoughts of which it will not be pleasant to say more than that they ought to silence all complaints about the dissolution of monasteries and nunneries too.

By the dissolution of the monasteries, many of the Lancashire gentry acquired on easy terms very considerable additions to their patrimonial lands. The Earl of Derby was not negligent of the golden opportunity. The lands of the priory of Burscough ceded to him were valuable additions to his vast estates. Edward, Earl of Derby, grandson of the traitor of Bosworth, found the advantage of the several changes which were made during his long life in the religion of his country. Of these earls it was said by the Jesuit Parsons that they had three religions to use as occasion served—the Catholic, the Protestant, and the Puritan. They were not so inconstant, for their motto was '*Sans changer.*' Earl Edward told George Marsh, the Bolton martyr, that the true religion was that religion which had most good luck. To this article of faith the Stanleys consistently adhered, and through all changes were faithful to the religion of good luck. When the king assumed the supremacy of the Church of England, the Earl of Derby seems to have thought it his duty to imitate so illustrious an example; for being king in the Isle of Man, he declared himself supreme head of the Manx Church, and maintained his supremacy with as much determination as his royal master. Although, on the accession of Mary, he resumed every article of the Catholic faith except one which required the restitution of the Church lands, on which matter he was always a sound and thorough Protestant, he became under Elizabeth a great persecutor of Lancashire Catholics. Not only the Stanleys, but the Ffaring-

tons,* the Asshetons, the Hollands, and most of the old protestant families of Lancashire, obtained great additions to their hereditary estates by the confiscation of the monastic property. It was a common saying in the county (I hope like many common sayings a falsehood) that with the exception of the Botelers of Bewsey, the only territorial proprietors who were sound Protestants were those who had to protect their right to the possession of Church property.

The confiscation of the monastic estates supplied the king with the means of endowing six new bishoprics, of which one was established in Chester, where the ancient Bishops of Lichfield occasionally resided, and, when resident there, were sometimes called Bishops of Chester. The diocese consisted of two archdeaconries: that of Chester, including the southern part of Lancashire, and that of Richmond, including the northern part of the county. It was at first intended that the diocese should be included in the province of Canterbury, but as the clergy complained of the inconvenience and expense to which they would be put by this arrangement, it was eventually determined to make the new bishop a suffragan of his grace of York. In return for the indulgence, the king, as his manner was, imposed upon the Lancashire rectors mortuary and other fees, which to a small extent augmented the poor endowment of the bishopric of Chester. Henceforth we shall have to regard the Bishop of Chester as the principal ecclesiastical authority, whose personal character and official acts have considerably affected the religious history of Lancashire.

The first appointment was neither advantageous to the cause of the Reformation nor creditable to any of the parties immediately concerned. John Bird, or Byrde, provincial of the order of the Carmelites, had in the matter of the divorce rendered some service to the king by his opposition to Standish, provincial of the Franciscans. Having become, on the dissolution of his order, a zealous defender of the king's supremacy, he obtained for his reward, first the bishopric of Bangor, and afterwards that of Chester. Things went very pleasantly with him until the accession of Queen Mary, when, probably enlightened by the teaching of Lord Derby that the true religion was that which had most good luck, he readily conformed to the restored ritual, and attempted by his conformity to preserve his official dignity and emoluments. But unfortunately for him he had contracted a marriage, and the Catholic Church had little good luck for married prelates or their wives. Deprived of his bishopric, he became a suppliant to Bishop Bonner, and stood at the gate of Fulham palace, as we are told by Anthony Wood, with his present of 'a dish of apples and a bottle of wine.' Being freed from the disqualifying incumbrance of his wife (how I cannot tell),

* Sir Henry Ffarington was the only person, so far as I know, who, on the suppression of the chantries, resumed his own property. In his early life he endowed a chantry in Leyland church 'for the soul of his father.' In his old age he repurchased his own endowment and deprived his father of the benefit of the masses which were to be said for the good of his soul.—*Duchy Records; Worden Evid.*, cited in the Introduction to the *Stanley Papers*.

he eventually became vicar of Dunmow in Essex, where, happily, we have no further concern with him.

I have referred to the advantage which the Catholic Church gained in Manchester from the exemplary conduct and honourable reputation of two of its most distinguished clergymen. They were both wardens of the collegiate church, and therefore occupied a dignified position in the diocese, inferior only to that of the Bishop of Chester.

In the year in which the Act of Supremacy was passed, GEORGE COLLYER was appointed Warden of Manchester. In every respect a remarkable contrast to Bishop Bird, he was an honest and conscientious Catholic, who cared nothing about the religion of good luck, and whose consistency was often made the reproach of the flexible bishop. In the many changes of circumstances about him, he was honourably distinguished, not only by his steady adherence to his own religious principles, but also by his tolerance and forbearance towards those who professed the protestant doctrine. In those times there were few men like him. There were intolerant Catholics and intolerant Protestants, and some who, like Lord Derby, were intolerant on both sides as they happened on either to be worshipping 'good luck;' as there were some who, having no religious convictions, were not earnest enough to be intolerant with either Catholics or Protestants. But Collyer seems to have held his own convictions very tenaciously while he respected the honest convictions of others. As strictly conscientious as either of those Catholic martyrs to conscience, More and Fisher, he was free from their narrow, hard, intolerant spirit. Respected in the town, honoured by the Catholic families of the neighbourhood, diligent in the discharge of his official duties, and living peaceably with his protestant parishioners, he continued, notwithstanding his steady opposition to the measures of the king, in the possession of his office until the dissolution of the college in the reign of Edward VI. When restored to his office by Queen Mary, he showed no resentment towards those who had deprived him of the greater part of his revenue. An old protestant writer says of him: 'This Sir George Collyer' ('Sir' is only his clerical title) 'was a resolved Papist, and could not be brought to comply with this present world, though he was held to be the most bountiful and generous warden that had ever been in this church.'*

Good Papist, *requiescat in pace!*

It may seem strange that a priest for twelve years should publicly deny the supremacy of the king and yet acknowledge the authority of the bishop appointed by him, should solemnise masses for his friends according to the old form, and preach in his turn in the pulpit of the reformed Church; but that age was one of strange anomalies in religion. A remarkable instance of the unsettled state of religion in Lancashire may be found in the curious provisoes of the deed of settlement of a chapel erected in Rossendale: 'In the thirty-second year of the reign of our most dread Sovereign Lord, Henry VIII., by the grace of God King of England and France, defender of the faith, Lord of Ireland, and on earth immediately

* Hibbert's *History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester*, vol. i. p. 76.

under God supreme head of the Church of England,' the proprietors of the forest covenanted to 'found, edify, and build the chapel in honour of God, our blessed Lady and all the Saints, for the easement of the king's liege subjects who shall be disposed to hear mass and other divine service.' Provision is made for the support of either 'a priest or a minister,' from whom the people might receive 'Christendom, Matrimony, Burial, and all Sacraments and Sacramentals, in such manner as shall be commanded by the King.'*

One of the first Acts of Parliament passed after the concession of the supremacy to the king, was to discourage and suppress the games and processions, which, being held on saints' days, vigils, and other Church festivals, retained with much of boisterous jollity something of a religious character and mystic sanctity. Their religiousness consisted of little else than of some shadowy recollections of sacred traditions, and of celebrations in the churchyard with some sort of sanction of the priests, who 'by this craft had their wealth.' Ale sold in church porches, and refreshments in booths set up in churchyards, furnished some considerable help to poor priests and clerks. In no county of England were the church ales and wakes celebrated with more of festivity and mirth than in merry Lancashire, or the priests more ready to turn them to advantage in support of the old religion of holiday and festival. As these festivals and sports were intimately associated with the early history of the Puritans, especially in Lancashire, it may be desirable to take some notice of them before we proceed.

The parliament was induced to suppress these religious, or quasi-religious, sports and festivals, on account of the influence which, through them, the friars and low priests exercised upon the common people in favour of the old religion. Whatever other objections the Puritans may have had to the sports and festivities of their time, the principal ground of their opposition was undoubtedly religious. They looked upon the festivals as the life and strength of popery in the rural parishes. The morris-dancings, the rush-bearings, the guisings, the May-bowers, the revellings of the wakes, were all connected with Church festivals and anniversaries, directed by priests, observed in consecrated places, and intermingled with ecclesiastical observances. On this account rather than from a dislike to amusements the Puritans cried, 'Touch not, taste not, handle not.' Many of the Lancashire Puritans, and even some of their preachers, as we shall hereafter see, were mighty hunters, keen anglers, fond of hawking, of shuffle-board, of bowls, of billiards, and, what may surprise their descendants, of baiting the badger, of throwing at the cock, and even occasionally of private theatricals. These men going home from a cocking or an otter hunt would be shocked at the sight of a rush-cart or a May-pole. The reason is obvious: the objection was not to the amusement but to the religious association. The notion that the old Lancashire Puritans, many of whose preachers had their times and places for playing at billiards and shuffle-board, were gloomy, austere, misanthropical people, is one of the popular errors of the day.

* Corry's *History of Lancashire*, part iv. p. 327.

The Scripture mysteries acted by the friars were not very common, nor very favourite, amusements among the natives of Lancashire, as there was not about them enough of boisterous mirth and joviality. At the time of the Reformation no pageantry was so popular as that belonging to the procession of Robin Hood, which the monks contrived to make a sort of religious ceremony. The priests frequently arranged the pageantry, and the churchwardens defrayed the expenses from the church-rates.* May-day and the Sunday after were the great days for the uproarious sport. On May-day the young men and women brought boughs, especially of white-thorn, and built bowers in the churchyard. Robin, lord of the May, came in his full dress, attended by the queen of the May, the friar, the green archers, and a great retinue of minstrels and morris-dancers. In Manchester, where the May games were especially celebrated, the gaudy procession—some riding on hobby-horses, some drawing them, some dancing—entered the church and acted strange performances in its venerable aisles. The wild merriment of the day in the church was followed by the wilder merriment of the evening in the drinking and dancing booths of the churchyard. The following description is given by a puritan writer, and if it bears any resemblance to the original, the pageant could not have been very appropriate to the house of God: 'Then march this heathen company to the church, their pipers piping, their drummers thundering, their stumper dancing, their bells jingling, their handkerchiefs fluttering about their heads, their hobby-horses and other monsters skirmishing, and in this sort they go to the church, though the minister be at prayer or preaching, dancing and swinging their handkerchiefs like devils incarnate, with such a confused noise that no man can hear his own voice. . . . After this, about the church they go again and again, and so forth into the churchyard, where they have their summer halls, their bowers, arbours, and banqueting houses set up, wherein they feast, banquet, and dance all that day, and peradventure all that night too.† There was long war in Lancashire between the Puritans and these 'devils incarnate.' While the Puritans looked upon the May-pole as the standard of their enemies, it is no wonder that, whenever they had the opportunity, they cut it down, and triumphed in its downfall. If they were mistaken in believing that by the May games and Sunday sports the peasantry were confirmed in the Catholic faith, they erred in common with the parliaments of Henry, of Edward, and of Elizabeth, which in the cause of the Reformation attempted their suppression; and, I may add, in common with the Papists themselves, who in the reign of James procured or promoted the publication of the 'Book of Sports.'

* In the accounts of the churchwardens of Kingston-upon-Thames are several curious items respecting the show of Robin Hood, as six shillings 'to Figge the Taborer,' two shillings for 'cloth for the fool's coat,' three pence for 'a pair of gloves for Robin Hood and Maid Maryan,' three shillings for 'Friar Tuck's coat,' eight shillings for 'Little John's coat,' two pence for 'sponging and brushing Robin Hood's coats.'—Hibbert, vol. i. p. 63.

† *History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester*, vol. i. pp. 64–5. See also Nichol's *Illustrations of Ancient Manners*, p. 143.

In the last years of Henry VIII. the state of religious parties in Lancashire may be briefly stated. The Earl of Derby, having a considerable share of the monastic property, was the most powerful supporter of the Reformation. Several of the large proprietors adhered to the same cause, induced by the same prudent regard to the welfare of their families. Many of the esquires and smaller gentry, who gained nothing by the change, probably felt their love of the Catholic doctrine strengthened by their envy or jealousy of their more fortunate neighbours. The disinherited monks in every part of the county excited the ill-feelings of the lower orders by their tales of injustice done to themselves, and injury to the poor, through the suppression of the monasteries. The secular clergy, generally needy, ignorant, and unable to preach, were content with lazily performing the new services or so much of them as was necessary to enable them to keep their situations. A few earnest reformers and a few conscientious Catholics did what they could under the restraint of the time to promote their respective creeds. In the manufacturing towns some of the traders were enlightened Protestants; in the rural parts the monks and morris-dancers had undisputed sway. So things continued until Henry the King slept with his fathers, and Edward, his son, reigned in his stead.

In the first year of the reign of Edward, the College of Manchester, together with the chantries and other small religious establishments spared by Henry, was dissolved, its lands alienated, and its warden and fellows deprived of their official dignity and revenues. The minority of the king offered a tempting opportunity to avaricious statesmen who were ever ready to obtain, on easy terms, new acquisitions of Church property. Under the protectorate of Somerset, zeal for the Reformation was often stimulated or rewarded by sales or leases on profitable conditions of the lands of the Catholic Church. Among these reformers, the Earl of Derby was so deserving or so fortunate as to obtain the college house and buildings situate in Manchester, together with a considerable part of the valuable lands of the collegiate clergy. A small portion of the rental he was to appropriate to the maintenance of preaching ministers whose duty was not only to solemnise the parochial services of Manchester, but to itinerate in the neighbourhood and preach in its several churches and chapels the doctrines of the Reformation.* The earl, having secured as large a share of the Church property as he could reasonably expect, ceased to interfere with the management of public

* I mention this fact because it seems to have been the origin of the king's or queen's preachers of Lancashire, whose duty it was to preach the doctrines of the Reformation in the ignorant and popish parts of the county. At the commencement of every reign until the revenues of the crown lands were subjected to the authority of parliament, 200*l.* a year were voted for the payment of four preachers, either as itinerant or as officiating in poor chapelries. After that time annual grants of parliament were substituted for the royal bounty. For some time after the Earls of Derby had ceased to make the payment, they had some share in the patronage of the preachers. Thus Nathaniel Heywood owed his stipend as a king's preacher to 'the singular goodness of my lady, the Countess of Derby.'

affairs, and retired to his native county, where, in the enjoyment of his vast estates, he quietly observed the progress of events during the minority of an invalid king, and by cautiously abstaining from taking any part in measures affecting religion, was prepared to hail a Catholic queen should Mary succeed her brother, or a Protestant ruler should Providence provide such a successor.

The first preachers who had the benefit of the earl's endowment were Dr. Pendleton and John Bradford. But before I notice their labours, I must refer to an earlier reformer than either, good Father Traves, the minister of Blackley Chapel. I wish I knew more about him. He must have been, if not the earliest, at least one of the earliest teachers of the reformed doctrine in Lancashire. Speed calls him 'a learned and pious gentleman, the patron and councillor' of Bradford. From several allusions to him in the letters of the martyr, we learn that he had gained the full confidence of Bradford, who acknowledged the great benefit which he had derived from the advice and guidance of his early friend. He speaks of Traves as 'my father,' and advises his mother to take the letters which he wrote from prison to Father Traves for safety, and to follow in all things the advice of that good minister. Traves gathered around him a company of reformers, and notwithstanding his fidelity to the reformed doctrine he seems to have retained his situation until after the martyrdom of Bradford. Whether he was unnoticed in the obscurity of the village, or was indulged for a time by the tolerance of Warden Collyer, or was protected by the Byron family, who then resided in Blackley, and were favourable to the Reformation, it was not until after the death of his friend that he was compelled to leave his chapelry and eventually his country. He joined the Protestant exiles on the continent, and as he was then advanced in years, and is never mentioned among those who returned, he probably died in exile. The influence, however, of his good teaching and example long remained in the neighbourhood of his chapelry, where a considerable number of the inhabitants steadily adhered to the principles of the Reformation. Some of them were imprisoned in Manchester, until, on the death of Queen Mary, they obtained their release, and did much to promote the spirit of evangelical reformation and of earnest Puritanism by which Blackley was long distinguished.*

* *History of Blackley Chapel*; Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis*. Mr. Hunter, in his *Life of Oliver Heywood*, observes, that in the neighbourhood of Bolton the families of the friends of the Protestant martyrs became in the next generation, and long continued, the principal supporters of Puritanism and Nonconformity. The same may with equal justice be said of Blackley; the friends of Traves and Bradford were the founders, and their descendants were the supporters, of the Puritanism and Nonconformity of that neighbourhood. In both instances the families may be traced by their names. The name of 'Traves,' disguised under the modern spelling of 'Travis,' and 'Travers,' frequently appears in the records of the chapelry. In the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. a succession of Puritan ministers, Oliver Carter, Thomas Paget, and William Rathband, occupied the pulpit of Blackley Chapel. Among their most steady supporters were several members of the Traves family. According to 'a platform of the chapel' made in 1603, George Travis occupied a bench, for which he paid six shillings a year. The bench behind his was held by Seth Travis and John Beswicke at the same rate.

Of the two preachers appointed in the reign of Edward to preach the doctrines of the Reformation in Lancashire, Pendleton, as Hollingworth tells us, 'was a Papist in the days of Henry VIII., who recanted and became a great preacher of the Reformation.' An able man, handsome, athletic, possessed of a fine clear voice, mighty in the management of ready speech and powerful utterance, his preaching was in popularity and influence second only to that of John Bradford. Of the power of his preaching some estimate may be formed from the fact that when in the reign of Mary he recanted his first recantation, the Catholics could find none so well qualified to preach the Lancashire people back again to popery as the man who had preached them so far away from it. His goodly person, persuasive address, and powerful eloquence are noticed in a letter of Saunders the martyr, who bitterly lamented and faithfully rebuked his temporising conduct.

A greater preacher than even the eloquent Dr. Pendleton—greater because more sincere, more earnest, more real in everything—was his colleague, JOHN BRADFORD. He was born in the parish of Manchester, according to some probabilities in Millgate, according to others in the chapelry of Blackley.* Having been educated in the grammar school recently founded by the good bishop, Hugh Oldham, with whom his family seems to have been related through the Beswickes, he obtained some office of trust under Sir John Harrington, the treasurer of the king's forces at Boulogne. Having gained the unlimited confidence of his employer, he undertook the management of the most important business of the treasurer's office, and eventually acted as paymaster of the English troops in France. While engaged

The Beswickes were related to John Bradford. As the principal family of the neighbourhood, the Asshetons, paid only eight shillings and sixpence, and the seats of the Traverses were next their great pew, we may infer that George Travis was a person of some consideration as well as a liberal contributor. After the passing of the Act of Uniformity, the Puritans of Blackley were accustomed to meet for worship in the house of Mrs. Travis, who hospitably entertained the ministers. In 1682 Oliver Heywood preached 'to a full company at widow Travis's house.' To the indenture by which the first Nonconformist meeting-house was conveyed to trustees, are attached the signatures of 'Thomas Travis' and 'George Travis,' two of the four original trustees. It is pleasant to trace in Blackley, as in Bolton, the names of the same families from the Reformation almost to our own time. This age of steam and railway is fast obliterating the remains of these pleasant associations. As late as 1846, Mr. Thomas Travis endeavoured by a suit in the Court of Queen's Bench to recover possession of two pews in Blackley church, instead of the two benches occupied by his ancestors in the old chapel. He failed, I believe, because the church was not erected on the site of the old chapel, and therefore the place of the old benches could not be identified.

* The opinion that Bradford was born in Millgate is founded upon a deed of the conveyance, in 1489, of a house, described as situate in Millgate, between the tenement of John Bradford and Richard Platt. This John Bradford was probably the father of the martyr. On the other hand, the mother of Bradford resided, when he was a prisoner, at Blackley, many of his kindred, as the Beswickes, lived there, and his earliest intimacies were with the folk of that village. The name was common in Lancashire in early times. In the reign of Edward III. a John Bradford was 'clerk of the peace' to the duchy, and John Bradford and William Bradford were clerks of the Crown with 'a wage' of two shillings a day.—MS. in the British Museum, cited by Baines, *History*, vol. i. p. 139.

in this service he became implicated in some dishonest transaction of his principal, the exact nature of which has not been discovered. That he was privy to some dishonourable practices, at that time not unusual in the commissariat department of the army, and that he was not the gainer by the fraudulent dealing, is all we know of the business which afterwards caused him so much grief, humiliation, and penitence.

Having returned to London, he entered as a law student in the Temple, and there became acquainted with Thomas Sampson, a nephew of Bishop Latimer, and afterwards, in the reign of Elizabeth, the celebrated Puritan preacher of Oxford. Sampson took his new friend to hear his uncle, who on that occasion preached on the sin of dishonesty and the duty of making restitution to the persons who had been defrauded. While Latimer was preaching as few men could preach on such a subject, Bradford trembled as his sin was brought to his remembrance. In great perplexity concerning his duty, for he was unable to make restitution for the robbery which had enriched others, not himself, he wrote to the friend of his youth, Father Traves, and, acting under his advice, he insisted upon the defaulter making restitution under the threat of instant exposure. By this means he accomplished the object, and wrote to Traves informing him that the affair was settled. 'Therefore, I pray you to give the gracious Lord thanks, and thanks, and thanks again, for me a most wicked, ingrate sinner.*'

Bradford, acting under the advice of Father Traves, left the study of the law, and entered at Katharine Hall, Cambridge. After proceeding Master of Arts, he obtained a fellowship in Pembroke College. For some time he was afraid to assume the responsibility of the ministerial office. When his fears were allayed by the encouragement of Father Traves, and of his intimate friend in the university, Martin Bucer, he was ordained by Bishop Ridley, who, highly estimating his power of popular address, secured him an income as a Prebendary of St. Paul's, that he might be able to travel in the country, and preach the doctrines of the Reformation.

Bradford, like his friends Latimer, Sampson, and Bucer, was a decided Puritan. He refused to be ordained in the habits which Ridley desired to impose upon the reformed clergy. That he declined to comply with the earnestly expressed wish of so kind a friend as Ridley attests the strength of his puritan principles. That Ridley dispensed with the habits at his ordination shows how highly the good bishop valued his services.

Soon after his ordination Bradford was sent into his native county to preach the great truths of the Reformation. The government of Edward, in sending itinerant preachers into many parts of the country, seems to have given especial attention to Lancashire. Besides Bradford and Pendleton, already mentioned, there were, as we learn

* In one of Latimer's sermons he refers to a man who, on hearing a sermon on the duty of restitution, brought him twenty pounds at Lent to be paid to the King's Council for restitution, three hundred and twenty pounds the next Lent, and one hundred and four score pounds ten shillings the next Lent. There can be little doubt the man was Bradford, who obtained the money from his superiors.

from 'the godly and comfortable letters' of George Marsh, Thomas Lever, the celebrated Puritan, James Pilkington, afterwards the puritan bishop of Durham, and his 'most loving and gentle master' Laurence Saunders, engaged in zealously preaching the reformed doctrine in Lancashire.

Bradford was endowed with the bold and daring energy of Father Latimer, and like that great preacher, plain, earnest, faithful, not inferior to him in hortatory address, and much superior in logical power, he was probably the most useful, and certainly the most popular, of the first preachers of the English Reformation. The quiet homilies of Father Traves were reproduced with tenfold effect in the impassioned orations of his loving disciple and friend. Wherever in Lancashire he was announced to preach, great multitudes crowded to hear his soul-stirring sermons. On Sundays, market days, and fairs, in all the southern parts of the county, he was to be heard denouncing the superstitions of popery, and the scandals of the priests. The great church of Manchester was his favourite sanctuary, and whenever he appeared in its pulpit the townspeople filled its spacious nave, aisles, and newly-erected galleries. But his labours were widely extended, as in his letters, written when he was 'ready to be offered,' he could appeal in words of affecting solemnity not only to the people of Manchester, but also to those of Ashton, Bolton, Bury, Chorley, Wigan, Prescott, Liverpool, Mottram, Stockport, Eccles, Prestwich, Middleton, Oldham, Ratcliffe, and West Chester, in all which towns he had fully preached the gospel of Christ, and by his preaching produced deep and permanent impressions upon many of their inhabitants.

The preaching of Bradford was not confined to the subjects which belong to the popish controversy. With terrible vehemence he often denounced the vices of the people as well as the impositions of the priests. Frequently he preached against the revelries of the Sunday wakes and festivals, which annoyed and obstructed him in his preaching circuits. The Act of Henry, where the magistrates enforced it, had protected the inside of the churches from the wild revelries of the old processions and dances; but Robin Hood on his own Sunday was to be seen in the churchyard with his merry archers dancing upon the gravestones. When excluded from the consecrated building, the morris-dancers played their part, and the publicans made their booths, close to the walls of the sanctuary. On a Sunday festival the spirit of Bradford was moved within him. He was preaching where he most loved to preach, in the great church of Manchester. The building was excessively crowded, as every word he uttered was distinctly heard through its broad aisles and spacious galleries. Amidst breathless silence within and boisterous shouts without, he, intensely earnest, strangely excited, denounced the profanity and irreligion of the people, and threatened (Hollingworth says as by a prophetic spirit) that 'mass should be again said in the church, and the play of Robin Hood be again acted there.' The prophecy was not forgotten. Many who heard the threatenings of the excited preacher lived to see the mass restored, and with it the desecration of the church by the rabble of Robin Hood.

CHAPTER III.

RESTORATION OF POPERY.

ON the accession of Mary the restoration of popery in Lancashire was accomplished with no great difficulty. In some parts of the county the majority of the inhabitants had never professed to have been converted to the Protestant faith. The monks and chantry priests, having little else to do, had obstructed in many places and by various means the progress of the Reformation. Many of the parochial clergy, Papists in their hearts, had said mass privately, and observed with much irregularity the ritual prescribed by Edward's Act of Uniformity. The landed proprietors, except those who possessed the monastic property, generally returned to the religious observances of their fathers. The Earl of Derby, who had retired from public life, suddenly came out an orthodox Catholic in every article except the restitution of Church property, about which he felt some scruples, probably as not being quite consistent with his religion of good luck. As, however, he was willing to do everything else which ought to be done by a good Catholic, even to persecute heretics, the priests were wise enough not to annoy or alarm him by any idle talk about restitution.*

Among the first acts of the new government were the restoration of the collegiate establishment in Manchester, the recall of Warden Collyer to the office of which he had been deprived, and the restitution to the college of all the lands which had been forfeited at the dissolution, except so much of them as had been granted to the Earl of Derby.

It was desirable to find some popular preacher who would go into Lancashire and preach the Catholic doctrine with the earnestness and power of the preachers of the Reformation. But Catholic preachers were not easily found. Of the reformers, Bradford and Saunders had been committed to prison, and were ready to die rather than renounce their faith. Lever and Pilkington went into exile. There remained Dr. Pendleton, who at first boasted of his determination to attest his faith by his martyrdom. He is reported to have said (Hollingworth is the reporter), reproaching his friend Saunders for some timid words, 'I will see the last drop of mine molten away, and the last gobbet of this flesh consumed to ashes, before I will forsake God and His truth.' A vain boast it was, like that of Peter, 'Though I should die with thee, yet will I not deny thee;' yet, says

* What he did with the supremacy of the Manx church does not appear; but his relative, the bishop of the island, a true Stanley, acknowledged the supremacy of the earl in the reign of Edward, the supremacy of the pope in the reign of Mary, and the supremacy of the queen on the accession of Elizabeth.

Fox, 'he changed his tippet, preached popery, was sent to Manchester and other towns to recant his recantation and preach up popery.' He found it not so easy to preach *up* popery as it had been to preach it *down*. To recant his recantation was humiliating work which he had no spirit to do effectually. His sincerity was suspected, his reputation injured, his eloquence failed him, his power over his hearers who had heard his able defence of the opposite doctrine was gone from him; he had become weak as other men. The Protestants despised him; the Catholics, who had no respect for him, said, 'He will turn again with the turn of the tide.'

While Bradford was lying in Newgate under sentence of death, he found means of writing several 'godly and comfortable letters' to his Lancashire friends. His writing materials were concealed, and his letters secretly conveyed by a faithful servant from the prison to trusty adherents, who, as they had opportunity, forwarded them to Manchester. After they had been read they were entrusted to the safe custody of Father Traves. But the influence of his letters could not be concealed. The Earl of Derby declared they were doing more harm to the Church than he had ever done by his preaching. It was, therefore, determined that he should die. The council first resolved that he should be committed to the Earl of Derby in order that he might be burnt in Manchester. This he expected, as a few days before his death he wrote to his friends that he was 'ready to resign his life in the town where he had received it.' Why the authorities suddenly changed their purpose and ordered him to be burnt in Smithfield is not known; but may we not charitably suppose that the Earl of Derby, who had no love for burning either Protestants or Catholics when he gained nothing by it, was unwilling to undertake the work of burning the great preacher whom he had paid for preaching the doctrines of the Reformation? * John Bradford suffered martyrdom in a manner worthy of himself and his cause. He kissed one of the faggots and called aloud, 'England, England, repent of thy sins! Beware of idolatry! Beware of Antichrist!' Among the burning reeds he was heard to say, 'Strait is the gate and narrow is the way which leadeth to life.' Roger Beswicke, his brother-in-law, came from Manchester to attend him at his execution, but was prevented from soothing his last agonies by the brutal violence of one of the officials. Lancashire reveres the memory of many of her sons, but none of them deserves her reverence more than the greatest of the preachers of the English Reformation.

To GEORGE MARSH, the other protestant martyr of Lancashire, has been attributed the strong protestant feeling of the south-eastern part of the county, and especially of the neighbourhood of Bolton. The marvellous traditions concerning him which prevailed among the common people of Bolton show the deep and solemn impressions which were produced upon the minds of many by his powerful min-

* It is said that Lord Derby interceded with the queen to spare the life of Bradford, and that one of his servants proposed to assist Bradford to leave the kingdom on conditions which the martyr declined.

istry and glorious martyrdom. An old stone delf on the steep ascent of Rivington Pike, having some rude resemblance of seats cut in the rock, was long venerated by the Puritans of Bolton, Dean, and Chorley as the sanctuary where their fathers were accustomed to meet early on Sunday mornings that they might hear the 'godly and comfortable letters' which Marsh wrote in his prison, read aloud by some patriarchal Bradshaw, or Assheton, or Lever, or other elder of his beloved flock. After his death the reading of his letters was continued, the affecting accounts of his martyrdom were repeated, his last injunctions were enforced, the calamities of his persecutors were carefully noted, and the untimely deaths of some of them regarded as proofs of the avenging hand of the Supreme Judge.* A mark something like the rude impression of a man's foot on one of the stone steps that lead to the green room in Smethells Hall, where Marsh was examined by Justice Barton and his 'mass-priest,' was long regarded as the indelible impression of the stamp of Marsh on asserting his innocence. Of this story I can only say, with the old biographer of Marsh, 'I would as soon give credit to it as to the popish sign of the indelible stain of the blood of Thomas à Becket in Canterbury Cathedral.' The stone, we are told, was once removed, when strange noises were heard every night until it was restored 'with fear and reverence.'

As late as the year 1732, one John Butterworth, after sleeping in the green chamber, was found in the morning 'exhibiting signs of a person disordered in his mind.' He asserted that he had seen 'the apparition of a minister in a white robe, with a band affixed to his neck and a book in his hand.' This 'minister in a white robe' could not have been George Marsh, unless in the spiritual world he had lost his puritanical dislike of the surplice.

But from tradition, which tells us what other people said of George Marsh, let us turn to his letters and learn what he said of himself. He was born in the parish of Dean, near Bolton, a place hallowed by many puritan associations.† His parents were respectable farmers, and for several years he gained his livelihood by following their occupation. In his twenty-fifth year, he 'took to wife an honest maid of the country.' On her death he entrusted his children to the care of his mother, and prosecuted his studies in the University of Cambridge, with the intention of becoming a Protestant minister. On obtaining orders, he became curate to the Rev. Laurence Saunders, of All-

* In this respect the friends of Marsh were no worse than his enemies, who interpreted the martyrdoms of the reformers as visitations of Divine judgment. When Marsh was examined by the Earl of Derby, 'My lord rehearsed the ill-luck of the Dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, with others, because they favoured not the true religion, and the good hap of the Queen's Highness, because she favoured the true religion, thereby gathering the one to be good and of God, and the other to be wicked and of the devil.'—*Life of Marsh* (in a volume of miscellanies, printed at Bolton, without a date), p. 236.

† As late as 1521, Dean was a chapelry in the parish of Eccles, as appears from the coucher book of Whalley Abbey. About the time of the dissolution of the abbey, it was made a separate parish, the advowson of which was transferred to the Crown.—*Notitia Cestriensis*, vol. ii. pt. 1.

hallows, Bread Street, London. He is often said to have been curate of Dean, but I can find no evidence of his having filled that office, although he frequently and with great acceptance preached in his native village. On his examination before the Earl of Derby he said that he had been a curate in London, that he came into the country to visit his mother and children, and that he intended to leave England and stay in Denmark or Germany. Accused of preaching false doctrine in the church of Dean, he surrendered himself to Justice Barton, at Smethells Hall, by whom he was sent for further examination to the Earl of Derby at Lathom.

The extreme tenderness of his conscience appeared in his distress on account of an answer which he had given to a question respecting his belief in the Sacrament. This answer was, 'Whosoever, according to Christ's institution, receives the Holy Sacrament, doth eat and drink Christ's body and blood with all the benefits of His death and resurrection to his eternal salvation, for Christ is ever present in His Sacrament.' On being questioned respecting the change of the substance of the bread and wine, he replied that he knew no further than he had showed already. Being commanded to write his answer, he wrote to the same effect, and on being ordered to write more fully, he wrote, 'Further I know not.' On his second examination the Vicar of Prescott, who had conversed with him in the interval, reported that 'his answer was sufficient for a beginner, who did not profess a perfect knowledge of the matter.' The earl was pleased, and said, 'He doubted not, by the help of the vicar, that Marsh would become more conformable.' Better treatment was given him; a bed and fire were provided for him; and he was allowed to associate with the servants in their hall.

On occasion of this favourable change in the manner of his judges, the good man was sorely grieved, and bitterly reproached himself for not having more plainly and fully confessed his faith in the doctrine of the Eucharist. Without the smallest intention to deceive, he had obtained indulgence by the appearance of conformity. 'I cried more earnestly unto God to strengthen me by His Holy Spirit with boldness to confess Him.' From that hour he never swerved. In subsequent conferences with the Vicar of Prescott he declared that 'the whole mass offended' him. Whenever any attempt was made to induce him to recant or modify his answers, he felt his safety in a plain and courageous assertion of his unhesitating belief in the reformed doctrine. Entreaties and threatenings were addressed to him in vain, for he rejoiced in being counted worthy to suffer for the cause of his Lord.

From Lathom he was removed to Lancaster Castle, where he was advised and entreated to recant, but he always repeated, as he says, 'Christ's sharp answer to Peter, Go behind me, Satan.' Priests were sent to reason with him, but Lancashire priests of that time were no great reasoners. Of them he says, 'Whose mouth it was easy to stop, for the priests are not the greatest scholars. At their departing they either agreed with me, or had nothing to say against me.*

* *Life, &c.*, p. 239.

In another object they utterly failed. As it was known that the Reformation was secretly promoted by some men of influence and property in Bolton, many attempts were made to induce him to betray them. 'They sent for me the fourth time into their chamber, where amongst other things they laid to my charge that I knew of many good gentlemen of my opinion, and they strictly charged me upon my allegiance to the Queen's Grace to show who they were; but I denied that I had ever spoken of any such thing.'

He remained in Lancaster Castle from Easter to the autumn of 1554. In one of his letters is a description to which those who know the picturesque building can easily give reality and life. 'I and my fellow-prisoner, Warburton, every day kneeling on our knees, read morning and evening prayer with the English Litany, twice, before noon and after, with other prayers, and also read every day certain chapters in the Bible, commonly towards night, with so high and loud a voice that the people without might hear us read, and sit under our windows.' We may imagine during the twilight of the long summer evenings, in the cool breezes of Morecambe Bay, the townspeople, and among them the mayor, of whom I shall have hereafter to speak, sitting upon the ramparts of the old castle and listening to the prayers and praises of the prisoners. Some of these good people contributed to supply the wants of the sufferers who, by their devotions, made the castle hill a 'place where prayer was wont to be made'—an evening Bethel to many who had no love for the restored services of the Church.

Of the letters written by Marsh from his prison much has been said, as they contain allusions to the godly ancestors of many of the Puritan families of Bolton—the Cromptons, the Levers, the Langleys, the Bradshaws, the Asshetons, and others—and were long preserved as very precious treasures in the Puritan houses of the neighbourhood. On examining them we do not wonder that, read to the people assembled in the hollow of Rivington Pike, copied by school-boys, and handed about in the farm houses and cottages of the moors, they preserved and cherished the principles of the Reformation in the country round Bolton, and did much to give it the character of the Geneva of Lancashire. As an illustration, one extract from them may be sufficient: 'Seeing, brethren, it hath pleased God to set me and that most worthy minister of Christ, John Bradford, in the fore-front of the battle, where for the time is the most danger, I beseech you all in the bowels of Christ to help us and all others, our fellow-soldiers, standing in like perilous places, with your prayers to God for us, that we may quit ourselves like men in the Lord, and give some example of boldness and constancy mingled with patience, in the fear of God, that ye and others, our brethren, through our example may be so encouraged and strengthened to follow us, that ye also may leave example to your weak brethren to follow you. Salute from me in Christ all who love us in the faith, and at your discretion make them partakers of these letters, and pray ye all for me and others in bonds of the Gospel, that the same God who by His grace hath called us from wicked Papistry unto the true Christianity, and now proveth

our patience by persecution, will of His mercy and favour in the end gloriously deliver us, either by death or by life. Amen.

'At Lancaster, the 30th of August, 1554, by me, an unprofitable servant of Christ,

'GEORGE MARSH.'

While Marsh was in Lancaster Castle, George Cotes, the new Bishop of Chester, visited the town, in order to complete the arrangements for the restoration of the Catholic services in the northern part of his diocese. On hearing of the leniency with which the prisoner was treated, he severely rebuked the governor, and forbade him to allow any intercourse with the people who were accustomed to assemble in the evening under the walls of the castle. Soon afterwards Marsh was removed to Chester, where the bishop endeavoured by private expostulation, and by the arguments of the more learned of his clergy, to induce him to submit to the authority of the Catholic Church. Disappointed in his endeavour, the bishop compelled his prisoner to submit to a public examination in the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral. Being sworn, Marsh was charged with having preached 'most blasphemously and heretically within the parish of Dean, Eccles, Bolton, Bury, and other parishes within the diocese, directly against the pope's authority, the Catholic Church, the blessed mass, the sacrament of the altar, and many other articles.' Marsh replied in a few words, which must have deeply impressed the hearts of his judges: 'I have maintained the same articles as all of you now present did acknowledge in the time of Edward the Sixth.' The confessor was remanded, and after an interval of three weeks was again brought before the bishop and his assessors. The chancellor began with 'an oration declaring unto the people present the bishop's burning charity, who even like as a good shepherd doth see to his flock that none of his sheep have the scab or other disorder for infecting other clean sheep: . . . so his lordship had sent for George Marsh as a scabbed sheep, and had weeded him out for corrupting others, and done what he could in showing his charitable disposition towards the said Marsh, to reduce him from his naughty heresies; but all that he could do was in vain.' The chancellor closed his pretentious oration by warning the prisoner that 'after sentence was given, it would be too late to obtain his life, though he should ever so gladly desire it.'

After long examination, in which the chancellor often interposed with advice, warnings, and threatenings, 'the bishop put his spectacles upon his nose and read about four or six lines of the sentence, when the chancellor with a glowering and smiling countenance called to the bishop and said, "Yet, good my lord, once again stay, for if that next word be spoken, all is past, and no relenting will then serve." The bishop, pulling off his spectacles, said, "I would stay if it could be." Marsh solemnly refused to deny his Lord. The bishop read the sentence through, and said, "Now, I will no more pray for thee than I will for a dog." The prisoner was then by 'the holy Church,' which never puts a *dog* man to death, delivered to the

secular authorities, and by them confined to a frightful dungeon in one of the towers of the north gate. His friends, who could communicate with him only through a hole in the top of the wall, sometimes in the night called to him to know how he was, and to throw him some few comforts. He always replied that he was well, and entreated their prayers, that he 'might have grace not to faint, but patiently to bear his cross.'*

On the morning of April 24, 1555, the sheriffs of the city, with their officials, and 'a great company of poor simple barbers with rusty bills and pole-axes,' conducted Marsh from his miserable dungeon to the place of execution near Spittal Broughton. It was a custom in Chester for criminals, as they went to execution, to receive in a little bag the contributions of the charitable, in order to obtain the means of paying a priest to say mass for their souls. Some of the spectators offered money to Marsh, but he declined to receive it, and advised his friends to give it for the relief of the poor prisoners. Halting in sight of the pile of faggots, the chamberlain showed Marsh a sealed packet, and assured him that it was a pardon, to be opened if he would abjure the heresies for which he was condemned to death. Marsh having declined the proposal was chained to a stake in the midst of the faggots. A tar-barrel was fixed over his head, but as the fire was made unskilfully his suffering was prolonged and very grievous. The patience, meekness, and tranquillity of the martyr became the subject of general conversation, and confirmed the faith of many in the religion for which so holy a man suffered so terrible a death. Around Bolton many good men made great lamentation for him, and cherished his memory as they read his last letters by the glimmering of a lamp in their nightly meetings. The bishop in his cathedral preached a funeral sermon for him, or rather against him, telling the people he had lived a heretic, died a heretic, and was burning in hell as a heretic. The preacher soon followed the martyr to another world, leaving a memory dark with frightful scandals.†

The bishop's successor was Cuthbert Scott, 'a ferocious Papist.' His ferocity, however, was gratified in a less injurious, if not a less offensive, manner than that of his predecessor. Long occupied in Cambridge in removing the bodies of heretics from the consecrated burial-grounds and burning them in profane places, he neglected for a considerable time the affairs of his diocese.‡ Having accomplished this useful service for the Catholic Church, he visited Lancashire, and committed several men and women charged with heresy to close custody in a room of Manchester College. On the death of the queen,

* We have an account of this horrible dungeon in the 'Life of Mr. Neild,' inserted in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1817, pt. i. p. 305. In 1776 Mr. Neild visited the prison. He says, 'As I went down steps to the dungeon, I almost now feel the horror with which I was struck . . . as dark as pitch . . . not a breath of air, but what was admitted through a small hole . . . beyond imagination horrid and dreadful.' See also the *Memoirs of Dr. Lettsome* and the *Lancashire and Cheshire Collector*, vol. ii. p. 83.

† *Life of George Marsh*, printed at Bolton.

‡ I am sorry to find that the most busy assistant of the bishop in burning the bones of Martin Bucer and others was a Lancashire man, one John Christopherson.

which soon followed, the authorities of Manchester released them without waiting for any orders from the bishop.

As I have noticed two wicked Catholic bishops of Chester, I cannot in fairness to all parties pass unnoticed two good Catholic wardens of Manchester, who, contemporaneously with the bishops, held their dignified office during the reign of Mary. I have already referred to George Collyer, who was deprived of his office on the dissolution of the college by the ministers of King Edward, and meekly submitted until, with the cordial respect of all parties, he was restored on the re-establishment of the college by Queen Mary. He died in 1557, leaving an unstained reputation for piety, tolerance, and charity, which even Protestant writers have gratefully acknowledged.

LAWRENCE VAUX succeeded to his office, and apparently to his virtues. Of this warden, Hollingworth, who has seldom a good word for a Papist, says, 'He was laborious, learned, and in his way devout and conscientious.' The memory of these two men contributed in no small degree to preserve in the south-eastern part of Lancashire an affectionate regard for the Catholic Church in the time of her persecution, as probably it was owing to their tolerance that the soil of Lancashire was never in the reign of Mary stained with the martyr's blood, and that the Protestants of Manchester suffered so little, while the 'ferocious' bishops of the diocese were burning the dead in Cambridge or the living in Chester. Hollingworth, referring to that time, says, 'God did wonderfully hide His people in Lancashire.'

Of the state of religion in Lancashire during the reign of Mary it is not easy, when perplexed by the diversities and even contrasts apparent in different parts of the county, to form a complete or satisfactory estimate. Two particulars, however, are very obvious. The majority of the people gladly contributed to the restoration of the old religion, and the pious Protestants secretly maintained their religious meetings throughout the time of persecution.

The common people gladly welcomed their old acquaintances the preaching or talking friars. Still more welcome to them were the old Sunday festivals and sports. Uproarious were the rejoicings when, as John Bradford prophesied, Robin Hood and his riotous retinue returned to act their part in the procession of May Sunday through the aisles of the great church of Manchester. Next to the merry sports, the people looked most pleasantly upon the restoration of the rood lofts, the images, the pictures, the crucifixes; the blessed emblems of the Catholics, the 'idolatrous gear' of the Protestants. In the rural parishes especially, the rustics were delighted with seeing again the old saints and angels come back to bless their christenings and marriages. As I write, the sternness of my Puritan nature begins to relent, and I feel as if I could congratulate the Lancashire husbandmen on the restoration of sacred images hallowed by the earliest and fondest recollections of their childhood.

I have already observed that Bishop Cotes was for a time in Lancaster, making arrangements for the restoration of the popish ritual

and ornaments in the churches of the northern part of the county. Among the most ready to comply with the orders of the queen and the bishop were the parishioners of Cockersand, a quiet village pleasantly situate on Morecambe Bay. Of these villagers Fox tells an amusing story, which may illustrate the manners of North Lancashire in the reign of Mary. As their old rood was destroyed, they bargained with the village carpenter to make and set up a new image like to their old one. As he was not a perfect artist, he could promise only to do his best for their satisfaction. On the completion of his work, the parishioners having never before seen such a figure in a church, refused to pay the carpenter, on which account he summoned the churchwardens before the mayor of Lancaster—probably the mayor who had on summer evenings listened to the prayers of George Marsh on the castle hill. The churchwardens pleaded that the carpenter had covenanted to make a rood like the old one, who was ‘a well-favoured man,’ but the new one was ‘the worst-favoured man they had ever set eyes upon, gaping and grinning in such sort that their children were afraid to look him in the face or go near him.’ His worship decided that ‘the man had done his work as well as he could, that they should have sought a more skilful workman, that they must pay the money as they had promised, that if they did not like their god they could put a pair of horns upon him and he might make a capital devil.’ The carpenter was pleased, the churchwardens laughed, but, Fox adds, ‘Not so the Babylonish priests.’

Of the secret assemblies of the pious Protestants we have not many particulars, but the few we have are of intense interest. After the death of Marsh, his friends frequently assembled by stealth in their old resort to read the Scriptures and the letters of the martyr. Other secret meetings were held in the woods and heaths around Manchester. Occasionally preachers of the reformed doctrine visited these nocturnal meetings, and spent some hours in preaching and solemnising the Lord’s Supper. Nor were such meetings confined to the neighbourhood of Manchester and Bolton. In several villages the Protestants knew and visited one another, arranged secret meetings for reading and prayer, and occasionally found means of obtaining the presence and assistance of Evangelical ministers.

Of these secret meetings there is an interesting account in a sort of biography of ‘Jeffrey Hurst of Shakerley, who was preserved by God’s providence from burning in Queen Mary’s time,’ appended to the ‘Life of George Marsh.’* Jeffrey Hurst was a man of humble life, who resided in the village of Shakerley, in the parish of Leigh. By the preaching and letters of Marsh, whose sister he had married, he was brought to a firm belief in the doctrines of the Reformation. On the restoration of the popish ritual, he ceased to attend his parish church, and spent his sabbaths in reading and devotional exercises. Although he conducted himself quietly, and refrained from all controversy and interference with the changes which were introduced in the church, he was noticed as a heretic, and reported as such to Justice

* Printed at Bolton, without a date.

Leland, a determined persecutor of heretics. Believing his life to be in danger, he left the neighbourhood and lodged in distant villages where he was unknown. Finding out the residences of Protestant ministers, he engaged them to go with him on certain nights to his house at Shakerley, where they usually found about twenty or twenty-four persons present to hear a sermon and unite in prayer. Occasionally they had a communion, 'very refreshing and comforting to their troubled souls.' The names of four ministers are preserved: Reneses, Best, Brodbank, and Russell. Hurst and the minister always left the village before daylight. Their little meetings were not discovered until the last year of Mary's reign. In that year Justice Leland, having some notice or suspicion that all was not right, went with 'his mass-priest, Sir Ralph Parkinson,' to the cottage of Hurst in search of heretical books. Having found Tyndale's Testament, which Sir Ralph pronounced to be 'plain heresy and none worse,' and some Latin books which neither the justice nor the mass-priest could read, the justice, by a stretch of authority not uncommon with the justices of those times, bound the mother and brother of Hurst, in the penalty of £100, to produce him within fourteen days. Hurst, fearing to bring his mother into trouble, appeared at the appointed day, and then on the requirement of the justice found sureties to appear at Lancaster within three weeks. Before that time the news of the queen's death arrived in Lancashire, and Hurst's sureties were discharged of their bond.

The short reign of Mary has left indelible impressions upon the memory and heart of the English nation. Since her days the popish controversy has been studied in the glare, it may be the delusive light, of the Smithfield fires. The English judgment may be called prejudice, and the English feeling bigotry, but for the prejudice and bigotry the Catholics who suffer from them may blame their fathers and their fathers' bishops. Of the tales of the Protestant martyrology, however exaggerated some of them may be, the principal facts are too well attested to be refuted by any ingenious reasoning of zealous partisans. Bonner and Gardiner, Cotes and Scott, have made pocrisy the dread and abhorrence of our free, great, and generous nation. Few Englishmen read the elaborate apologies of the Reformation written by Cranmer, Jewell, and Barrow, but all abhor the persecuting bishops who in support of a foreign supremacy burnt their countrymen. The unreasoning abhorrence of Romish ritual and of its English counterfeit, by which great numbers of our people, and of our best people too, are distinguished, may be attributed to the old tales and stories of the dreadful days of 'bloody Mary.' To the English mind history speaks louder than logic. Jewell may be answered, but Fox cannot be silenced. How far Mary herself ought to be blamed or excused for the cruelties which dishonoured her unfortunate reign, may admit of considerable diversity of opinion among fair and candid historians. Nursed in intense hatred of the reformed doctrine, irritated with a torturing sense of the grievous wrongs which her mother had suffered from the leaders of the Reformation, unable to appreciate,

or even understand, the state policy which in the opinion of many wise men justified, or at least excused, her father's arbitrary proceedings, she naturally, insensibly, perhaps unavoidably, became the devoted and uncompromising adherent of the papal cause. While subsequent events confirmed her early prejudices, no attempts were made to conciliate or soothe her troubled spirit. Narrow, gloomy, severe, vindictive, and religious, she felt, while gratifying her resentments, the satisfaction of doing God service, and while serving God the pleasure of avenging her own injuries. Having passed her younger years in an unfavourable relation to the people whom she was destined to rule, she was unprepared to manage by any moderate policy the parties from whom she had suffered so much humiliation and wrong. Naturally morose, and in her unfortunate circumstances necessarily suspicious, she must have been rendered by ill health less able to control or conceal her vindictive feelings. Her anomalous relation to her father, her confidence betrayed until she could confide in no man nor woman either, her childless marriage, the chilling indifference of her husband, the dishonour of her arms, the loss of the last of England's territory on the continent, may reasonably suggest some extenuation of the evil passions and propensities which they stimulated and strengthened. The Spanish haughtiness of her mother became in her, under bad training and ill-treatment, a cold, sullen, repulsive, obstinate moroseness, amounting almost to misanthropy. Of her father's bad qualities she inherited a large proportion; of his good qualities she had only one, his patriotism, which made her feel so keenly the losses and dishonour of her country. As evil in the end has always worked out good, so her reign has done much for England in producing its indestructible aversion to papal supremacy; but for the time it was dishonourable in every aspect, despicable to foreigners, and disastrous to her subjects. We pity her misfortunes, but we hail the return to the throne of her father's great qualities without his worst faults in the person of her sister, whose long and glorious reign now opens before us. Not insensible of Elizabeth's severity to the Puritans, we yet rejoice in her reign with something like the indomitable loyalty of the Puritan lawyer, who was sentenced to have his right hand cut off for writing against her contemplated marriage with the Duke of Anjou, and who, as soon as his hand was severed from the arm, just as he was fainting, took off his hat with his left hand and cried, 'God save the Queen.' The Puritans loved her even while she oppressed them. Their traditional love appeared in their descendants, and was often expressed by them with great fervour, as in the words of their parliamentary leader, Pym: 'Blasted may that tongue be that in the smallest degree shall derogate from the glory of those halcyon days which our fathers enjoyed during the government of that ever-blessed, never-to-be-forgotten, royal Elizabeth.'*

The half-sisters were in soul, as in person, very unlike. Mary, the child of her mother, derived her disposition and character from Catharine of Arragon; Elizabeth, the daughter of her father, from

* Speech on the arrest of Sir Robert Berkeley.

Harry Tudor. Mary, half Spanish by birth, was more than half so in spirit; and where she differed from a Spaniard she seems to have degenerated, as if the pride of Arragon had suffered dishonour by its connection with English narrowness and self-esteem. Elizabeth was as thoroughly English as the blood of a British Tudor, an Anjou Plantagenet, and a Norman Boleyn could make her, a fit representative of the mingled race of English people. Both loved England; Mary as having nothing else to love, for indeed she had little reason to love any country or any person other than the pope; Elizabeth as having every reason to love it with a generosity, devotedness, and pride appropriate to the greatest and best country in the world. I have said Mary had one of her father's good qualities, his patriotism; I fear Elizabeth had one of his worst, his vindictiveness, though she had not the opportunity, as he had, for its unlimited indulgence. Elizabeth, notwithstanding some doubtful expressions of recent Nonconformist writers, was as true a Protestant as her sister was a Papist. She had good reason to fear popery, and she certainly hated it. It is true that she loved ceremony; not because it was popish, but because it gratified her taste for magnificence and show. It is also true that at the commencement of her reign she endeavoured to conciliate the Catholics by some few concessions which might render the public services of the Church more agreeable to them; but she did so to strengthen, not to injure, the Protestant establishment. In hesitating to assume her father's title of Supreme Head of the Church, her hesitation was rather the result of Puritan advice than of Catholic feeling.* The Papists of her reign had no faith in her Catholic professions. The numerous conspiracies of the English Catholics showed that they expected no advantage from her government. The fulminations of the pope, the preparations of the Spanish Armada, proclaimed what foreign Catholics thought of her faith. From her own hand no testimony could have been more expressive of her true, loving, devoted adherence to the reformed doctrine, than her beautiful letter to her beloved friend Henry IV., on the sad occasion of his apostasy from the Protestant faith of his family; or from her own lips than the words spoken to the French ambassador, when, with perhaps too much of theatrical effect, after the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, she received him dressed in deep mourning and surrounded with funereal emblems. As to her severity to the Puritans, who honoured and loved her, it is fair to remember that she could scold bishops as well as punish Puritans, and rebuke deans for introducing unauthorised ceremonial as well as silence lecturers for refusing what was authorised. With her accession to the throne commenced the great struggle of the Puritans for the further reformation of the English Church, which I shall endeavour to describe, in so far as it concerned the religious life of the Lancashire people, in the succeeding chapters.

* At the time her scruple was attributed to the suggestion of Thomas Lever, the Lancashire Puritan.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PROTESTANT ESTABLISHMENT.

ELIZABETH, on her accession to the throne, proceeded very cautiously, yet resolutely, to restore the Reformation in its great principles, if not in all its details, to the place in which her brother's ministers had left it. If she moved slowly, her firm and dignified step preserved her from the necessity, and even the appearance, of a single retrogressive movement. What she did was done, and in doing it she seemed to say, it can never be undone. To the grief of many Protestants, the mass was said at her coronation, but in a manner which promised that never after in England would the mass be a precursor of a royal ceremonial. When she kissed the pyx she seemed to give it her parting kiss; as intimating the approach of a great change, she commanded the Gospel of the day to be read in English as well as in Latin.* By her proclamation she ordered that the daily lessons, the ten commandments, the Litany, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed should be read in the churches, until parliament should determine the religious services of the people. By her own strong hand she expelled popery from the churches, and convened parliament to inaugurate protestantism, as it might prefer to copy more or less of the model of Augsburg or of Geneva.

On the meeting of parliament, all the powers and prerogatives of the supremacy of the Church, as well in spirituals as in temporals, were conferred upon Elizabeth. The Act conferring them was passed in direct opposition to the vote and protest of the Church, in so far as the Church was represented by its bishops, for every bishop in the House of Lords voted against it. On its passing, fourteen bishops, all who at that time occupied seats in parliament, entered their protest against it, while only one temporal lord adhered to them. Soon afterwards an Act of Uniformity was passed in opposition to the protest of the bishops, all of whom excepting two were deprived of their dignities for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. One of the two was a Stanley, who, true to his family motto, *Sans changer*, was willing to sign or swear anything rather than change his place as Bishop of Man and the Isles.

This Act of Uniformity was passed in opposition to the proposal of convocation, as well as to the protest of the prelates in parliament. In the second Reformation the Church was as helpless as in the first, although, instead of bending under the strong hand of the monarch, it had to submit to the determinate will of the parliament. The convocation of Canterbury proposed to submit to parliament certain articles of religion which were in harmony with the creed of the

* Nichol's *Prog. of Eliz.*, vol. 1. p. 62.

Catholic Church, but happily parliament was wiser and stronger than convocation, and in its manner of reforming the Church extinguished the power of the clergy. A second time the Church of England was reformed and fashioned in opposition to the spiritual authority by the arbitrary will of the temporal power. Indeed, with regard to the supremacy, the Church was (if that were possible) in a more abject condition under Elizabeth than it had been under Henry. By good management and evil threatening, Henry extorted from convocation the acknowledgment of his supremacy; Elizabeth never cared to obtain the acknowledgment of the Church in any other form than that of unreserved practical submission.*

It is true that after the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity had become the law of the land, and fifty-three 'injunctions' had been enforced on the sole authority of the queen, convocation was convened to consult and advise upon 'matters as yet undetermined' in reference to the discipline and services of the Church. But this convocation was specially convened by Elizabeth, and acted under her authority. Its decisions had no validity until they were accepted and approved by the queen and her parliament. Indeed, a commission, consisting chiefly of laymen, appointed by the queen, and authorised to visit all the churches of the realm, to enforce the provisions of the Act of Uniformity, to suspend disorderly and disobedient clergymen, and, in short, to do what was expedient in restoring the reformed services of the Church, had far more authority and power in spiritual things than the bishops and clergy in both their convocations.

In prospect of the great conflict of parties which was threatening, and which might rend the reformed Church in pieces, the selection of the new bishops, and especially of the Archbishop of Canterbury, required the greatest impartiality, wisdom, and care. The metropolitan of all England who should be able to guide the Church in that emergency must be wise, moderate, conciliatory, firm, learned, laborious, respected by all parties, belonging to neither extreme, skilful in the management of men, able to speak easily and to write well, a true Protestant who would honestly promote the Reformation, and yet not an extreme one, for the country was not prepared for a puritanic Church. Upon the whole (whatever some of my non-conforming friends may object) the selection of Matthew Parker for his very responsible office justified the reputation of Secretary Cecil and Sir Nicholas Bacon for great wisdom in conducting the difficult work of peaceably restoring the reformed Church. They had before them a choice of difficulties, arising chiefly from the threatening collision of parties. No man seemed more free than Parker from the suspicions or partialities of either extreme. To the queen his selection must have been agreeable, as he had been in adversity as well as in prosperity the faithful friend and favourite chaplain of her mother. A true Protestant in maintaining that the queen, not the pope, was the head of the Church, he did good service

* The only distinction between the two Acts of Supremacy is, that by the first Henry is declared 'Supreme Head' of the Church, by the second Elizabeth is declared 'Supreme Governess'; truly a distinction without a difference.

by firmly asserting, in opposition to the fancy of the haughty queen, the right of the clergy to marry. Blessed with a good wife, he was not ashamed of her even in the presence of her Majesty; and by the respect and deference which he invariably paid to her he did much, in an age when the marriage of the clergy was scarcely respectable, to raise the social position of the wives of clergymen.

Of those who were, in different degrees, more favourable to the Puritans than Parker, the names of Jewell, Grindal, Nowell, Sandys, Lever, and Pilkington might be considered as, by their abilities, education, influence, and position, the most eligible for the highest office of the Church, in the critical time of the second Reformation. Yet grave objections might be alleged against every one of them, while it is very doubtful whether any one would have done the difficult work which Parker had to do as wisely and as successfully as he did it. Jewell would probably have been the most eligible of them all, had he not in a moment of weakness and fear recanted his faith, although he soon repented with many tears of his recantation. Until he had made full proof of the sincerity of his repentance, his sad failure would have prevented him from appearing with advantage in the foremost place of the reformers.

Grindal, good man as he was, was too timid and gentle for the emergency, and, as appeared when in more settled times he succeeded to the primacy, he was destitute of the faculty of managing impracticable men, of conciliating the queen, of availing himself of opportunities to accomplish good purposes, or of inducing men of influence to co-operate with him in his difficult work. In short, he was not what is now called a man of business. The other four were Lancashire men, and as they were more or less puritanical in their dispositions, were actively engaged in forming and completing the Reformation under Elizabeth, and were especially concerned in promoting its advance in their native county, they may be allowed to occupy a prominent place in this part of our narrative.

EDWIN SANDYS had acquired great reputation for learning and ability in the University of Cambridge, and had during his exile gained the respect and confidence of his fellow-sufferers, and of many eminent foreign divines; but he had been a zealous advocate of the cause of Lady Jane Grey, and as Vice-Chancellor of the University had preached at her proclamation a sermon in support of her right to the crown. As the title of Lady Jane was as much opposed to that of Elizabeth as it was to that of Mary, it would scarcely have been respectful to the queen to have proposed to confer upon him the highest ecclesiastical office at her disposal. She showed her magnanimity by elevating him to the see of Worcester, and eventually to that of York.

Of all the men of the time ALEXANDER NOWELL was, by his reputation, his learning, his industry, his moderation, his habits of business, the ability with which he had filled high office in the reign of Edward, and the sacrifices he had made for the reformed doctrine, the most admirably qualified to direct in the emergency the ecclesiastical affairs of the country. While he had no puritanical scruple about

conforming to the ceremonies, he would gladly have surrendered any ceremonial, as of small importance, for the sake of conciliating the Puritans, and bringing all true Protestants into harmonious action within the established Church. But to his promotion there was a fatal objection. For some reason or other the queen disliked him. On one occasion he was proposed as provost of Eton, but the queen refused to have him placed so near her; on another, Parker was compelled to erase his name from the list of clergymen selected to preach before her Majesty; on another, she gave 'Mr. Dean' a terrible scolding, because he had placed a prayer book with pictorial illustrations before her in St. Paul's, which illustrations she denounced as popish and idolatrous.*

THOMAS LEVER, notwithstanding his extreme puritanism, was the favourite preacher of Queen Elizabeth. According to Sandys, it was under his influence that the queen hesitated to assume the title of Supreme Head of the Church. Fuller says, 'The highest preferment of the Church was open to him;' that is, I suppose, if he had been willing to compromise or modify his puritanism. In the reign of Edward he had acquired great influence and reputation as the Master of St. John's College. Well qualified as he was in many respects for the office, to have placed him in so prominent a position would have been, by the opposition it would have excited, to have endangered the objects most dear to the good man's heart.

JAMES PILKINGTON, though an able and excellent man, had not at that time acquired the reputation which would have prepared him to occupy the highest position in the Church. He had many powerful friends, but, unless he was of a very sanguine temperament, his

* The story is told sometimes of Dean Sampson, sometimes of Dean Nowell. Speed, in his *Chronicles*, says it was Sampson. It must have been Nowell. The prayer book, illustrated with pictures of saints and angels, was provided for the queen in St. Paul's. Nowell was Dean of St. Paul's, Sampson of Christ Church. The queen enquired of the dean by whose authority the book was placed there. Nowell, not Sampson, was accountable. Sampson, that stern, extreme Puritan, would have been the last man in England to have placed pictures before the queen in the time of divine service. The queen angrily shut the book, and told the verger to bring her a plain book. After the service she walked to the vestry and demanded of the dean (surely the Dean of St. Paul's), 'How came it to pass that a new prayer book was placed upon my cushion?' 'May it please your Majesty, I caused it to be placed there.' 'Wherefore did you so?' 'To present your Majesty with a New Year's gift.' 'You could never present me with a worse. You know I have an aversion to idolatry. The cuts resemble angels, saints, nay, grosser absurdities, pictures of the blessed Trinity.' 'I meant no harm, nor did I think to offend your Majesty.' 'You must needs be ignorant, then. Have you read our proclamation against images, pictures, and Romish relics in the churches? Was it not read in your deanery? You must needs be very ignorant to do this after our proclamation.' 'It being my ignorance, your Majesty may the better pardon it.' 'I am glad to hear it was your ignorance rather than your opinion.' 'Be your Majesty assured it was my ignorance.' 'If so, Mr. Dean, God grant you His Spirit, and more wisdom for the future. Pray let no more of these mistakes be committed in the churches of our realm.' On another occasion the worthy dean, perhaps confiding in the queen's puritanic aversion to popish pictures, in preaching before her Majesty expressed his dislike to the sign of the cross. The queen confounded him by calling loudly from her closet window to him, 'to retire from that ungodly digression and return to his text.'

expectations must have been satisfied with obtaining the palatinate bishopric of Durham.

These four Lancashire men, who had suffered exile for the reformed faith, and who acted so considerable a part in the restoration of the reformed Church, belonged to four of the best families of their native county. Three of them, Sandys, Lever, and Pilkington, were in the later years of King Henry fellow-collegians at St. John's, Cambridge, at that time a stronghold of the reformed doctrine, and a favourite resort of Lancashire men. Nowell was of Brasenose College, Oxford.

Edwin Sandys was the third son of William Sandys, the inheritor of the estate of the ancient family of Sandys, Sandis, or Sands, of Hawkshead in Furness. He is said to have received his early education in the school of Furness Abbey. If he did, he was an ungrateful scholar, for there never lived a fiercer enemy to monks and monasteries.

James Pilkington belonged to a family which, according to Fuller, was 'of repute in this shire before the Conquest.' One of its branches was planted on the lands of Rivington, in the parish of Bolton-le-Moors, where James, third son of Richard Pilkington, was born. He received his early education where so many Puritans were trained, in the grammar school of Farnworth. In the same parish was Lever Hall, the home of the ancient family of Lever. As Thomas, the second son of John Lever, was about the same age as James Pilkington, there can be little doubt that the two Puritan boys, so intimately associated in subsequent years of study, labour, and exile, attended the same school, were taught by the same master, and whipped with the same birch.

The three youths rose to great eminence in the university. Sandys was distinguished for his attainments in Hebrew as well as in divinity and ecclesiastical literature. Being appointed Master of Katharine Hall, he did a bold deed, as it then appeared: in defiance of public opinion, he fell in love with a lady of his own name, and was one of the first of the college dons who solaced himself with the comforts or troubled himself with the cares of matrimony. Pilkington, by his zeal in promoting the revival of Greek literature, gained so great a reputation that he secured for himself the Mastership of St. John's immediately on his return from exile. Lever, although the youngest of the three, surpassed the other two in the prosecution of his studies, if we may form an estimate from the preferments he speedily obtained. He was early a Fellow, and soon afterwards the Master of St. John's. The three were great preachers. Sandys preached eloquently; Pilkington learnedly; Lever with wonderful power. Bishop Ridley, describing the four great preachers of the Reformation, Latimer, Knox, Bradford, and Lever, says: 'They ripped so deeply in the galled backs of the great men at court to purge them of the filthy matter festering in their hearts, that they could never abide them.' This 'deep ripping into galled backs' was characteristic of the four preachers, but each of them had his own manner of 'ripping.' Latimer 'ripped' as with a sharp knife which cut clean, but caused much pain;

Knox as with a cleaver which sorely hacked his patient; Bradford as with a lancet used adroitly and gently, but very effectually; Lever could 'rip' with knife, cleaver, or lancet, as the occasion required, with equal dexterity and power. He had the skill and the good sense to make his sermons appropriate to his audience, whether it consisted of the scholars of Cambridge, the nobles of the court, the merchants of London, or the websters of Bolton.

On the death of King Edward, Lever was Master of St. John's, Pilkington one of its Fellows, and Sandys Master of Katharine Hall and Vice-Chancellor. They were all partisans of Lady Jane Grey, and Sandys, with his usual impetuosity, preached before the university a sermon in honour of her proclamation, from the text, 'Be strong and of good courage.' How far Lever and Pilkington were concerned in this bold assertion of the cause of Lady Jane does not appear. All that we know is that Lever engaged to take the manuscript of the sermon to London and superintend the printing of it. Before he left home, Sandys received a message from the Duke of Northumberland informing him that their cause had failed, and advising him to make peace with Mary by immediately proclaiming her Queen of England. The courage of Sandys never failed him. He replied that his life was not dear to him, that he had done what his conscience dictated, and that he would not recant it. A few days after, when a congregation was convened without consulting him, to proclaim Queen Mary, on hearing the bell and discovering the reason of the congregation, he boldly went to the meeting, took the chair as Vice-Chancellor, and justified his sermon in an eloquent oration. An attempt was made to force him from the chair, when he drew a dagger from his robes, and would have stabbed any who approached him, had not his friends interfered. That evening he settled his accounts with the university, and calmly awaited the events of the succeeding day. The next morning he was apprehended. Removed to London, he was committed to the Tower, where to his great comfort he soon afterwards had for his fellow-prisoner his Lancashire friend, John Bradford. For twenty-nine weeks the two friends were confined in one room, and enjoyed Christian communion together. Their keeper readily listened to their instructions, joined in their prayers, and was to them as 'a son begotten in their bonds.' On the Lord's day, when others were at mass, the jailor 'would bring them a service book, a manchet of bread, and a cup of wine,' and so holy Bradford, bold Sandys, and the converted jailor solemnised the sacrament after the manner of the Protestant Church.

On the removal of Sandys to the Marshalsea, Sir Thomas Holcroft, the Knight Marshal, a Lancashire man, resolved to devise some means of saving his countryman. He obtained permission to release his prisoner upon obtaining two sureties to be heavily bound for his appearance when required. But Sandys, courageous as ever, would not accept his liberty at the risk of inflicting injury upon others. He was able, he said, to bear his own burden. Sir Thomas eventually, at great risk to himself, allowed Sandys to make his escape. Gardiner, on hearing of it, spared no trouble nor expense to procure his

apprehension; but he eluded pursuit, found a vessel in the Thames with several Protestants concealed in it, sailed with them, and settled in Strasbourg. Having there lost his beloved wife, he removed to Zurich, where he remained until he heard of the death of Queen Mary.

His friends, Lever and Pilkington, deprived of their preferments at St. John's, soon followed him to the continent, and became attached to the discipline and services of the Swiss Calvinists: Lever so much so as to regard the ceremonial established under Elizabeth as utterly unlawful; Pilkington, while not accepting the extreme view of his friend, desiring by all means in his power short of separation to promote the further reformation of the English Church.

These friends in exile soon met with another Lancashire man, of the other university, but of kindred spirit, of similar opinions, of equal learning, of their own rank, and a sufferer for the same cause.

Alexander Nowell was the second son of John, of the ancient family of Nowell of Read, in the parish of Whalley. His mother was a Kay of Rochdale, and his family connections were with the Townleys, the Heskeths, the Hopwoods, and many other of the best families of Mid-Lancashire. Having received his early education in the newly-founded grammar school of Middleton, he was admitted at the age of thirteen to Brasenose College, where he was 'the chamber-fellow' of Fox, the martyrologist. Having gained considerable reputation in his collegiate course, he was appointed second master of Westminster School. Distinguished by his zealous adherence to the doctrines of the Reformation, he was elected in the first parliament of Mary the representative of the burgesses of West Looe in Cornwall. With what intent he assumed a trust which at that time was usually restricted to laymen, I do not know, but his election was pronounced invalid on the ground that as a prebendary of Westminster he had a voice in the convocation. Hearing soon afterwards that Bishop Bonner intended to apprehend him, he fled to the continent, and found a refuge in Strasbourg, where he was always ready to mediate in the troubles between the contending parties, and to concede his own opinion to either side for the sake of preserving unity and peace.

These four Lancashire exiles having returned to England on the accession of Elizabeth were promoted, Nowell to be Dean of St. Paul's, Sandys to be Bishop of Worcester, Lever Archdeacon of Coventry, and Pilkington Master of St. John's, Cambridge, and soon afterwards Bishop of Durham.

In January, 1562, was convened that celebrated convocation, to which, according to the provisions of the Act of Uniformity, was entrusted the preparation of articles of faith and offices of religion, which, however, were to have no authority until approved by the queen and legalised by parliament. So far from assuming any authority, the convocation in humiliating language 'humbly offered their suppliant little book containing their petitions.'*

* 'Supplicem libellum petitiones suas continentem humiliter offerunt.'

With considerable formality and state the convocation met in St. Paul's Cathedral. Among its members were Nowell, Sandys, and Lever, representing three different classes of Puritans, or rather of persons puritanically inclined.* Nowell had no personal objection to the ceremonies, but wished to conciliate the Puritans by dispensing with many of them; Sandys had very strong objections to the ceremonies, but wished to conciliate nobody, and therefore strove to reject them, although he would rigorously enforce them until they were legally abolished; Lever regarded the ceremonies as utterly unchristian, and would on no account conform if they were legally established.

The Articles, without the disputed clause that the Church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, were approved by all parties, and signed by all the members who were present at the meeting. There is no truth in the common statement that they were the result of a compromise, for there was no doctrinal difference whatever among the members of the convocation. The Articles were Calvinistic, because all the reformers were Calvinists, and none more so than the highest Churchmen of the time. What articles were ever known more doctrinally Calvinistic than those of Whitgift? But what bishop of his time was a more determined persecutor of the Puritans?

The moderation of the assembly appeared in the selection of Nowell for its prolocutor. But when the liturgy and offices of the Church were brought under consideration, the great difference of opinion between the two parties soon appeared, as it also soon appeared that in numbers they were nearly equal. Early in the discussion, Sandys introduced a proposal that 'the cross in baptism shall be disallowed as needless and superstitious.' In the lower house a paper was read, signed with thirty-three names, of which Alexander Nowell's was the first, recommending that organs be laid aside, that ministers be allowed to baptise without the sign of the cross, that kneeling at the communion be left indifferent, that the copes and surplices be taken away, and that saints' days be abrogated.

The difference between Sandys and Nowell is very apparent. Sandys would prohibit the use of the cross in baptism, but until that was done he would rigorously enforce the observance; Nowell would leave the use of it indifferent. Sandys would have a puritan uniformity if possible, but uniformity at all events, enforced by authority. Nowell, personally less of a Puritan, would allow liberty to Puritans in things indifferent as well as to their opponents. Eventually, a paper was introduced, evidently intended to unite the two classes of Puritans. It proposed that 'in baptism the cross may be omitted as tending to superstition;' that as some communicants 'kneel superstitiously, the order of kneeling may be left to the discretion of the ordinary;' and that organs be removed from the churches. This

* A fourth Lancashire man was a member of the convocation, Lawrence Nowell, a younger brother of Alexander, who, having been the companion of his brother in exile, then assisted him in his endeavours to reform the Anglican Church.

paper was accepted as containing the proposals on which the vote of the convocation should be taken, and the character of the Church of England, so far as its puritanism was concerned, be determined. After long and very warm debate, the propositions were carried by a majority of forty-three to thirty-five, to the great delight of the Puritans, who were about to express their exultation, when proxies were demanded, and could not be refused. While they were being collected, intense interest was felt in the result. After careful scrutiny, it was announced that fifty-eight votes were for the propositions, and fifty-nine against them. By a majority of one, including many who had not heard the arguments on either side, the services of the English Church were determined in opposition to the Puritans, and settled very much as they have been preserved to our time.

In the long interval which elapsed between the meeting of the convocation and the legalising of its decision by parliament, the puritan clergy, probably encouraged by this close division, continued their ministrations with little regard to the uniformity enjoined by the queen and her bishops. How little uniformity was produced by the queen's injunctions appears in a paper found among the manuscripts of Cecil, according to which, 'some perform divine service in the chancel, some in the body of the church, some in a seat made in the church, some in the pulpit with their faces to the people. Some say with a surplice, and others without one. In some places the table stands in the body of the church, in others it stands in the chancel; in some places the table stands altarwise, distant from the wall a yard, in others in the middle of the chancel, north and south; in some places the table is joined, in others it stands upon tressels; in some has a carpet, in others none. Some administer the communion with surplice and cope; others with surplice alone; others with none. Some with a chalice; others with a communion cup; others with a common cup: some with unleavened bread; some with leavened. Some receive kneeling, others standing, others sitting. Some sign with a cross, others sign not. Some minister with a surplice, others without; some with a square cap; some with a round cap; some a buttoned cap; some with a hat; some in scholars' clothes; some in others.' Amidst this strange diversity of usage, offensive to the queen and to several of her bishops, let us turn to Lancashire, and observe the state of religion in that county.

Lancashire was regarded throughout the reign of Elizabeth as the most Catholic county of England. The majority of the gentry and freeholders, as well as of the peasantry, continued stedfast in their adherence to the religion of their fathers. On the other hand, in the manufacturing and commercial towns of the hundreds of Salford and Blackburn, a strong protestantism, amounting to puritanism, prevailed and expressed itself in a fierce opposition to popish priests and practices. The Anglican party—that is, the party content with the Reformation just as the queen and parliament made it—was comparatively small, and not very pleasantly situated between earnest puritanism on one side, and bigoted popery on the other.

Edward, the old Earl of Derby, king of the Isle of Man, was, on

the accession of Elizabeth, living in much of the style and grandeur of royalty in his mansion of Lathom. Still adhering with remarkable consistency to the religion of good luck, the persecutor of George Marsh became a commissioner for the suppression of popery in his own county. Scott, the 'ferocious' bishop of Chester, on his refusal to take the oath of supremacy was deprived of his office, and compelled to leave the country. Residing in the college of Louvain, he found employment for his restless spirit through the remainder of his life, by secretly corresponding with the Lancashire Papists, and promoting conspiracies against the government and life of the queen. His successor, Dr. William Downham, seems to have been grossly negligent of his duties, and although he censured and even suspended nonconforming ministers if they fell in his way, he took little trouble to secure uniformity in his diocese. Concealed Papists and avowed Puritans pursued their several courses without much regard to the episcopal mandates. Bishop Pilkington, on visiting his native county, addressed a letter to Archbishop Parker, complaining of the popery, immorality, and scandalous ignorance of the Lancashire clergy. The great parishes of which the Archbishop was the patron and rector, Rochdale, Blackburn, and Whalley, were represented as having about the worst incumbents in the county. Within these three parishes were the chapelries of Padiham, Clitheroe, Colne, Burnley, Church, Altham, Haslingden, Bowland, Penhall, Rossendale, Low Walton, Samlesbury, Butterworth, and some others, the incumbents of which were represented as miserably poor, lamentably incompetent, sadly ignorant, and in several instances scandalously immoral.

The vicars of these great parishes on the accession of Elizabeth were John Hampson of Rochdale, James Hargreaves of Blackburn, and George Dobson of Whalley.

Hampson, the Vicar of Rochdale, was, when concealment was useful to him, a concealed Papist, when it was not, an avowed Papist. When his negligent bishop was compelled by the command of the queen to make some enquiries about the clergy of his diocese, the wary vicar thought his best course was to become non-resident. Instead, therefore, of answering any unpleasant questions about himself, he deposed that, unable to do his own duties, he 'found a sufficient preste to serve.' What he paid his 'sufficient preste' does not appear; but on another occasion he deposed that 'the preste of his chapel at Saddleworth was payde three pounds every half year,' and 'the preste of the chapel at Butterworth was payde his wage by the parishioners.' In those times many of the clergy in the chapelries lived (I fear very poorly) upon the voluntary principle. The poverty of the chapel incumbents in the great parish of Rochdale was the more discreditable, as according to the vicar there were five thousand 'houseling people' (communicants) in the church and its dependent chapels.* The Papist was compelled to resign his benefice in favour of the celebrated Richard Midgley, who continued for forty-eight

* These curious depositions of the vicar, made in a suit between the Archbishop of Canterbury and Sir John Bird, may be seen in Whitaker's *History of Whalley*, p. 442.

years the laborious, beloved, and thoroughly Puritan vicar of Rochdale.

Hargreaves, who had been instituted vicar of Blackburn in 1555, was deprived for 'papistry' in the third year of Elizabeth. His successor, John Hylton, was the incumbent of whom Pilkington complained in his letter to the archbishop. In 1580 he was induced to resign on account of his ignorance, negligence, and utter incompetence.

George Dobson, the 'ill vicar' of Whalley, was a man of low habits, bad morals, gross ignorance, unable to read intelligently, and utterly incompetent to discharge any of the duties of his office. As, however, he was not a Papist, nor anything else contrary to the Act of Uniformity, he contrived to keep his place and neglect his duties until his death in 1563.

The incumbents of the numerous chapelries in these large parishes were generally such as might have been expected to serve under such vicars. All we know of them is from general complaint of their ignorance, drunkenness, licentiousness, and 'papistry.'

In referring, however, to the chapelries of these three parishes, I do not mean to intimate that their incumbents were worse conducted or worse paid than the chapel ministers of the other parishes of the county. Besides the Warden of Manchester, there were three clergymen in Lancashire who had larger incomes than the archbishop's vicars: the parson of Wigan, the rector of Winwick, and the rector of Middleton. In their parishes the chapelries were as badly served, and the chapel curates as badly paid, as they were in Whalley or Rochdale. We might expect to find that under the richly-endowed collegiate clergy of Manchester the chapel incumbents would be decently sustained; but when, in 1581, the curate of Blackley, in the parish of Manchester, was prosecuted for teaching without a licence, the poor fellow pleaded in his defence that he could not afford to pay for one, as he served the cure for 2*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* a year.* In the same year the curate of Stretford, in Manchester, was presented for keeping an ale house, and was prohibited from keeping 'any ale or other victuals to sell in his house.' A few years later the lector of Chorlton-cum-Hardy, in Manchester, was prosecuted for lending money on usury, and sentenced to pay two shillings to the 'poor man's box.†' The situation of the clergy seems to have become worse after the Reformation, partly because they lost some of the fees usually paid to Catholic priests for religious services, and partly because some of them had to support their wives. Although for some time after the Reformation, 'priests' women' in Lancashire were scarcely thought respectable, yet, having been legally married, they claimed some sort of support from their poor husbands. The condition of the clergy was greatly improved under the Commonwealth. Many clergymen who say hard things of the Puritans would have better stipends, parson-

* *History of the Ancient Chapel of Blackley*, p. 94. By the Rev. John Booker, B.A.

† He seems to have been a sort of pawnbroker.—*History of the Ancient Chapel of Chorlton*, p. 302.

ages, and glebes, if the Puritans had been more powerful in the times of Elizabeth and the Stuarts.

Lawrence Vaux, the Catholic Warden of Manchester, having refused to take the oath of supremacy on the accession of Elizabeth, was deprived of his office, and succeeded by William Birch, a member of the Puritan family of Birch in Rusholme. He was a good man, though not strong enough for his place. The college, as Birch expected, as Parker intended, and as the queen promised, was to become a well-endowed foundation for the support of Protestant preachers, who were to be engaged as itinerants or curates in 'expelling the popish darkness.' But Birch was sadly disappointed. The revenues of the college, though partly alienated to the Stanleys, were yet considerable enough to tempt the rapacity of the queen's favourites. Like a true Puritan, Birch resisted the spoliation, and when he found that the spoilers under favour of the queen had more power than he could overcome, he resigned his office, in the hope that some stronger arm than his own would protect the collegiate estates from the sacrilegious attempts of the courtiers. The courtiers, however, were wise enough to provide a successor who would be more careful of his own interests and of theirs. The queen appointed Thomas Herle, who enriched himself by granting long leases and alienating a part of the estates in favour of the Earl of Derby, Sir Edmund Trafford,* and other zealous reformers. Had not Dean Nowell interfered and secured the good offices of Lord Burleigh, all the college property would probably have fallen into the hands of the Stanleys, the Traffords, the Killigrews, and other zealous friends of the Reformation. The scandal of these spoliations became so intolerable that the queen was compelled to disavow all knowledge of them, and to procure the resignation of the warden upon a small pension. The college was established upon a new foundation. John Walton, the new warden, had been an exile for the Protestant cause, as had two of the new fellows, John Mallyns and Alexander Nowell. Oliver Carter, the third fellow, was a good, painful Puritan; and the fourth, Thomas Williamson, was worthy of his associates.†

In many parts of the county, especially in the rural districts, the Protestant cause seemed rather declining than advancing. Some of the churches were closed, or opened only on occasion of some travelling preacher visiting the neighbourhood. Many of the clergy celebrated mass privately, and performed the public services negligently or with ill-concealed dislike. Sir Ralph Parkinson, as the priest of Shakerley was called, could say mass to the popish squire, and administer the communion to the Protestants of the village. Squire Leland would go to church to escape the fines for recusancy, but while there would amuse himself with his favourite spaniel, whose collar was continually tinkling during the service. His neighbour, Squire Barton of Smethells, would please himself with the music of

* The Traffords were sound Protestants in the reign of Elizabeth. We may have hereafter to notice their relapse into the old faith of their fathers.

† Walton was the nephew of Nowell, and Mallyns his intimate friend and companion in exile.—*History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester*, vol. 1, ch. xi.

the silver bells with which his hawk was arrayed, as in Sunday dress at church. What work, as of small carpentry or tailoring, could be done at church was often done there by country people whose pastors, if they cared anything about religion, preferred the old service-book to the new liturgy. To counteract the ignorance of the poor, Nowell laboured to establish good schools, and to support itinerant preachers. He generously endowed the school of Middleton, induced Parker to found a school at Rochdale from the funds of the rectory, and obtained the restoration of an annual grant of two hundred pounds to support the four queen's preachers who itinerated through the benighted districts of the county.

Nor had Pilkington, although elevated to the see of Durham, forgotten his native county. I have already noticed his letter to Archbishop Parker, respecting the sad state of Lancashire, which he attributed to the negligence of the Bishop of Chester. The bishop had compounded for his visitation, and pleaded for his doing so the difficulty of travelling in the wild parts of Lancashire. Compelled by a peremptory letter from the queen, he visited that county, and found, as he says, 'the weather very hot,' 'the roads dusty,' 'providence for his horses very scarce,' some parts 'very wild and dangerous, that had it not been for the kindness of some people he would have lost his horses.' The poor unhappy man seemed afraid of losing himself as well as his horses. Happily, however, he got safe to his palace at Chester, having heard to his dismay of many conspiracies, and ascertained that emissaries of the pope were teaching the people to deny the supremacy of the queen; that oaths were secretly administered, binding those who took them to maintain their spiritual allegiance to his holiness; that Sir Richard Molineux, his three daughters, and several of his neighbours, had been absolved by a priest from the oath of allegiance; and that one Westby, a Papist, had avowed his willingness to shed his blood in the cause of his religion. Amidst so many dreadful reports he did not think it safe to confer with the Earl of Derby at Wigan. On the review of his labours and hardships, he wrote that 'he hoped he should never be troubled with the like again.' He never afterwards visited those 'inhospitable places,' but wisely left the Papists to be restrained by the more powerful hand of Lord Derby, and the Puritans to do as they pleased provided they gave him no trouble.

There was some truth in these frightful reports about the Papists. Undoubtedly many Catholics were truly loyal to the queen, but many were as undoubtedly resolved to destroy her government. The loyalty of the one party was continually tempted by intriguing priests and Jesuits; the disloyalty of the other stimulated by foreign emissaries, of whom several were concealed in the farmhouses of Lancashire. English Catholics often boast of the loyalty of their ancestors to a Protestant queen on the approach of the Spanish Armada, and they have good reason to boast of the fidelity and valour of many warriors, statesmen, esquires, yeomen, and even priests. But there is another side to this question. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth, Papists were concerned in forming conspiracies and contriving plots to deprive

the queen of her crown and life. A foreign prince, Mary Queen of Scots, her son James, a Catholic nobleman, and even the Earl of Derby* if he would turn Catholic, were proposed as occupants of the forfeited throne. The Catholic Church, if the pope was its head, his cardinals its officers, his colleges its interpreters, was undoubtedly with the Spanish invaders. That many English Catholics preferred the Church to their country is evident from the conduct of such of them as in England or on the Continent had an opportunity of showing their principles and purposes. If any one doubts to what extremes of perfidy and treason even English soldiers can proceed under the influence of English priests for the good of the Church, he may be edified by reading Cardinal Allen's defence of Sir William Stanley.† He will there learn that an English cardinal could, in print, justify an English commander in surrendering Deventer to the enemies of his country, while entrusted with the commission of the queen for its defence, and contrary to his oath, because he practised his treason and perjury solely for the good of the Church. Anything worse than Captain Stanley's treason can scarcely be imagined, unless it be Cardinal Allen's defence of it.

Of disloyal Papists, Lancashire had a large proportion. Two sons of the Earl of Derby were concerned in the popish rebellion of the north. The earl himself was suspected, but he cleared himself of suspicion by harassing and imprisoning the Catholics of Manchester. Father Campion—a clever, active, intriguing Jesuit—was frequently harboured in the manor houses on the Lancashire coast. By him the priests educated in foreign seminaries were introduced to Catholic families and instructed for the work of their mission.

It appears from the correspondence of Bishop Chadderton that, in 1580, more than twenty Lancashire gentlemen of the Fylde country had sent their sons to be educated in the English colleges of Catholic countries.‡ Along the coast between the mouth of the Ribble and Morecambe Bay, a tract of country little known to travellers, seminary priests found shelter, and, by means of pupils returning from the colleges of Louvain or Mechlin or Rome, obtained access to the principal families of the interior. The Heskeths of Rufford and their kinsfolk of Aughton were desperate Papists. So were the Ashtons of Croston,§ the Andertons of Euxton, the Worthingtons of Blainscow,

* Elizabeth's commissioner for promoting the Reformation, believed by Mary to be an adherent of her cause, would probably, had the opportunity offered, have regarded neither Elizabeth Tudor, nor Mary Stuart, as having a better title to the crown than Edward Stanley. On the reliance which the Queen of Scots had on the Earl of Derby, see Heywood's Introduction to Allen's *Defence of Sir William Stanley*.

† Edited for the Chetham Society by Thomas Heywood, Esq.

‡ Peck's *Desid. Curiosa*, p. 100. Allen's *Defence*, introd. p. lxxv.

§ The Ashtons of Croston and Euxton were entirely distinct from the widespread family of the Ashtons or Asshetons of the south-eastern parts of the county, comprising the Asshetons of Middleton, the Asshetons of Lever, the Asshetons of Downham, and other Asshetons, almost all of whom were Puritans. As they spelt their name both ways, or rather all sorts of ways, it may prevent mistake if I spell the popish race Ashton, comprising those of Croston, Euxton, and Hesketh, and the puritan race Assheton.

the Allens of Rossall, and the Haydocks of Cottam. Quietly concocting treason in their secluded halls, these families supplied many worthy exhibitors on the gallows of Tyburn. Roger Ashton of Croston was executed for 'entertaining missionaries,' the policy of Elizabeth not allowing her to assign the real cause of his execution—his acting as an emissary of the Queen of Scots in her communications with the popish traitors of the English army in Flanders. George Haydock of Cottam, son of the notorious conspirator, Vivian Haydock, was brought to the same untimely, but not undeserved, end. Thomas Worthington of Blainscow, the chaplain of Sir William Stanley, who incited the English soldiers to treason in Deventer, while 'catechising them with many masses and sermons,' as richly deserved hanging as any popish villain that ever mounted the scaffold. More than one of the Andertons were implicated in these treasonable conspiracies. But of all the conspirators of the Fylde country the Allens of Rossall, men and women, were the most active, unscrupulous, and inveterate.

Of these Allens the most remarkable was William, who rose to the dignity of a cardinal. Although not of the Jesuits, for he was sometimes opposed to their measures, he had all the vices which are attributed to their society, and which, on account of his irresponsibility to their general, he could often use with greater licence and effect than one of their order. I have already alluded to his defence of Sir William Stanley; but a brief account of the crime committed by Stanley, and justified by Allen, may illustrate the character of that party of the Lancashire Catholics who were corrupted and depraved by Jesuits and seminary priests.

Of the houses of Stanley the oldest was that of Hooton in Wirrall, nearly opposite to Liverpool. These Stanleys, unlike their kinsfolk of Lathom, had only one religion, and to that they steadily adhered. They were for many generations consistent Catholics. As their mansion was situate near the Mersey, at that time but seldom visited by large ships, it was a convenient refuge for the emissaries of the Jesuits and the adherents of the Queen of Scots. A privateer, said to have belonged to the family, was supposed to have brought many of the popish 'missioners' into Lancashire. It is true that Sir Rowland Stanley, the head of the family, proved or professed his loyalty to the queen by contributing a hundred pounds towards the expense of opposing the Spanish Armada; but it is equally true that his eldest son served the Spaniards with all his heart and strength, after shamefully betraying the trust committed to him by the English government.

William Stanley obtained a commission from the queen to enlist soldiers to serve under him with the English army in Flanders. Armed with authority obtained by dissimulation and falsehood, he determined on the first opportunity to serve his Church rather than his country. The opportunity soon offered. Deventer, then in importance the third town of the Netherlands, thoroughly Protestant, was occupied by the English. Unfortunately the command of its garrison was entrusted to Stanley, and the conscience of Stanley was

entrusted to Allen and the Jesuits. Concocting measures with his Lancashire friend, Roger Ashton of Euxton, he left the town in the evening with a troop of horse, and returned before daylight with about a thousand Spanish soldiers, whom, while the townsfolk were in their beds, he mustered in the market place, and made them masters of the town. This horrible deed of treachery was soon imitated by other popish officers, as by Rowland York, a creature of the Jesuits, who on the next day treacherously surrendered the fort called Zutphen Sconce to the Spaniards. After this violation of everything which military men hold honourable and sacred, Stanley was constantly engaged with the Spanish government in concerting measures for the invasion of England. In the summer of 1588 he had the command of the English legion, as it was called, a trained body of English and Irish Papists, waiting at Nieuport to join the Armada. Prevented from accomplishing his purpose by the dispersion of the Spanish fleet, he returned to Spain, and spent the rest of his days in promoting a second invasion of his country, in sending emissaries of the Jesuits into Lancashire, and in dealing with desperate men like Guido Fawkes for the assassination of Queen Elizabeth, Prince Maurice, and other Protestants of influence and authority.

All this is unquestionable. The worst deeds I have mentioned, so far from being denied, were avowed, honoured in Spain, rewarded in Rome, and defended in print by Cardinal Allen. Although Stanley was not canonised for his treacheries, his funeral at Mechlin was celebrated with as much ceremonial as the priests of the Catholic Church could observe. They buried with great solemnity the soldier who, having violated his commission, honour, truth, and oath for the sake of his Church, passed the gates of death in the odour of unusual sanctity amid the prayers of all the faithful.*

But of such treachery what was the cardinal's defence? A few of his own words will be quite enough to answer that question. 'All acts done by the queen's authority ever since she was by public sentence of the Church and See Apostolic (Bullæ Pii Quinti, an. 1569) declared a heretic and an enemy of God's Church, and excommunicated and deposed from all royal dignity, all is void by the laws of God. . . . For heresy maketh a man by all Christian laws infamous, and voideth him of all degrees and titles of honour.' In a declaratory paper issued at the time of the Armada, and signed by Allen, the queen was declared 'a most unjust usurper and open injurer of all nations, an infamous, accursed, excommunicate heretic, the very shame of her sex and princely name, the chief spectacle of sin and abomination in our age, the poison, calamity, and destruction of our noble Church and country, a filthy, wicked, and illiberal creature.'

I would not insinuate that all Lancashire Catholics were traitors like Stanley, or apologists of treason like Allen. In the bitter feud which then prevailed between the Jesuits and the secular priests, some of the Lancashire Catholics (I fear not many) belonged to the

* The order of the funeral of Sir W. Stanley is printed in the Introduction to Allen's *Defence*.

English party. Nor were they without their reward. Whenever the queen was satisfied of the loyalty of her Catholic subjects, she was not unwilling to mitigate the severity of the penal laws enforced against popish recusants. Sir Richard Sherburne of Stonyhurst, notwithstanding his firm adherence to the Catholic faith, was allowed to observe the ritual of his Church in his private chapel, and to keep a priest to say mass for himself and his family.* The peasantry of the neighbourhood gladly availed themselves of the opportunity to observe their old ceremonial of worship in the chapel of their lord. The place thus became a stronghold of the Catholics, and the mansion of the Sherburnes has been transformed into the stately college of the Jesuits.

* This is often said, as by Baines in his *History of Lancashire*, to have been a privilege granted by the queen's authority; but I am doubtful of its truth. Probably, as it was known that Sherburne was a favourite of the queen, it was understood among the magistrates that no notice was to be taken of his chapel or his priest.

CHAPTER V.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF PURITANISM.

ON February 24, 1572-3, died Edward, the great and munificent Earl of Derby, with whom, in the opinion of Camden, died also the glory and magnificence of English hospitality. Few English noblemen have lived in so much state and grandeur, and the pomp and pageantry of his funeral formed an appropriate close to his sumptuous manner of life. His relatives, his retainers, his tenantry, his servants, and the representatives of most of the county families, with their banners and other show of heraldry, formed such a funeral procession as Lancashire on no other occasion has ever seen. They followed his remains to the church of Ormskirk, where the burial service of the reformed Church was solemnised, to the surprise of the country people, who expected masses, oblations, incensings, and other ceremonial as appropriate to so gorgeous a funeral. Whichever of his 'three religions' the great earl may have preferred in his life, he was buried as a Protestant in the Stanley chapel, which he had erected for the sepulchre of his family, and to which he had removed the bones of his ancestors from the ruins of the priory of Burscough. He there slept with his fathers, and Henry his son, considering the state which he maintained after the example of his father, may be almost said to have reigned in his stead, king in Man, and something like a king in Lancashire.

Henry, the fourth earl, notwithstanding the apprehension expressed by Camden, maintained to a great extent the magnificence and splendour of his father's hospitality. If we may trust the family portraits, the son was in person very like his father, and the difference with resemblance of the portraits seems to me to intimate the difference with resemblance of the two earls. As, in the portraits, the hard, masculine countenance of Edward is relieved by a softer and more gentle expression in the features of Henry, so the son had not the fierce energy, the restless activity, or the indomitable resolution of his father; yet he had energy, activity, and resolution, tempered by some degree of gentleness and kindness, of which his father was utterly destitute. Edward was a courtier from policy and prudence; Henry from nature and disposition. The son was a Stanley in considering his own interests, but the father was pre-eminently *the* Stanley, for he considered nothing else. Edward was the greater earl, but Henry the better gentleman. Had Henry been exposed to his father's temptations to change his religion, I know not how he would have acted; but as things were, he always appeared a decided Protestant, and on several occasions seemed to incline towards puritanism. In a kind of diary kept by his secretary, called the 'House-

hold Book,* we have a record of his family affairs, of his guests, and of the Sunday services at Lathom. His preachers were the most eminent Puritans of Lancashire, as Mr. Leigh of Standish, Mr. Oliver Carter of Manchester, Mr. Shaw of Bury, Mr. Fleetwood of Wigan, Mr. Caldwell of Winwick, who, if we may conjecture from the entries in the 'Household Book,' seems to have been one of the earl's favourite preachers; 'Mr. Vicker of Ratchedale,' which 'Mr. Vicker' was the celebrated Puritan, Richard Midgley. Besides these chaplains, who are said in the 'Household Book' to have 'preched' before the earl, another preacher is mentioned, Thomas Sorocold of London, the author of the 'Supplications of the Saints,' a book which passed through thirty-eight editions.†

How far the earl's household, edified by these Puritan preachers, was like or unlike a Puritan family, may be best known by reading the 'Household Book,' one or two extracts from which may serve to illustrate the state of religion at Lathom in the years 1587-90. 'Mr. Vicker of Ratchedale preched. Wednesday was Christmas daie, Mr. Leigh preched. Thursday, Mr. Phillipps preched. . . . Sondaye, Jan. 4, Mr. Carter preched, at w^h was dyvers strandgers. On Tuesdaye, at night, a play was had in the hall. On Wednesdaye Mr. Fleetwood preched, and that night the plaiers played. . . . Sondaye, Jan. 11, Mr. Caldewall preched, and that nyght the plaiers played. Mondaye, my Lord Bushoppe preched.' This was a merry Christmas at Lathom, and a puritanical one also. There were seven sermons 'preched' in the fortnight, and the players played on the Sunday evening, after the favourite Puritan, Mr. Caldwell, had 'preched' in the morning. We may be curious to know how the players pleased the Puritan 'bushoppe' Chadderton and the Puritan preachers—that stern Puritan, Oliver Carter; that holy Puritan, John Caldwell; that zealous Puritan, Edward Fleetwood; that loving Puritan, William Leigh; and that 'Mr. Vicker of Ratchedale,' who once so effectually rebuked a clergyman for playing at bowls on a Saturday afternoon, 'so near the Sabbath,' that he never forgot it. These Puritans, however they liked the players, seem to have enjoyed their Christmas, for they stayed at Lathom until, the feasting having come to an end, 'his lordeshippe's howse brake uppe.' Christmas, however, was not the only season in which the preaching of Puritans was associated with the acting of players. Sunday, September 8, 1589, was a great day at Knowsley, as Mr. Leigh, the Puritan chaplain, preached in the morning, the queen's players played in the afternoon, and the company of Lord Essex at night.

The 'bushoppe' was Chadderton of Chester. On the death of Dr. Downham in 1579, the queen accepted the policy of making puritanism in the north, much as she disliked it, the means of opposing the advance of popery, which she had much more reason to fear. With the advice of the Earl of Leicester, she selected to fill the vacancy a distinguished Lancashire Puritan belonging to the ancient family

* Printed in the *Stanley Papers*, edited by the Rev. F. R. Raines, M.A.

† Dr. Hook has reprinted some of these beautiful supplications in his *Prayers for a Week*, 1852.

of Chadderton of Nuthurst. Educated at Cambridge, he had become Regius Professor of Divinity in that university. A man of great learning, energy, and activity, he had so much of puritanism as insured his active opposition to popery, but not so much as would prevent him from discharging with dignity the duties of his episcopal office. In the same year he was made Warden of Manchester, and held at once the two most important ecclesiastical positions in Cheshire and Lancashire. Intent upon suppressing popery, and encouraged by the queen, he removed his residence from the palace of Chester to the college of Manchester. To strengthen and encourage him the Earl of Derby soon followed, having had Alport Lodge prepared for his residence. The two commissioners for promoting the Reformation, acting together with much cordiality, asserted their authority to some purpose, and made it felt, at least in the neighbourhood of Manchester.

In the first year of their residence they issued an 'order and injunction against pipers and minstrels playing on the Sabbath days; also against superstitious ringings, wakes, and common fairs.*' In the same year the bishop 'erected a public exercise to be held in Manchester on the second Thursday in every month, and nominated some grave, godly, and learned ministers to preach in their courses in the afternoon, and commanded all parsons, vicars, curates, readers, and schoolmasters within the deanery of Manchester to be present at the said exercise, and to be ready in the afternoon to be more privately conferred with, examined, instructed, and directed by the said nominated moderators, and to observe and obey their orders upon pain of censure.†

Some time after this exercise was 'erected,' the lords of the council, by command of her Majesty, wrote to the bishop: 'Forasmuch as the good proceeding in religion is a matter of no small consequence, especially in those remote parts of the realm standing dangerously for the enemy, and where the gospel hath not yet been planted, we have thought good, for the increase of knowledge and zeal in the common people, as likewise for the establishment of a learned ministry, to recommend unto your lordship's good consideration some further enlargement of the said ecclesiastical exercises, that order be taken by you upon conference with the best learned of the clergy in those parts, to have the said exercises of religion more frequently used, and in more places of the diocese, as may seem most convenient for furtherance hereof in all respects.'

In obedience to this direction, similar exercises or 'prophesyings,' as they were commonly called, were established in several large towns of the county, usually once a month on the market day. The moderators appointed to conduct these exercises, and to 'examine, direct, and instruct all persons,' were Mr. Shaw of Bury, Mr. Carter of Manchester, Mr. Assheton of Middleton, Mr. Williamson of Manchester, and Mr. Langley of Prestwich. These were the leading Puritan ministers of the deanery of Manchester, who, be it observed, constituted, under the sanction of the queen, a presbytery or council

* Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis*.

† Ibid.

of the bishop, invested with considerable power for the regulation of the inferior clergy. This was the nearest approach to presbyterian government with which I am acquainted, established during the reign of Elizabeth. If such councils of wise ministers, presided over by such bishops as Chadderton, had been established in the other deaneries of the country, the Church of England would have been really, whatever it might have been called, a presbyterian establishment. How far Elizabeth, who loved episcopal dignity and state much more than episcopal authority and rule, would have liked to make it so, her measures, intended only for Lancashire, do not furnish sufficient material to enable us to form a judgment.

In compliance with the request of the lord president of the north, the bishop instituted a lecture, to commence every morning at six o'clock, and another every evening at seven. Both lectures were attended by large congregations.

The monthly exercises, however, were the most effectual means of confirming the people in the Protestant faith and stimulating their opposition to popish doctrine and ceremonial. Sermons preached especially to the clergy are, for some reason or other, always popular with the laity. It was a new thing to hear the ablest preachers of the neighbourhood lecturing the more ignorant or idle clergy on the proper discharge of their pastoral duties. The sermons were often controversial, and in an age when the result of the strife between the old and the new faith seemed uncertain and precarious, controversial sermons excited great interest among all classes. On the Thursday of the monthly exercise, many of the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns crowded the great church of Manchester long before the commencement of the service. Zealous Puritans from a distance lodged in the town the preceding night. That good man, John Bruen of Bruen Stapleford, was usually there, although his residence was somewhere about thirty miles distant. Frequently he remained weeks together with his relatives at Prestwich, that he might enjoy the exercises, lectures, sacraments, and other precious privileges of Manchester. The collegiate church on those occasions must have presented an interesting appearance. The five reverend moderators were there in grave and sober apparel, for the surplice was scarcely ever worn by the Puritan clergy of Lancashire. The bishop—a tall, grave, comely person—was frequently present in his robes; for Chadderton, Puritan as he was in doctrine, affected episcopal dignity, and usually distinguished himself from his clergy by wearing his canonicals. Occasionally the Earl of Derby attended in some state with a considerable retinue. The Puritan magistrates generally occupied a conspicuous place in the church. The clergymen of the deanery were in their proper seats, willingly or reluctantly, to be taught their duty and reproved for their faults. Of the discourses preached by the first moderators, I can find no account; but we are told that good William Bourne, who succeeded Oliver Carter as preacher of the exercises, 'seldom varied the manner of his preaching, which, after explication of the text, was doctrine proof of it from Scripture, by reasoning and answering more and more objections, and then the uses, first of

information, secondly of confutation of popery, thirdly of reprehension, fourthly of examination, fifthly of exhortation, and lastly of consolation.* As Mr. Bourne for many years preached after this fashion, not only in his turn at the monthly exercise, but one sermon every Sunday afternoon, and another every Monday morning, popery must have been thoroughly confuted, although far from exterminated, in Manchester. Oliver Carter was also great in the popish controversy, with small success in converting Papists, but much in the edification of Protestants. On one occasion, Carter becoming suddenly ill in the pulpit, Bourne immediately took his place, and preached wonderfully on the same text, 'a visible and present proof,' says Hollingworth, 'of Mr. Carter's doctrine.' But even this 'proof' did not convince the incorrigible Papists.

The bishop, although not slow himself, was continually urged by the queen's council to greater activity in discovering popish recusants, and greater severity in punishing them. 'Now, my good lord,' wrote Lord Burleigh, 'that you are entered on the way of reformation, remember St. Paul, *tempestive, intempestive*. Somewhere you must be a father, somewhere a lord. With the meaner sort, courtesy will do more than argument; with the higher sort, authority is a match.'

The bishop and the earl were as active as Burleigh could desire in discovering seminary priests and the houses in which they were sheltered, and in punishing all who resorted to their secret masses. Several Puritan magistrates, especially Robert Worsley of the Booths, Richard Holland of Denton, and Sir Edmond Trafford of Trafford, were zealous coadjutors in opposing popery and imprisoning popish recusants. They devised a very ingenious mode of convincing Papists of the error of their ways. As the sermons of Carter and Bourne did them no good, because they never went to church, the best of their convincing arguments were loudly read at meal times in the refectory of the prison, so that the Papists had the alternative of hearing sound arguments against popery or going without their dinners. To the great disappointment of Worsley, who undertook the management of this service, it utterly failed in converting a single Papist. Some of the prisoners would fast rather than hear heretical arguments; some are said to have put pieces of cloth in their ears; and others digested their dinners much better than the theological condiments with which they were seasoned. Most of these obstinate Catholics were charged with denying the supremacy of the queen, while many of them avowed their denial in needlessly coarse language, 'lewd speeches utterly unpardonable.' Thus James Leybourne was accused of speaking against 'a female papacy, unlawfully begotten, and lawfully deposed by the pope.' Their treason, as well as their religion, they learned from Father Campion and other Jesuit priests. If popish recusants were treated with great injustice and severity, as they undoubtedly were, abundant extenuation of their persecution is to be found in the conspiracies which were formed to assassinate the queen, the threatened invasion of the country by foreigners instigated by the pope, and the rash

* Hollingworth.

conduct of many of the Lancashire Catholics, more likely to excite suspicions of their disloyalty than to [conciliate the confidence of their Protestant neighbours.

It is easy to understand, though impossible to justify, the bitter feelings which in that age prevailed between Catholics and Protestants, especially in Lancashire, where the opposite parties had reason to fear as well as to hate each other. Rumours of intrigues and plots, false and true, threats of the Spanish invasion, reports of Irish massacres, tales of the treachery of popish soldiers, the conspiracies of the Queen of Scots against Elizabeth and the sentence of death passed by Elizabeth upon Mary, the treasons of Papists and their persecutions by Protestants, produced a continued excitement of ill-feeling, fear, suspicion, and revenge. Even in the neighbourhood of Manchester, where the Protestants were numerous and powerful, a popish mob could be collected in an emergency, as at Blackley, where they nearly killed Oliver Carter, who had made himself offensive by his zealous support of Protestant doctrine. In 1584, the storm in Manchester was hushed, and tranquillity in some measure restored, as the Catholics were frightened, and the Protestants gratified, by the sight of the heads of three notorious Papists—James Bell, John Finch, and James Leybourne—placed early one morning on the tower of the collegiate church. It was a barbarous exhibition, but the Papists had been tried and executed, not for Catholic doctrine, but for high treason. Severe measures in that age seemed necessary to secure the peace of the country. These severities, as well as the discovery of Babington's plot, the execution of the Queen of Scots, the destruction of the Spanish Armada, the hanging of some Jesuits and expulsion of others from the country, did much, by striking terror into the hearts of the violent Papists and calming the fears of loyal Catholics as well as of Protestants, to secure the tranquillity of the north, where, however, several popish emissaries were harboured waiting their time, and administering secret oaths to such members of Catholic families as they could seduce from their allegiance.

However the public peace may have been secured by severe measures, the suspicion, distrust, fear, and hatred of Protestants towards Catholics and of Catholics towards Protestants, so far from being subdued, were strengthened and intensified in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth. In no part of England did the hostility of the opposite parties produce so much inconvenience as in Lancashire, where they were more intimately connected by social and family relations than in other parts of the kingdom. A minority may make a social circle for itself, and a majority may afford or affect to take no notice of its movements. But in many parts of Lancashire Catholics and Protestants of necessity intermingled. Each party was strong enough to annoy the other, and both suffered in many ways from the annoyance.

A remarkable instance of this annoyance, perhaps unavoidable under the circumstances, may occur to the observer of the manners of this time in the social estimation in which the wives and children

of Protestant clergymen were held, not only by Catholics, but by society acting under the influence of Catholic traditions.* In some counties a clergyman's wife seldom or never met with Papists or papistical people; but even there the prejudice of society, although it soon wore away, was at first annoying and humiliating to many honest women. Even the wives of bishops occupied an unpleasant position in the ranks in which their right reverend husbands were accustomed to move. In some houses of the nobility and gentry, they were scarcely received as welcome visitors, nor did they often obtrude into the higher circles of society. Whatever may have been the rank or title of a bishop, his wife was absolutely of no rank or title whatever. In English society she is still the only wife who reflects none of the lustre of her husband's dignity, nor appropriates even by courtesy the feminine of his masculine titles. Every other lord expects his wife to be addressed as 'My lady.' Even the Lord Mayor of London, who for a year and a day makes his wife 'her ladyship,' would keenly feel the discourtesy if in company she were addressed as Mrs. Grocer or Mrs. Smith. The Catholics of Lancashire, and some of the Protestants who spake evil of dignities, affected an unmistakable tone in giving the title 'My lady' to the wife of my lord the Bishop. The good woman could not endure the mortification, which was probably the more severe from its being understood that the queen disapproved of calling 'bishops' women 'ladies.

The feeling respecting the marriage of clergymen was also the cause of much unpleasantness and inconvenience in the settlement of their daughters, especially among the few who formed the higher class of the clergy. A Stanley, an Assheton, or a Chadderton might be a bishop, or a warden, or a parson of Wigan, or a rector of Winwick, but he could not easily match his daughters with Stanleys, Asshetons, or Chaddertons. I know not how far this prejudice will explain the otherwise inexplicable conduct of so good and wise a man as Bishop Chadderton. His only daughter, Joan, whom he dearly loved, was married to Richard Brook, a boy of good family, on October 15, 1582. According to the record, she was born on February 20, 1574, '*early in the morning.*' The marriage of these two children, Joan in her ninth year, Richard in his eleventh, was solemnised in the bishop's palace 'according to the Book of Common Prayer.' Four years afterwards the marriage was ratified by the deposition of witnesses, in the presence of Oliver Carter, the Puritan preacher of Manchester. The boy Richard deposed that 'matrimony was had and solemnised' between him and Joan Brook *alias* Chadderton, and that he 'with free will did ratify the same marriage by his assent and consent.' The girl Joan wrote, 'I do accept of your confession and consent, and take you for my lawful husband, and pray as you have prayed, Joan Brook.†' The paper was then at-

* The Catholics, while denying the validity of Protestant orders, were inconsistent enough to reproach the reformed clergy as 'married priests' or 'concubinary ministers.'

† At a somewhat earlier period marriages were solemnised between little

tested by Carter and the officials of the bishop's court. Many besides Catholics scarcely regarded the poor girl as legitimate.

Another instance of the ill-feeling which then prevailed between Catholics and Protestants is to be found in a curious minute in the Lancashire MSS. vol. xiii. Bishops then granted licences to midwives, allowing them to practise their mystery. Jane Scarisbrick, licensed by Chadderton, was required to attend 'any woman labouring with child, being married, and *professing the reformed faith.*' Catholic wives, like unmarried women, could not claim her assistance. These midwives were also licensed to baptise, on taking an oath that they would 'use pure and clean water, not any rose-water, nor water made of any confection or mixture.*' The evil working of the sad hostility of Catholics and Protestants in Lancashire admits of numerous but requires no more illustrations.

In 1593 died Henry, the fourth Earl of Derby, the persecutor of Papists and the patron of Puritan preachers. He was buried at Ormskirk, with honours almost equal to those which distinguished the magnificent funeral of his father, Edward. Bishop Chadderton preached what, according to the taste if not of that time yet of that place, might be thought an eloquent sermon. It seems strange to us that a prelate of great learning should preach to the young earl in these words: 'You, noble earl, that not only inherit but exceed your father's virtues, learn to keep the love of your country as your father did. You have in your arms three legs,† signifying three shires—Cheshire, Derbyshire, and Lancashire. Stand fast on these legs, and you need fear none of their arms.' The young earl is reported to have said, with some warmth, to his attendants, 'This priest hopes one day to make me three courtesies.‡' Chadderton, however, had soon to make a courtesy for higher preferment than the earl could give him, for, in 1595, he was translated to the see of Lincoln, having preached, it is said, more frequently—though, if the above laudation be a specimen, I should think not more wisely or more usefully—than any bishop of his time.

The early Lancashire reformers, whom I have already noticed as having done so much for the reformation of the English Church, preceded to the grave the great queen whom they had faithfully served under her smiles or her frowns. Of the four, Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, was the first who finished his work and entered into his rest. Although conforming to the habits from respect to the

children. This was usually done to secure the estates of heiresses. One of the Asketons obtained a divorce on the ground that he was carried to church and married when he was so young that he could not remember anything about the solemnity. But Joan Chadderton had no estate, and her father, not her guardian, promoted the marriage.

* It is strange that some clergymen should refuse to acknowledge the validity of lay baptism, when the licences of bishops authorising women to baptise can be produced. One by the Bishop of Chester is inserted in Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 413.

† The well-known symbol of the Isle of Man.

‡ Hibbert's *History of the Collegiate Church*, vol. i. p. 128. The relator was Sir John Harrington, who was present.

authority which imposed them, he expressed to the end of his life his undiminished dislike of them, and his earnest desire to obtain liberty for his nonconforming brethren. Like an honest Puritan, he fearlessly asserted the right of the Church to retain her ancient patrimony, and courageously maintained, by a law-suit with the queen herself, the claim of the palatinate bishopric to the forfeited estates of the Earl of Westmoreland. Although Elizabeth could unfrock bishops, she could not frighten Pilkington, nor obtain possession of the episcopal property without the assistance of Parliament. The good bishop, who cared little for the property, felt that he had done his duty in resisting the unconstitutional power of the queen, and readily submitted to the decision of the supreme authority. He died in 1575.

His early friend in school, in college, and in exile, Thomas Lever, survived him only two years. The Master of Sherborne Hospital, near Durham, had spent much time in conference with his friend on the best means of promoting a further reformation. Although in failing health and energy, he lost no opportunity of pleading with the queen, who retained her regard for him, and most urgently with his friends Lord Leicester and Sir William Cecil, on behalf of the persecuted Nonconformists. By his intercessions the sufferings of many were alleviated, and the fines of others remitted. He died in 1577.

Edwin Sandys retained his activity to the last, but, like many active old men, contracted an irritable and litigious disposition. When Archbishop of York, he was always in strife with the queen, or her ministers, or his clergy, or his suffragan bishops; with the Papists, his irreconcilable enemies; or with the Puritans, his old friends. A Puritan to the last, he nevertheless quarrelled with Puritans, and especially with Whittingham, the Puritan Dean of Durham, who, having no other orders than those of Geneva, refused to be reordained by his Grace.* The old man of many great qualities and many infirmities fell into sad scandal in an inn at Doncaster—a victim, as his friends said, to a vile Papist conspiracy; as his enemies said, to his own evil propensity. Acquitted by an ecclesiastical council, he, I hope, was innocent, although I do not like to impute the malice and wickedness by which innocence was so frightfully injured to the respectable Catholics of Doncaster. Let the matter remain a mystery. It effectually quenched his restless activity, and prepared him for his grave in the collegiate church of Southwell, where he was interred in July 1588.

Alexander Nowell survived all his early friends. Honours and preferments had gathered around him. The preacher on great occasions, he was appointed to preach before the court in St. Paul's,

* The dean offended his Grace by denying his right to interfere with the Cathedral of Durham, which was said to be independent of archiepiscopal rule. But this was not the only instance in which Sandys troubled his Puritan brethren who would not submit to his authority. He, acting under the direction of Archbishop Whitgift, behaved ill, and even Bishop Chadderton did not behave well, to Giles Wigginton, the Puritan vicar of Sedbergh, who was deprived of his vicarage and imprisoned in Lancaster Castle for nonconformity to a ceremonial of which both Sandys and Chadderton had disapproved.—*Neal*, vol. i. p. 316.

on perhaps the greatest occasion of thanksgiving in English history—the destruction of the Spanish Armada. In his ninetieth year, the old man, Dean of St. Paul's, Fellow of Manchester College, Canon of Windsor—never allowed by the queen to be a bishop—was elected Master of Brasenose College. Let us hope the duties of that office were not very burdensome. What changes had passed over the university, as well as over the country, since he matriculated some seventy-five years before, when the reading men of his college were wondering what would come to Germany from the preaching of Martin Luther, and the unreading men had scarcely heard of that name! In his ninety-fifth year, when his memory is said to have been still retentive, he could take a review of life from almost the first year of Henry VIII. to the last but one of Elizabeth, with the satisfaction that, in all the marvellous changes of that interval, he had served his country as wisely, as honourably, and as usefully as any man of his time. He died on February 13, 1601-2, and was buried behind the altar of his own cathedral.

As early as February 1588-9, Martin Marprelate had set up his printing-press in Newton Lane, Manchester. Who he was has never been discovered. The reason of his activity is easily explained. The Puritans were forbidden to print without licence; and, often unable to obtain a licence for any book written in their own defence, they had recourse to a secret press and a clandestine issue of pamphlets. Had silence been imposed on both parties, the Puritans might have quietly submitted to the imposition; but flesh and blood—at least their flesh and blood—could not be silent when false and malicious charges were freely published by their oppressors. Under such provocations, some of the extreme Puritans provided a press and engaged itinerant printers, who, like strolling players, went from one place to another to practise their art and mystery. They began at Kingston in Surrey, removed to Fawsley in Northamptonshire, and were discovered in Manchester.

Whether Martin and his sons were the proprietors of the press, or only employed it, as other Puritans did, for their own purpose, is not certainly known. It is, however, certain that several books were printed at the secret press, whose authors had no knowledge of the Marprelates. Two Puritan ministers of good learning, estimable character, and unimpeachable loyalty, have been accused of having written the objectionable tracts; but there is not a shadow of evidence that either of them knew anything of Marprelate, although they might have had access to the secret press. On its discovery, some of the printers fled from the country; one was imprisoned and threatened with death, but he either could or would give no information of the author.

The tracts, although written with much vigour and ability, are coarse, personal, and abusive. Their good and bad qualities contributed to their popularity. All who could read them would understand them; and all who understood them would certainly remember them. The excuse for their faults is that they are the cry of oppressed

men, who had not liberty to plead their cause openly and fairly. They contain many hard sayings, but hard sayings in return for harder deeds. A man beaten when his hands are bound may be excused for making the most of his tongue. The prelates fined and imprisoned, and the Marprelates retaliated with angry words, biting sarcasm, and rough abuse. The Puritan controversy, however, assumed a new character in these tracts. Hitherto the Puritans had objected chiefly, if not exclusively, to the ceremonies of the Church, as popish, superstitious, or unscriptural. Marprelate spoke against bishops, whom the earlier Puritans had acknowledged or spared. A new question was rising. The bishops were unpopular, very much through their own arbitrary proceedings; and Martin took advantage of those proceedings to increase their unpopularity. As they became the patrons of the ceremonial, the Puritans began to controvert not only the reasons of the ceremonial but the authority of its patrons. The government of the Episcopal Church rather than its circumstances, its essential principles rather than its modes, became exposed to new and fierce attacks. Puritanism was changing its character: it was tending towards Presbyterianism, and in some respects towards Independency.

The Marprelate tracts were greatly disliked and loudly condemned by the moderate Puritans. Cartwright, who at that time was elaborating a defence of presbyterian discipline, expressed his decided disapproval of them. Sarcasm is scarcely appropriate to religious controversy; but, be it good or bad, the Puritans had not the monopoly of it. 'Pappe with a Hatchett,' and 'An Almond for a Parrot,' tracts written on the side of the bishops, are quite as scurrilous, if not as clever, as 'Ha' ye any Work for the Cooper?' or any other of Martin's pamphlets. As, however, it does not appear that any of the Lancashire Puritans knew anything about the printers who sought a temporary shelter in their county, I need not trouble myself or my readers with any further enquiry about the mysterious Marprelates, although at the time they excited so much general interest as to make it worth somebody's money to exhibit them on the stage.

In the private correspondence of Lancashire people during the last twenty years of the reign of Elizabeth, we find many indications of the growth of popery under the severe treatment, and of puritanism under the mild treatment of the government. In Baker's MSS. is preserved a letter written from Bolton by James Gosnell, a Puritan minister, who says: 'I have no news to write out of this county. Here are great store of Jesuits, seminaries, masses, and plenty of whoredom. The first sort our sheriff courseth pretty well. Other good news is, that the Bishop of Canterbury has not yet, God be thanked, stung us with his articles, which in the south have so great power that, by report, they have quenched the Lord's lights nearly to the number of two hundred.'*

* Baker's MSS., preserved in the University Library at Cambridge, vol. xii. p. 211, as cited by Brook, *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 509. The sheriff who coursed Papists instead of hares was either Richard Holland of Denton, or Sir Edmund Trafford, both of whom when sheriffs were distinguished by their severities with

In the administration of the Lord's Supper, among other diversities of opinion and practice, angry disputes arose in Lancashire, as indeed in other places, respecting the use of bread—whether it should be broken from a loaf, or formed into wafers. On reference to the lords of the council, they allowed the use of either until parliament might see fit to determine the dispute. In many parishes the people could not agree with the incumbent, or with one another. The bishop evidently preferred the use of common bread, and did all he could to promote uniformity in his diocese. When compelled to allow the use of wafers, he did it as an indulgence to 'babes in Christ who were to be fed with milk, not with strong meat.' He is said, however, to have regarded with no friendly feeling any clergyman who did not encourage his people to receive the bread in the ordinary form.*

We now approach a subject of considerable interest, and of some perplexity, in the history of puritanism—the opinions of the Puritans respecting the Sabbath, and the manner in which they sought to enforce its religious observance. The perplexity is, that while in all other things the Puritans wished to obtain a nearer conformity to the usages of foreign Protestants, in this matter they had neither the example nor the support of either Lutherans or Calvinists. In carefully observing the growth of Puritan opinions, we may discover some of the causes of this perplexing divergency.

In the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, the Puritan clergy and gentry of Lancashire complained of the great annoyance and scandal which were produced by the public desecration of the Sabbath, especially by 'wakes, fairs, markets, bear-baits, bull-baits, church-ales, May-games, piping and dancing, hunting, and all manner of unlawful gaming.' Sixteen magistrates, of influence and authority, sent directions to the mayors, bailiffs, constables, and churchwardens, to suppress, by all lawful means, these disorderly proceedings, and to punish all minstrels, bearwards, and other such disorderly persons. The first reformers had not enforced so strict an observance of the Sabbath as these magistrates desired, nor had the Puritan exiles on their return from Frankfort or Geneva. Rigid Sabbatarianism has been often represented as sour Calvinism; but whatever it was, it was certainly not Calvinistic. Probably the strict Sabbatarianism of the early Puritans, as it was not derived from their oracles of Geneva, was a reaction occasioned by the gross immoralities and scandalous disorders of the old English Sunday, and especially the old Lancashire Sunday. In the interests of morality and religion, no Sunday at all would have been far better than the Lancashire Sunday of the time of Elizabeth, with its fierce and cruel sports, its bull-baiting, cock-fighting, ring fighting, gambling, boisterous revelry, obscene

regard to Catholics. Father Campion calls Holland 'a rigid Puritan,' and Trafford 'a most bitter enemy of the Catholics.' The articles mentioned were Whitgift's three articles, to which in many dioceses the subscription of all ministers was required. The Puritans objected to the second article, which declared that 'the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordaining bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the Word of God.'

* *History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester*, vol. i. ch. xiii.

songs, drunken frays, noisy ale-houses, full prisons, and miserable homes. Had the people kept to their ordinary work on Sundays, they would have been happier and healthier, and their families would have been better fed, better clothed, and better trained. But neither Papist nor Puritan was prepared to say, No sacred day at all—neither festival nor fast, neither Sunday nor Sabbath. The alternative, in Lancashire especially, seemed to be, a day of boisterous immorality or a day of religious austerity, a vanity fair or a holy convocation, a day given to folly or a day consecrated to devotion. Had a middle course been proposed—as the appropriating of the morning to devotion and the evening to amusement—it would have been regarded as a compromise founded on no principle, and acceptable to neither party. In the prevalent feeling of the time, everything venerable and sacred seemed to depend upon the solution of the question, how the religious observance of Sunday should be maintained and enforced. In 1595, while great doubt and anxiety prevailed among devout people on the subject, one Dr. Bound published a book, in which he contended that the Lord's day should be as strictly observed by Christians as the Sabbath was observed by the Jews; that, in fact, all the old laws of the Sabbath were transferred to the first day of the week. The book was extensively read, and produced a very decided impression upon devout readers. It taught an extreme view, but by far the safer and better of the two extremes. When there was no one to show a more excellent way, it is not surprising that the Puritans generally accepted its doctrine. Whatever may have been the austerities of a Puritan Sabbath (which have been greatly exaggerated by their enemies), I know not what would have become of the religion of their country if the Puritans had not rescued the Lord's day from the follies and immoralities with which it was lamentably desecrated. Nor was the Puritan Sabbath always a day of austerity and gloom. I hope, in the course of this narrative, to come upon many a Puritan Sabbath in Lancashire, as pleasant, as cheerful, as beautiful, as blessed, as like to Paradise, as any festive day that ever smiled upon a happy Christian household.

This letter of the Lancashire magistrates was the beginning of a conflict respecting the religious observance of Sunday which troubled all parties for more than a century. The exercise of unconstitutional authority by the Puritan magistrates, the reaction which it produced in the equally unconstitutional and more arbitrary proceedings of their opponents in the issuing of the two books of sports, the controversy which was excited among the clergy respecting the proper observance of sacred days of any kind, and the complaints of the working people on account of the restriction of their amusements on the only day on which they were relieved from toil, are subjects which, for three or four reigns, will continually obtrude upon the course of our enquiry. A correct understanding of the origin of this controversy will enable us to estimate the faults and virtues, the oppressions and sufferings of both parties in the long and bitter warfare. From this time a new element was introduced into the Puritan controversy.

On the death of Henry, the fourth Earl of Derby, his son Ferdinando succeeded to his estates and honours, but enjoyed them only for a short time. His death was inexplicable by his medical advisers; and in those days, whatever was inexplicable was regarded as supernatural. Portentous signs were observed at Lathom and at Knowsley. In the month of April, the earl and several of his attendants were sadly troubled with strange dreams, or, as a report carefully drawn up at the time calls them, 'divinations.' According to that report, the figure of a tall man, with a ghastly countenance, crossed his path as a shadow, and immediately the earl was stricken with mortal sickness. At night was found in his sick chamber 'a figure of wax, with hair like unto the hair of his honour,' which 'Mr. Halsall ignorantly cast into the fire.' Had Mr. Halsall understood demonology, he would have known that, as the image melted in the fire, his honour would consume and die. 'A homelie woman was heard mumbling in a corner of the chamber, but what she said God only knoweth.' Throughout his sickness the earl cried that the doctors could do him no good, as he was certainly bewitched. 'In the end, he cried out against all witches, reposing his only hope of salvation upon the merits of Christ Jesus, his Saviour.' It seems to us very strange that, in the great house of Knowsley Park, where the Earl of Derby was dying in the presence of his countess, his attendants, his physicians, his chaplains, and his friends, these things, and many like them, should have been said, generally believed, and related in a sort of official report of his death.*

Strange as this account is, it is not the strangest of the tales of the Lancashire witches. These tales, generally believed at the time by all classes, from the earl's physicians and chaplains to the ignorant cotters on the moorside, are among the most humiliating recollections of the reign of Elizabeth. Wretched old women were, in popular estimation, sold and sworn to do the devil's service, and endowed by their master with marvellous powers to work destruction upon doomed men and women. They had their places of midnight feasting and diabolical revelry, whither they went with incredible speed from great distances. Pendle Hill was their favourite resort, but other wild moors were occasionally visited for such purposes. Poor women were convicted upon the testimony of witch-finders, often young boys, who swore to the most monstrous fictions. Such boys, taken to church, were directed to declare the witches, and their testimony was adduced before magistrates as evidence against the wretched creatures. On such evidence many poor imbecile women were condemned and executed. It is more fearful to know that some, crazed with terror or wearied of life, confessed themselves guilty

* The death of Ferdinando has in later times been attributed to slow poison. Dr. Ormerod, in his prefatory memoirs to the *Tracts relating to the Military Proceedings of Lancashire*, says, 'It is well known that Jesuitical intrigue led to his death by poison.' This may be 'well known,' but I do not know it. The Jesuits were wicked enough to do many wicked things in the cause of their Church, but I see no object they could attain by poisoning the poor earl. If the crime lie between witches and Jesuits, I will not venture to say who were the criminals.

of crimes which no woman ever could have committed, and suffered death, as the covenanted servants, or something worse, of the devil.

For believing in such abominations, the Puritan ministers of Lancashire have had to bear a large proportion of the blame. They were blameable, but neither more nor less so than other people. When the Earl of Derby kept a conjuror, and his countess consulted a witch, a Puritan minister may have believed in witchcraft. So did bishops, and so did even the judges of the land. Bishop Jewell preached before the queen upon the terrible power and 'marvellous increase' of witches 'in the last four years.' In a later and more enlightened age, Judge Hale tried old women on the charge of witchcraft, and believed them to be justly found guilty. But it is said some Puritan ministers in Lancashire pretended to cast out devils. I know they attempted to do so. Let him that is without sin cast the first stone. The bishops gave authority and a form of licensing to their clergy to cast out devils.* Catholic priests claimed a monopoly of power to bind or to loose the devils. All I say in defence of the Puritan ministers of the reign of Elizabeth is, that while they were no wiser than bishops and judges, Protestant parsons or Catholic priests, they never sought to gain any personal advantage by pretending to heal the possessed. In a few instances which may come in our way (I wish I could say in many), the Puritan minister was the only friend who would speak a few kind words to a condemned witch, as she trembled in the cold shadow of death.

It is true there was one clergyman in Lancashire who would have nothing to do with casting out devils, and he was the famous Dr. Dee, recently appointed the Warden of Manchester. A great astrologer and alchemist, he seems to have regarded witches as practising in magic a contraband sort of trade. He had no faith in them or no power over them. Instead of destroying life by incantation, he was engaged in the more useful and honourable mystery of making the elixir of life, the medicine of immortality. He had very nearly, though not quite, discovered how to obtain it and how to use it. Instead of blighting other people's corn or killing their cattle, like the witches, he was engaged in casting horoscopes and transmuting baser metals into gold. In the latter art his neighbours believed him to have succeeded; but if he had, it is hard to explain why he lived and died miserably poor and in debt to all his friends. However that may have been, the warden who practised alchemy and despised witchcraft, and the Puritan fellows of his college who counted his art no better, if not worse, than witchcraft, brought much scandal upon the Church by their implacable hatred and interminable quarrels.†

* In the articles of enquiry which were presented by Archbishop Whitgift to the churchwardens of every parish, and which they had to answer upon oath, one was — 'Whether they knew of any of their neighbours . . . that were . . . witches, conjurors, heretics; any man that had two wives, or woman that had two husbands; . . . any that went to conventicles or meetings for saying prayers in private houses?'—*Neal*, vol. i. p. 339.

† Lancashire seems to have been nearly as celebrated for its alchemists as for its witches. As early as 1446 there was granted to Sir Edmund Trafford and Sir

Dr. Chadderton, on his translation to the see of Lincoln, resigned the Wardenship of Manchester, and this John Dee, 'Doctor of Physicke,' was appointed his successor. He could not have been promoted to the office on public grounds; for, whatever at that time may have been the policy of the queen with regard either to her old enemies the Papists, or her more recent troublers the Puritans, Dr. Dee, absorbed in studies far remote from popish or puritan theology, was not likely to restrain or intimidate any parties, political or religious. He had been induced by Lord Robert Dudley, on the accession of Elizabeth, to 'cast a horoscope,' in order to discover a fortunate day for her coronation. If the prosperity of her reign depended upon the day of her coronation, John Dee was a master of his science, as the long and prosperous reign of Elizabeth clearly and indisputably testified. The queen was pleased, and promised him Church preferment. The preferment was long in coming, but the value of his horoscope could only be ascertained by the efflux of time. Nearly forty years after the coronation the doctor was made Warden of Manchester, and an extraordinary warden he certainly was.

He lived in the midst of strife. He had obtained, as he professed, great knowledge of the occult sciences, and had been employed by the Earl of Leicester, on behalf of the queen, to discover the thoughts and purposes of her enemies in foreign courts. At times he was very unpopular with the people, and his Puritan colleagues took advantage of his unpopularity to make him miserable. Having the power of casting out devils, as the people believed, he would grant no relief to the possessed. When poor crazed Margaret Byron, of Salford, was brought to him for deliverance from the evil spirits which cruelly tormented her, he peremptorily refused, and told her friends he would practise no such unlawful arts as they desired. With the power of making gold, he would not pay his debts, nor give anything to the poor. The urgency of his creditors became at last so oppressive, that the unhappy man was obliged to satisfy the sheriff's officers by selling his books, pictures, powders, stones, and coloured glass, the implements of his power. Oliver Carter he regarded as his worst enemy, but William Bourne bitterly persecuted him. Manchester tradesmen, as they commonly do, disliked a parson who did not pay his debts; and probably the more so, as they believed he really could, if he would venture a little more of his chance of the future life by dealing more freely with evil spirits. Worst of all, his enemies, the fellows, in opposition to his wishes, elected a rival astrologer, one Dr. Cogan, to a vacancy in the fellowship. Unable any longer to endure the

Thomas Ashton—two Lancashire alchemists who had discovered an elixir for restoring youth to old people—a patent for transmuting base metals into silver and gold. The royal license was necessary, as in the reign of Henry IV. an Act of Parliament had passed prohibiting the king's subjects from transmuting baser metals into gold. It is said to have been the only Act which was never violated. One of the alchemists is alleged to have transmuted a piece of the bottom of an iron pot, about 'an inch in bigness,' into gold and sent it to the king. Why, when he was about it, he did not 'transmute' the whole pot, does not distinctly appear. See the king's patent in Baines's *History of Lancashire*, vol. i. p. 406.

troubles of Manchester, he left the town and resided at Mortlake. His revenues being sequestrated, he lived in abject poverty, and, instead of looking for consolation where a clergyman in the infirmities of age should look for it, to the promises of immortality, he sought miserable comforters, in holding communications by his occult science with the world of spirits. On the death of the queen, he applied for relief to King James, who detested his mysteries, and left him to perish in his poverty, sickness, and desolation.*

Hibbert's *History of the Collegiate Church*, vol. i. ch. xiv.

CHAPTER VI.

REVIEW OF PURITANISM IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

In 1603 died Queen Elizabeth, often the persecutor, seldom the friend, always the idol of the Puritans. As her rule had been exercised with less severity over the Puritans of the north than it had been over their brethren in the south, there was no part of her kingdom in which 'the setting of that bright occidental star' was more grievously lamented than it was among the Puritans of Lancashire. Before we proceed further, it may be desirable to advert to the state of puritanism in the county during the latter part of her reign, and to notice the more eminent Puritan ministers by whom it was promoted.

I have already noticed the prevalence of both popery and puritanism in Lancashire in the early part of Elizabeth's reign. Towards its close both parties had become more powerful, more defined, and more resolutely opposed to each other. The Catholics had been induced, by Jesuits and other emissaries from Rome, to withdraw from the services of the Church, and privately to observe the ritual of their own religion. Although the Puritans had not separated from the English Church, they had become a powerful party within its pale, holding definite views with a tenacity which foreboded either a separation from its communion or a further reformation of its public services. The Catholics increased and became strong under the secret instructions and guidance of concealed priests; the Puritans, under the zealous ministrations of popular preachers. Both parties were persecuted: the Catholics severely, as many were driven out of the country, and some suffered death; the Puritans less severely, although the fines and imprisonment to which some of them were subjected for nonconformity to the ceremonies seemed a precursor of evil days to come.

The intermediate party of sound Churchmen appeared too feeble or too indifferent to do much in determining the issues of the controversy. Opposite influences were gradually drawing them to one extreme or the other. It was said that, between the Puritans of the south-east parts and the Papists of the north and west, Lathom was a sort of border fort to keep the peace, and the Earl of Derby the only sound Churchman in the county. If by the Earl of Derby be meant the Stanleys, the Ffaringtons, and two or three other great families under his influence, it might be said with almost literal truth that the earl was the only friend in Lancashire of the institutions, discipline, and services of the Church as by law established. What was said of Herle, Warden of Manchester, might with as much truth

be said of his Church—it was dying between two malefactors, popery and puritanism.

The Puritans of Lancashire were at that time professedly Churchmen, and really much more so than many of their brethren in the south of England. They adhered to the doctrines of the Church, from which, however, no Protestants in Lancashire, and scarcely any in the south of England, had then swerved. In their controversy, so far, no doctrine had become a subject of dispute.* As to the government of the Church, presbyterianism, although obtaining advocates and supporters in Cambridge and London, had not been avowed by any Puritans in Lancashire. They, like their fathers, the reformers, regarded episcopacy as an ordinance of the secular government, to which they were bound to submit so long as nothing unlawful was imposed. Neither *jus divinum* episcopacy nor *jus divinum* presbyterianism was then known in the county. The Lancashire Puritans disliked the surplice, and would not wear it. They disapproved of the sign of the cross in baptism, and their ministers would not use it; or if they did, their people would often carry away the babes as soon as they were sprinkled. They would not kneel at the sacrament. They were beginning to protest against all ceremonial unauthorised by Scripture, as either unlawful or tending to superstition. 'Painted puppets' of saints and angels in church windows were regarded as relics of popery. Organs were not then common in the county; and where introduced, as in the collegiate church of Manchester, they were looked upon with suspicion, if not with abhorrence. In few of the churches were the authorised services solemnised with exact uniformity. Some ministers carelessly, some conscientiously, departed from the canonical order; many, as they were inclined to catholicism or to puritanism, did that which was right in their own eyes.

* It has been said that the Puritans were stricter Calvinists than their persecutors in the reign of Elizabeth, as untrue as it has been said that the doctrinal articles of the Church were intended as a compromise between Calvinists and Arminians. Like the reformers, the prelates of Elizabeth were of one opinion about grace, predestination, and free will, that is, they were all adherents of the Augustinian theology. In 1595, one Mr. Barret—a bold, corrupt, and unlearned young fellow, as the heads of the Cambridge colleges called him—in a sermon before the university, expressed some opinion unfavourable to Calvin's doctrine of predestination. The authorities of the university were unanimous in their condemnation of the preacher. On the matter being brought before Archbishop Whitgift, the bitter enemy of Puritans, he proved himself as determined a Calvinist as any Puritan in the land. He sent down to Cambridge nine propositions, commonly called the Lambeth articles, approved by the Archbishop of York and several bishops. The first four were: 1. 'God from eternity has predestinated some persons to life and reprobated others to death.' 2. 'The moving or efficient cause of predestination to life is not foreseen faith or good works, or any other commendable quality in the persons predestinated, but the good will and pleasure of God.' 3. 'The number of the predestinated is fixed, and cannot be lessened or increased.' 4. 'They who are not predestinated to salvation shall be necessarily condemned for their sins.'—Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. i. p. 388. What could have been sterner Calvinism than that of these articles, to which the scholars and the university 'were strictly enjoined to conform their judgments,' I cannot imagine. We must wait for Archbishop Laud before we find Arminianism allowed in the English Church.

Puritanism had, during the reign of Elizabeth, gained the ascendancy in the more important positions of the Church. Under the patronage of the Puritan bishop of Chester and the Puritan Earl of Derby, the collegiate church of Manchester, and the three rich rectories of the county—Winwick, Wigan, and Middleton—were held by Puritans; as were the three great vicarages, Rochdale, Blackburn, and Whalley. In these parishes were many chapelries, occupied by Puritan ministers. The promoters of the Manchester exercises were all zealous Puritans. Puritanism had no opposition which it regarded, so long as it was not troubled by the interference of distant authorities like the Archbishop of York, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the lords of the council.

Of the Puritan ministers settled in Lancashire, among the earliest was RICHARD MIDGLEY, a member of a respectable family which derived its name from Midgley, in the parish of Halifax. He was born in the home of his ancestors about the year 1530, and is said to have been educated in that favourite college of the northern Puritans, St. John's, Cambridge. Of his education and early life we know little, but he must have attained some eminence both as a sound Protestant and an able preacher, or, under the circumstances, Archbishop Parker would not have appointed him to the important vicarage of Rochdale. His predecessor, as we have already observed, was said to have been a concealed Papist, and, with more certainty, an incompetent man, of little learning and of low character. On account of the representations made of him, the archbishop ejected the Papist, and sought for his successor an able preacher, on whose zeal and diligence he could firmly rely. He selected Midgley for the difficult position. Rochdale, under the teaching and guidance of its new vicar, soon became another place. The deserted church was crowded every Sunday by an attentive and devout congregation. The preaching of Midgley was plain, earnest, direct, colloquial, affectionate, and well adapted to the minds and hearts of the country people, who came from great distances to hear him. Throughout every week he was unwearied in visiting his parishioners, and promoting their present and future welfare. Nor did he neglect the education of the young. He induced the archbishop to found a grammar school; and although his glebe was small, and the archbishop's tithes large, he gave the site, and persuaded his friends to contribute to the erection of the building, that the archbishop's endowment might, without any abatement, be settled in perpetuity for the maintenance and encouragement of the school.

He was soon troubled for his nonconformity, and so discouraged that, after serving his vicarage only three years, he contemplated his resignation. By some persuasion, probably that of his friend Bishop Pilkington, who was then using his influence with the queen's government to obtain permission for scrupulous ministers to officiate without the objectionable vestments, he was induced to waive his scruples and consent to the use of the surplice. On January 4, 1564, 'the vicar, with the three ministers of the chapels and the master of

the school, subscribed in the Church their promise to use the vestments.' In 1573, he was again cited for nonconformity, and, strange as it may seem, considering his promise and subscription, for officiating in the church without a surplice. His answer, however, was a good one. It was to the effect that there was no surplice in Rochdale for him to wear. He had interpreted his promise to wear a surplice as not including the obligation to purchase one, which to him would be dear at any price. In many parishes the churchwardens refused to provide surplices for the clergy; and in this instance we may suppose the vicar was not very urgent in exhorting his wardens to discharge this part of their duty.* Bishop Chadderton was not disposed to deal severely with his friend; and Midgley seems to have been rather pliable when kindly treated, although uncommonly obstinate when exposed to hard usage. He therefore repeated his subscription, and in 1585 was appointed one of the moderators of the monthly exercises in Manchester. He thus acquired considerable influence as the bishop's adviser, and soon afterwards was invested with the authority of a commissioner, 'to amend and reform schisms, offences, abuses, and contempts ecclesiastical.' The reformer of schisms and offences was soon afterwards summoned to appear before the Chancellor of Chester to answer for several offences; and among others, for 'neglecting to observe the holidays.' He either resigned his vicarage or was deprived of it, and his son, though as incorrigible a Puritan as himself, succeeded him.†

After his resignation he lived fourteen years, and during the greater part of that time travelled over the country as a licensed preacher; or, as Mr. Raines says, 'not improbably one of the four queen's preachers.' In his itinerant preaching, although he would be present at the reading of the Common Prayer, he would take no part in it; but after it had been read he preached, by authority of his license, the doctrines of the Reformation. His preaching was, to the last, earnest and powerful, and produced important results. Although, in the evening of his prolonged life, his great satisfaction must have been in reviewing the marvellous reformation which his faithful preaching had produced in Rochdale, he was often cheered by the assurance that his itinerating labours had proved no unworthy supplement of his pastoral ministrations. He died in 1609, and was buried, amidst many of his loving converts, in the churchyard of Rochdale. The vicarage in his time, with an augmentation from the Byron family, was valued at 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year. It is recorded of Archbishop Whitgift, who held the impropriated rectory, of great

* In Liverpool, in 1612, the corporation resolved to provide a surplice for their clergyman and request him to wear it.—*Moor's Rental*, Introduction, p. xlix.

† Brook says he was 'silenced and deprived of his living.' Mr. Raines, in his notes to the *Stanley Papers*, cites Archbishop Whitgift in refutation of this statement, who nominated the son 'per liberam et spontaneam resignationem Ricardi Midgley.' On the contrary, in the *Notitia Cestriensis*, it is said the archbishop presented Joseph Midgley 'per depriv. Ric. Midgley.' The probability is that the friendly bishop found it impossible to screen Midgley any longer, and so induced him to resign in favour of his son. The resignation in that form would be partly free and partly forced.

value, that he liberally granted, for the use of the vicar and his successors in perpetuity, 'the herbage of the churchyard'!

JOSEPH MIDGLEY, M.A., the son of Richard, received the rudiments of his education in the grammar school which his father had induced Archbishop Parker to found in Rochdale. He proceeded thence to Emanuel College, Cambridge, which, under the auspices of its founder, Sir Walter Mildmay, had become distinguished as the Puritan college of the university.* Confirmed in the principles he had learnt at home by his college associates, he returned to Rochdale, where he became curate, and eventually, as we have already noticed, successor to his father. Soon after he became vicar, he was presented before the chancellor of the diocese for refusing to wear the surplice and for other irregularities. As Dr. Chadderton, the master of his college, was nominated to attend the Hampton Court Conference, he took that opportunity of entreating King James to allow Midgley to minister without the surplice. Archbishop Whitgift, who well knew both the father and the son, hastily interposed by observing that entreaty could not be made for a worse man than Midgley, since, 'by his irreverent use of the eucharist, in dealing the bread out of a basket, everyone putting in his hand and taking out a piece, he made many loathe the communion, and refuse to come to church.†

It appeared from an inquisition made in 1605 that he celebrated the communion sitting, that he did not wear the surplice, nor even 'a cloke with sleeves,' that he did not use the cross in baptism, that he did not have his parish perambulated, and that his churchwardens 'had eaten flesh in Lent.' Joseph, although probably not more irregular than his father, seems to have been more honest or more obstinate in his irregularities. The father might be persuaded into some show of submission and promise of amendment, but the son defied informers, bishops, and ecclesiastical courts. He even refused to acknowledge the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury, when Bancroft had recently attained that office, and Bancroft was not likely to concede any part of his dignity to a Puritan vicar. Midgley was soon brought to the alternative of humble submission or immediate resignation. Refusing to submit, he was deprived of his church, parsonage, and glebe. Defeated after doing his utmost to resist

* Several Lancashire men entered at Emanuel, and were among its most distinguished members. Its first Master was Lawrence Chadderton, of Chadderton near Manchester. The elder branch of the Chaddertons continued their allegiance to the Catholic Church through the reign of Elizabeth. Lawrence, while studying the law in London, became a Protestant, in consequence of which his father disowned him. Admitted to Christ College, Cambridge, he pursued his studies with so much success, that after three years he obtained a fellowship. Distinguished by his zeal for Protestantism and opposition to the Arminian theology, then beginning to appear in the university, he was selected by Sir Walter as the first Master of Emanuel, and for many years retained his office, greatly to the advantage and reputation of the college. The senior fellow of Emanuel was also a Lancashire Puritan, Charles Chadwick, of the Chadwicks of Healy Hall, with whom Mr. Midgley was connected by marriage. He received his early education in the grammar school of Rochdale.

† Strype's *Annals*, Appendix, p. 75. The account is given of the father, who had then ceased to be vicar of Rochdale. It undoubtedly refers to the son.

ecclesiastical authority of all kinds, he retired from the ministry, and applied himself to the practice of physic in Halifax. Although he lived as a layman, he was not exempted from episcopal intolerance, for after his deprivation he was prosecuted and fined for not kneeling when he partook of the sacrament.* He died in 1637.

In connection with the Midgleys occurs the name of RICHARD ROTHWELL, one of the many converts of the elder Midgley.† He was born near Bolton in the year 1563. From the grammar school of Farnworth, he went to Cambridge, and obtained the reputation of an exact Greek and Hebrew scholar. He obtained ordination from Archbishop Whitgift, who, by some strange assumption of authority, forbade him to preach from the Canticles, Daniel, or the Revelation. As at that time he cared little about the responsibility of preaching, he felt no scruple in promising to observe the prohibition. Instead of singing the Canticles or interpreting the Revelation, having great physical strength and activity, he gave a larger proportion of his time to athletic sports than some of his neighbours thought quite consistent with his clerical duties. He was sometimes heard to swear 'faith and troth,' which unseemly asseveration was carefully eschewed by all grave Puritans. His biographer says that he had heard from the reverend man himself, that of two knights in Lancashire, one had a park without any deer, and the other a pond without any fish, and that the young clergyman amused himself at night by removing some of the deer to the grounds of the knight who had no venison, and some of the fish to the pond of the owner of the deer. Being one night surprised by the keeper of the deer park, Rothwell tied the poor man by his thumbs to a tree, so that he could touch the ground with only the ends of his toes. I do not suppose the Reverend Stanley Gower told an untruth of his friend, but as this seems strange amusement for a clergyman even of those times, I imagine the biographer must have mistaken the youthful follies of Rothwell, probably his vacation exercises when an undergraduate, for his exploits after his ordination.

Be this as it may, Mr. Rothwell, after his acquaintance with good old Father Midgley, became quite another minister, and indeed another man. He was, as his biographer tells us, playing at bowls near Rochdale with 'some vain gentlemen upon a Saturday afternoon.' Mr. Midgley, on observing him so employed, 'took him aside, fell into great commendation of him, and at length told him what a pity it was that such a man as he should keep company with such, and upon a Saturday, when he should be preparing for the Sabbath.' Midgley, having wisely tempered his rebuke with pleasant words, retired, and offered fervent prayer for his clerical acquaintance. Rothwell, probably soothed by the remembrance of the 'pleasant

* Preface to *The Defence of Nonconformity*, by Thomas Paget, minister of Blackley.

† The life of Rothwell was printed by the Rev. Stanley Gower of Dorchester, New England, and reprinted in Clark's *Lives* appended to his *Martyrology*. An edition of Gower's book was printed at Bolton without a date, and may be occasionally met with, bound with the *Lives of John Bradford and George Marsh*.

words,' went the next morning to hear his reprover preach in Rochdale church. He seems to have been prepared by the reproof of the previous evening to listen with attention and interest to the discourse, which was delivered with an impassioned earnestness to which he had not been accustomed. Much affected, he waited upon the vicar, acknowledged the justice of his rebuke, and earnestly sought further guidance and instruction. From that time he became a Puritan, and ever afterwards spoke with veneration of Mr. Midgley, whom in Puritan dialect he called his spiritual father. His preaching became, like that of his 'spiritual father,' earnest, evangelical, and very popular; and if it was not so insinuating and persuasive, it was more direct, forcible, mighty in its appeal, and terrible in its denunciations of sin. So impressive, searching, heartrending was his preaching that frequently his hearers, stricken with a conviction of sin, cried out in the church, reproaching themselves, or praying for mercy. The rough-hewer, as the people called him, the Boanerges of Lancashire, was well fitted by his physical strength, powerful voice, dauntless spirit, and plain, popular eloquence, to do a great work among the ignorant and irreligious peasantry of the wild moors in the south-eastern part of the county.

Rothwell became a more decided Nonconformist than his friend Midgley. He never could be induced to promise compliance with the requirements of the bishops, who in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign began, even in the north, to harass and deprive Puritan ministers for their nonconformity. When offered good preferment by his influential friends, he declined their offers, and bluntly told them 'his head was too big to get into a church door.' Content with a poor chapelry, where in the faithful discharge of his duty he thought nobody would trouble him for his nonconformity, he acquired the reputation of extraordinary power and success as a preacher of the gospel. In an obscure village he could not be hidden. He became chaplain to a regiment under the Earl of Essex, and astonished the soldiers by his athletic feats on the week days and his mighty preaching on Sundays. He was afterwards appointed the domestic chaplain of the Earl of Devonshire. He was thence invited by 'that honourable and elect lady,' as Stanley Gower calls the Lady Bowes, to preach to the farmers and labourers of her estates about Barnard Castle. The people of that neighbourhood were so unruly that she had great difficulty in inducing any minister to live among them. Her own chaplain 'dared not venture among so surly a people.' She made the proposal to the Rev. the 'rough-hewer,' who replied that he was 'willing to go where the devil was,' who was sure to be found in Barnard Castle. On her ladyship expressing some fear of the 'fierce disposition' of the people, he said that 'if he thought he should not meet the devil there, he would not go.' He went, and soon found his old enemy, with whom he fought a very hard battle. He gained the day, and drove all the demons out of their favourite region. The people, under his teaching, became civil, decent, orderly, respectable, and many of them new creatures in Christ Jesus. The violent opposition which they at first showed was soon and thoroughly subdued.

For a little while they feared him. He never struck one of them, but if he lifted up his arm the stoutest of them was awed into silence. Their hatred and their fear soon melted into love. They became ready to do anything to show their affectionate regard for their beloved pastor. On occasion of his absence for a short time, the people, who had never before thought of doing a kindness to a parson, collected thirty pounds, and entrusted it to Sir Talbot Bowes, to be given to him on his return. On hearing of it, he requested that the money might be restored to the donors, as he sought not theirs but them.

His courage was as remarkable as his godliness. On one occasion, when the officers of the bishop came to apprehend him, he drew his sword—which unclerical weapon he always carried, although he could not endure a surplice—and peremptorily ordered them to keep their distance. They retired, stricken with terror. His biographer tells a strange tale of his encounter with a devil in Nottinghamshire, who took possession of a poor man and made him swear dreadful oaths, tell horrible lies, and utter abominable abuse. After many godly ministers had prayed over the possessed to no purpose, Mr. Rothwell undertook his deliverance, and although the process was very long and troublesome, eventually healed the demoniac. As this wonderful work was done, not in Lancashire, but in Nottinghamshire, I am not concerned to make any further enquiries respecting it, or to ascertain whether he went to work with or without the bishop's license. As the rough-hewer had left his native county when he practised the healing of demoniacs, I am glad to leave him to the Nonconformist historian of Nottinghamshire or Durham. According to his biographer, he left 'a book written with his own hand' about the assaults of the devil upon this poor man, and the answers of 'divers godly and reverend ministers' respecting them. In the civil wars, some Cavaliers got possession of the book, and 'utterly destroyed it:' 'very profanely,' says his New England biographer; very properly, say I, who love the Cavaliers no better than did the New Englander.

OLIVER CARTER, B.D. of Cambridge, was appointed in 1570 one of the fellows of the collegiate church in Manchester. He was, says Hollingworth, 'a learned man who wrote a book in answer to Bristow's "Motives."' He must have had a good repute for learning and ability, or he would not have been requested by influential scholars to answer the work of Richard Bristow, who was considered the ablest and most eloquent defender of the Catholic cause in the reign of Elizabeth. A zealous Protestant and a controversial preacher, Carter was especially obnoxious to as many of his parishioners as adhered to the Catholic doctrine of their fathers. They denounced him as a 'concubinarian clergyman,' excited the violence of the mob against him, and more than once endangered his life.

In 1578, when puritanism in Lancashire was for political reasons favoured by the queen's government, he was appointed one of the five moderators of the Manchester exercises, and so obtained

considerable influence in governing the clergy who were placed under his instruction and discipline. In that exalted position, he became the protector and patron of the Puritan clergy, and the avowed opponent of all approaches in doctrine or ritual to the Catholic Church. His determinate energy sometimes brought him into collision even with Bishop Chadderton, whom he accused of unchristian severity, when that prelate found it necessary to enforce, however mildly, some little submission to the ecclesiastical law. His contentions with the most Puritan bishop on the bench led him, in the latter part of his life, to speak with very little respect of the bishops who, as he thought, were becoming 'lords over God's heritage.' As the Presbyterian form of church order had been established in Scotland, Carter began to suggest that it might with some advantage be introduced into England. In him may be observed the earliest indication, so far as I know, among the Puritan clergy of Lancashire of any inclination towards the presbyterianism of Scotland.

I have had occasion to observe how much the English Church is indebted to the Puritans for the preservation of its property from the rapacity of Queen Elizabeth's courtiers. In this respect Carter did good service. When Warden Herle was alienating the estates of the collegiate church, and even the queen was thought to be concerned for her favourites, if not for herself, Carter wrote an importunate letter of remonstrance to Burleigh and Walsingham, and entreated them to protect the Church from the spoliation of the courtiers with whom Herle was making sacrilegious contracts. He alone of the fellows had the courage to institute a law-suit by which the alienation was prevented and a favourable settlement obtained for the collegiate church. The ecclesiastical commissioners of the present day have but little knowledge of the amount of property which has been preserved for them by the fidelity of the old Puritans.

When Dr. Dee was warden, Carter seems to have been incessantly engaged in resisting, obstructing, and annoying him. The fellow had no respect for the astrology or alchemy of the warden, and the warden cared quite as little for the theology or policy of the fellow. Carter had no faith in occult science, and Dee no interest in declamatory preaching. Carter regarded Dee as a court spy, and Dee treated Carter as a disorderly intruder. There arose between them a fierce dispute about the introduction of an organ into the collegiate church, which dispute seems to have been arranged by a sort of compromise. 'The organs upon condition were admitted.'

Towards the close of thirty-five years' hard service in Manchester, he was anxious to secure an effective preacher who would continue the good work in which with all his heart he had been so long engaged. With the approval of his colleagues he consulted Lawrence Chadderton and William Whitaker, leaders of the Puritans in Cambridge, who recommended WILLIAM BOURNE as a preacher well fitted to promote the good cause in Manchester. Bourne on his arrival was received with delight by the great majority of the parishioners. His preaching, more loving, pathetic, and insinuating than that of Carter, although he was far from being so able a man, produced a marvellous

impression upon the hearts of the people, who crowded the church whenever he was expected to preach. Since the days of John Bradford no such preaching had been heard in Manchester. Carter, who loved the gospel as well as preached it, so far from showing any jealousy of the young evangelist, rejoiced in his success, and observed with delight the growth of the Puritan spirit under his affectionate preaching.

Mr. Carter died in March 1604-5, and his friend Bourne succeeded to his fellowship. Of the successor, Hollingworth says: 'He was learned in the tongues, sound in his judgment, zealous against every error, especially against popery. Seldom or never did he ascend the pulpit but he struck at some popish doctrine before he came down. He dissented little or nothing from the discipline used in Scotland, but vehemently propagated it, yet in a prudent and peaceable way, save that he held the feast of the nativity of Christ, of His circumcision, and other holy days, might lawfully, yea ought to be duly kept. He was much in ordinary and extraordinary duties of piety, prayer, fasting, thanksgiving, both in his own house and elsewhere. He usually did pray and sing psalms in his bed when he awaked, that he might be without disturbance of those that lay in his chamber with him. He was a frequent preacher. His preaching was plain, yet profitable to the conversion of many souls, and the reformation of the town from several abuses.'

As he continued a popular preacher and an influential minister in Manchester until the breaking out of the civil war, we may, having been thus introduced to him by a friend who knew him well, leave him for the present, with the expectation of frequently meeting him in the course of our narrative and hearing him tell his own story.

WILLIAM LEIGH, B.D., rector of Standish, was, says Dr. Whitaker, 'a man memorable in his day.'* On account of his family connections, his social position, his dignified bearing, his exemplary character, his sound learning, his literary taste, and his regular habits of business, he was probably the most respectable of the Puritan clergy of Lancashire. Born in 1550, and belonging to one of the best families of the county, he was elected a scholar of Brasenose College in 1571, and a fellow in 1573. Having obtained orders, he became 'a painful preacher in the university and the parts adjacent.' Employed in that vocation for thirteen years, he gained great and deserved reputation both as a scholar and a preacher. In 1586 he was presented by Bishop Chadderton to the rectory of Standish, where, says Anthony Wood, 'he was held in great esteem for his learning and godliness.' He soon afterwards became a justice of the peace, and one of the chaplains of the Earl of Derby. If we may judge from the frequency of his preaching before the earl, we should regard him as the favourite preacher. In the household books his preaching at Lathom and Knowsley is mentioned more frequently than that of any other chaplain, no less than sixteen times in three years. After the accession of King James he was invited to preach before the court, and gave so much satisfaction as to be appointed one of the tutors of Prince

* Notes to Nicholas Assheton's Journal, in *The History of Whalley*.

Henry. How far the careful instruction and gentle influence of the Puritan tutor formed the character of his illustrious and accomplished pupil, it is vain to conjecture; but we know that the amiable prince, so much better in every respect than his father and his brother, was decidedly favourable to the views of the Puritans. Neal calls him 'the darling of the Puritans.' His premature death was grievously lamented by the Puritan ministers, many of whom did their best to perpetuate the memory of his virtues in funeral sermons which were soon forgotten. In the estimation of Mr. Leigh, his death was an irreparable calamity to the nation.

As a preacher Leigh was very superior both in thought and language to the clergymen of his time. In reading the sermons which he published, were it not for the occurrence of a few quaint expressions and a little of the fanciful prettiness of his age, we should scarcely recognise a preacher of the reign of Elizabeth or James in the Lancashire rector. Of his published sermons, the most popular, although not the best, were three which he preached on the sad occasion of the death of the queen, entitled 'Queen Elizabeth paralleled in her princely virtue with David, Josiah, and Hezekiah.'

A sermon which he preached in Childwell church on occasion of the death of Mrs. Katharine Brettargh, and published with the title of 'The Soul's Solace against Sorrow,' has been held in much greater estimation by the admirers of Mr. Leigh. Mr. Raines says: 'There is great beauty and simplicity of style in many parts, and the concluding sentences rise much above the ordinary level of the Puritan writers of the day.*' They certainly rise much above the level of his patron, the Puritan bishop of the diocese. 'Well, she is gone, and now her seat is empty and her grave is full, and methinks for the present we feel her want on earth, whom God hath found in heaven, our prayers less powerful, our preaching less precious, and our psalms less melodious on her behalf. You all know that there she sat and there she sang, there she read and there she prayed, there she heard the word, there she received the sacrament, there lately she lived and there now she is dead. Therefore I may say with the prophet, *All flesh is grass, and all the grace thereof as the flowers of the field.* But comfort yourselves in the hope of a joyful resurrection; as also in respect of her holy life, blessed end, and most happy state in glory; and sith she is gone, let it be remembered as a sacrament of her rest, that she went upon a day of rest, one of the chief of Sabbaths and high feast of Pentecost,† even then that she should ascend when the Holy Spirit did descend, by which Spirit she was sealed to the day of redemption. Worshipfully was she descended, but more honourably (may I say) is she ascended. Yet, behold, the husband mourneth that he has lost a wife, the mother mourneth that she hath lost a daughter, the brother mourneth that he hath lost a sister; which is, methinks, not much unlike the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon. Yet this is not all, for we preachers may mourn,

* Notes to Asheton's *Journal*.

† Mr. Leigh, like William Bourne and other Lancashire Puritans, made no objection to the festivals of the Church.

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for that we have lost an auditor who heard with reverence, felt with passion, and followed with perseverance. But, beloved, what we have lost heaven hath found, and the holy angels rejoice in their gain. In the meantime, the Lord of heaven supply the want upon earth, and increase the number of the faithful professors in *Sionis gaudium et Anglo-papistorum luctum*. AMEN. AMEN.'

This is not quite to our taste, but it is a pleasing illustration of the spirit and manner of an affectionate preacher when good sermons were scarce in Lancashire. The earnest preaching of a gentleman and a scholar in the churches of Childwell, Sladeburn, and other villages which he often visited, was not only agreeable to the few intelligent families who resided there, but very useful to the illiterate cottagers.

Zealous for the promotion of learning, he granted lands for the endowment of the grammar school in Standish, founded by his friend Mrs. Mary Langton.* Having continued for fifty-three years the rector of Standish, and having all that time maintained the highest character as a preacher and a magistrate, he died at the age of eighty-nine, and was buried in the chancel of Standish church. I hope he died in charity with all mankind, but in making his will he could not forget his old enemies the Papists. In one clause he expressly forbade that 'any dole' should be given at his funeral, as such doles 'have caused much superstition in praying for the dead.' When the matter of the Samlesbury witches was referred to him and another magistrate for examination, he was in some perplexity, for although he was sure the Papists were somehow concerned, he could not determine whether the seminary priests had instigated the witches to do diabolical deeds, or had induced the informers to accuse them falsely. He seems to have thought that the Papists were willing to commit either crime, or both crimes, or any crime possible to human nature.

Mr. Leigh, learned, judicious, and considerate as he was, was not free from the prejudices of his age. When Ferdinando Earl of Derby died, Mr. Leigh, as his chaplain, attended him in his last moments. When everybody believed he was either consumed by the witches or poisoned by the Papists, Mr. Leigh was evidently inclined to acquit the witches for the sake of an opportunity of accusing the Papists. He has passed before a tribunal from which he has received a more merciful judgment than he ever pronounced upon either witches or Papists.

We may associate with Mr. Leigh, JOHN CALDWALL, B.A., like him a gentleman, a scholar, a rich rector, an earnest preacher, and a consistent Puritan. He appears to have been the son of Richard Caldwell, M.D., President of the College of Physicians, and to have obtained soon after his ordination the rectory of Mobberley in Cheshire. In that position he secured the respect of the Puritan gentry of his neighbourhood, and obtained the reputation of being 'a painful

* Several instances occur of Puritan endowments for schools in Lancashire, and some for the benefit of poor clergymen. The parsonage and glebe of Hawkhead in Furness were given by Dr. Walker, a member of the assembly of divines, and, according to Wood, 'a severe Puritan.'

preacher.' When Henry Earl of Derby dispensed his patronage almost exclusively among the Puritan clergy, he was especially favourable to Mr. Caldwell, whom he appointed one of his chaplains, and presented to the richest rectory in his possession, and indeed in the north of England, that of Winwick near Warrington.* In this dignified position he was esteemed the most considerable personage, as undoubtedly he was the most influential, in the neighbourhood of Warrington. He was assessed at the sum of £50, a higher assessment than that of any other parochial clergyman of the north, to raise soldiers for the service of the queen in the defence of the Netherlands. He was also required, as were two other rich rectors of the county, the parson of Wigan and the rector of Middleton, to provide and equip a light horseman 'to resist certain foreign forces sent by the pope and his confederates.' Although he maintained in Winwick the high reputation which he had gained in Mobberley for the exemplary discharge of his parochial duties, the 'painful preacher' does not seem to have unduly neglected the husbandry of his valuable glebe, for, as Canon Raines tells us, 'his cattle and husbandry for number and extent were worthy of an old patriarch.' He could well afford to live in a style far above most of the parochial clergy of his time, and it is evident he did so, for at his death, his books, maps, silver plate, rings, 'armour, as calivers, pistolate, haultbert,' &c., were valued at 31*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*, a sum which probably would have purchased the furniture of (with the exception of the three great rectories) half the parsonages of Lancashire. He died in 1599, suddenly, on a journey, near Tamworth, in the fifty-first year of his age, greatly lamented by his parishioners and by the Puritan clergy of his neighbourhood.

EDWARD FLEETWOOD, B.D., the incumbent of the second great rectory of Lancashire, or, as he was called, the Parson of Wigan, was required like the rector of Winwick to furnish a horseman for the queen's service against the pope. If we may judge from his avowed hostility to the Papists, he would gladly have contributed anything required for that sort of service. Towards the expense of the war in the Netherlands he was assessed at only half the sum imposed upon his rich neighbour of Winwick, that is 25*l.*, a large assessment in those days. A member of one of the best families of the county, he was instituted 'Parson of Wigan' in 1571, and retained, until his death in 1600, the reputation of an able, diligent, and most respectable clergyman. He was also an active magistrate, an eloquent preacher, one of the Earl of Derby's chaplains and a member of his council, and in every office unwearied in denouncing and punishing Papists and in promoting the puritanical observance of the Lord's day. As a magistrate of the county he signed the injunctions which were sent, without the authority of queen or parliament, to all churchwardens and constables, commanding them to suppress all 'wakes, fairs, bull-baitings, pipings, and huntings,' on the Lord's day. In his zeal for the suppression of popery, he thought that measures more stringent

* Camden says, 'This place has the reputation of being the richest rectory in the kingdom.'

than even those adopted by Lord Derby and Bishop Chadderton were necessary, and by his influence with Lord Burleigh he obtained the appointment of several new commissioners, with whom, however, neither the bishop nor the earl acted cordially, as the appointment seemed like a reflection upon their proceedings. Fleetwood might console himself under the displeasure of his superiors in Lancashire by the approval of Lord Burleigh, who, probably at his instigation, wrote both to the bishop and to the earl urging them to enforce more severely the laws against popish recusants and emissaries.

The third Lancashire rector reputed rich enough to furnish a light horseman for the queen's service was JOHN ASSHETON, rector of Middleton. The great family of the Asshetons, at that time second in importance of the Lancashire families only to the Stanleys, was in its numerous branches decidedly and almost exclusively Puritan. Several of them held the rich family rectory of Middleton; three in succession—John, Edward, and Abdias. Of John little more is known than that he was a quiet sort of Puritan, the father of Abdias. Edward, who belonged to another branch of the family, is chiefly remarkable for his marriage with Elizabeth, the co-heiress of Ralph Belfield. She and her sister Ann had been carried to church in their childhood by their guardian and married to two little boys. Both the marriages were unpropitious. The husband of Elizabeth was the person already mentioned who deposed on oath that he was so young at the solemnisation of his marriage that he could not remember it. The parties had not lived together, although the little girl when at school usually wore at her girdle a knife which her boyish husband had given her for a love-token. The profane marriage was dissolved by an authority which the bishop of the diocese then assumed, and Elizabeth became the good wife of the rector of Middleton.

His successor, ABDIAS ASSHETON, B.D. of St. John's, Cambridge, is better known to us by his acquaintance, when rector of Sladeburn, with his neighbour and relative, Nicholas Assheton, Esq., of Downham. He belonged to a class of Puritan clergymen who seldom appear in Puritan history, and are not often to be found in the south of England, or even outside of the county of Lancaster. Of his early life little is known, although he had probably been chaplain to the Earl of Essex, to whom he faithfully adhered when the earl was executed for high treason. This may be inferred from a clause in his will, in which he bequeathed 'my watch or pocket clock, given unto me by my most honourable Lord of Essex, the morning before his death.'

Abdias, or Abdie,* as he was often called, was as good a Puritan as his pious father or any of his family in the matter of the ceremonies, as also in his abhorrence of the Papists; but he was a merry sort of parson, excessively fond of field sports and athletic exercises. When rector of Sladeburn, he was the frequent companion of that 'roystering, merry, jovial Puritan,' as Harrison Ainsworth† calls Nicholas

* He is called Abdie Assheton, B.D., in the burial register of Middleton.

† *The Lancashire Witches*. The novelist falls into two mistakes in reference to the 'roystering Puritan,' in saying that when his parson was not present he would



Assheton, in hunting, coursing, and 'fishing with great nets.' Although the rector would on no account appear in a surplice, he was very willing to ride the country in his hunting coat, and if he could not endure the music of an organ in church, very pleasant to him was the bark of the dogs with which he hunted the otters that infested his fishing stream and devoured his salmon.* It might have heightened the interest of the novelist's picture of the otter hunt on the Hodder or the Ribble, if he had introduced the Puritan rector with his spiked pole following the dogs down the stream in company with the Puritan squire. The people of Downham and Sladeburn, who in the beginning of the seventeenth century knew the originals, could they live again and read such an amended edition of the tale, would as easily recognise the one figure as the other. †

From his translation, in 1618, to the rich living of Middleton, Abdias continued faithful to the traditions of his family in eschewing all papistical ceremonies, until his death in 1633 at the age of seventy-five. Like other Lancashire Puritans he preached on saints' days, and always, after the Gunpowder Plot, on the fifth of November.

PETER SHAW, M.A., rector of Bury, THOMAS WILLIAMSON, vicar of Eccles, and JOHN LANGLEY, M.A., rector of Prestwich, were moderators of the monthly exercises in Manchester. They had the reputation of 'grave, godly, and learned men.' They were moderate Puritans, who gained a salutary influence over the inferior clergy, and after their Puritan bishop had left the diocese they preserved in their part of the county a respect for Puritan doctrine which long continued among the gentry and traders of Manchester and the neighbouring towns.

Such were the principal Puritan clergymen of Lancashire at the close of the reign of Elizabeth and the beginning of that of James.

Of the Puritan gentlemen of that time, a more beautiful example cannot be selected than John Bruen, of Bruen Stapleford, Esq., or of the Puritan ladies than his sister Katharine, 'wife of Master William Brettargh of Brettarghoulth in the countie of Lancaster, gentleman.'

Although Bruen Stapleford, their native place and family seat, is in Cheshire, yet as the brother was intimately connected with the Puritan families of Lancashire, spent much of his time and did much good in that county, and as the sister on her marriage settled in it, their biography may illustrate the habits and character of the Puritan families of the better class in Lancashire quite as much as of those of the adjoining county.

Let out an oath, and enjoy a game of sport; for, first, Nicholas had no great fear of parson Abdie, and secondly, if he had, as to the sport, Abdie was ever ready to join him, and as to the oath, Nicholas was a sort of Puritan who never swore, although he was sadly addicted to tipping.

* One of his parishioners, Mrs. Sherborne, 'was said to be so popishly inclined that the Rector Abdias refused to stand sponsor for her child.' Her popish inclination appeared, so far as I can find, only in wishing the curate would wear a surplice when he officiated at the sacrament.

† We find the two Puritans, rector and squire, on one occasion making 'merrie at a pigg-eating,' whatever that may have been.—*Journal of Nicholas Assheton*, edited for Chetham Society.

JOHN BRUEN was the eldest son of the proprietor of Bruen Stapleford. Although he was heir to the estate, he had not the prospect of great wealth, as he was one of fourteen children, all of whom had some claim upon the family estate upon the death of their father. John, as his biographer tells us, 'was brought up civilly and, as those times were, religiously, and the Lord preserved him in childhood and youth from the poison of popish superstition.'*

He received his early education from a tutor in the family of his uncle, the head of the respectable house of Dutton of Dutton, where he learnt 'something of grammar, a little of civil education, but nothing at all for nurture and information in true religion.' Notwithstanding this deficiency in his education, he seems to have been in his childhood subject to religious impressions, as he would, especially after correction, go into his father's chapel and pray, as well as he could, for pardon and comfort. When he was fourteen years old, he entered as a gentleman commoner in St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, where he became intimate with John Brerewood, a son of a Chester alderman, who was grieved to observe in him 'some popish notions about refraining from meats on Fridays, and disapproving of the marriage of ministers.' As this was the worst popery discovered in him, we may suppose that he was a scrupulous youth to whom the ascetic piety of some clergymen appeared eminently Christian and saintly. His new acquaintance set upon him with so much zeal, and overwhelmed him with so many arguments, that he renounced his 'popish notions,' and wrote in his diary, 'This when I saw and considered was a doctrine of devils, taught and delivered by seducing spirits and such as speak lies in hypocrisy; I was inflamed with zeal against the profane beast of Rome and all popery, both persons and things, with all their monuments, rites, and ceremonies.'

When he was nineteen years of age 'his provident father, considering that he was the first born of his strength, provided for him the daughter of a worthy and wise gentleman, to whom he was married and lived very comfortably.'

In his twenty-seventh year his father died and left him the care of twelve brothers and sisters, for whose benefit the family estate was heavily burdened. At the same time, he had also a young family of his own 'growing,' his biographer says, 'as olive plants around his table,' but consuming more expensive food than the earth and water on which olive plants grow.†

* *A Faithful Remonstrance of the Holy Life and Happy Death of John Bruen, of Bruen Stapleford, Esquire*, by the late Reverend Divine William Hinde, sometime Fellow of Queen's College, Oxon, and Preacher of God's Word at Bunbury in Cheshire. 'Life of John Bruen,' in Clark's *Lives*. 'Life of Mrs. Katharine Brettargh,' in Clark's *Lives*, appended to his *Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*.

† Mr. Bruen had eight children by his first wife, nine by his second, and two by his third, and although two or three of his olive plants faded before others had grown, his nursery must have been a costly one. He managed, however, greatly to his delight, to satisfy to the last farthing all the claims of his brothers and sisters. Notwithstanding the heavy demands of his family, his liberality to the poor was extraordinary. Besides the destitute of his own parish, who

To avoid pecuniary embarrassment, and to fulfil to the uttermost the intentions of his father respecting the settlement of his brothers and sisters, he resolutely reduced his expenditure in several ways, as by relinquishing hawking and hunting, and destroying his kennels and cockpits. From prudential considerations he converted his deer park into pasturage, and repaired by care and economy the injury which his estate had suffered through his father's extravagance. His economy has been misunderstood, and attributed to Puritan objections to the field sports to which the Puritan gentry (and some of the Puritan clergy) of Lancashire and Cheshire were quite as much attached as their Anglican or Catholic neighbours. I do not represent the selling of his hawks and dogs as an act of self-denial, for field sports were probably not very agreeable to the taste and disposition of so quiet, gentle, contemplative, and studious a man as John Bruen of Stapleford. I wish, however, to make it understood that it was not on account of any religious scruples that he destroyed his dog kennels and disposed of his deer. As, however, we have before us the life of a Puritan country gentleman, whose habits were in direct contrast with those of the 'roystering Puritan' squire of Downham, with whose journal we can compare it, we may be able to form an accurate estimate of the opinions of the Puritan gentry of the north in the matter of amusements. No other works will help us so much as that 'Life' and that 'Journal,' especially as we may illustrate them by many references to amusements in other Puritan lives and diaries of the seventeenth century. But before we consider their amusements, we had better finish what we have to say of other matters that belong to the life of Bruen and his sister.

The Life of Mr. Bruen supplies a remarkable illustration of the antipathy with which even moderate Puritans of gentility and culture regarded stained glass and other ornamentation of churches. The coloured figures were looked upon as relics of popery, as unquestionably they were symbolic representations of sacred things which admit of no similitude. The sensuous pleasure excited by them is entirely distinct from the pure and devout worship of the invisible, although easily mistaken for it to the injury of the worshipper. In the chapel of his ancestors, reputed the property of the family, Mr. Bruen observed 'many superstitious images in the windows, so thick and dark that there was scarce the breadth of a groat of white glass among them. Knowing by the truth of God that, though the Papists will have images to be laymen's books, yet they teach no other lessons but of lies, nor any doctrine but of vanities; and considering that these dumb and dark images by their painted coats and colours did both darken the light of the church, and obscure the brightness of the gospel, he presently took order to pull down all the painted puppets and popish idols, in a warrantable and peaceable manner, and of his own cost and charge repaired the breaches and beautified the windows

were maintained at his expense, the poor of the neighbourhood, and even of Chester, were once a week hospitably entertained in the great hall of Bruen Stapleford.

with clear white and bright glass again.' To a true Puritan, as to a true Mahomedan, all colour was profanation in a sanctuary of God, whose light ought to be the pure, candid, unstained, unsoiled light which comes direct and unrefracted from heaven. Other Puritans showed, as he did, their love of the pure light of heaven by destroying the 'painted puppets' which obscured and stained it in the windows of their churches. Some of them, like the mother of Oliver Heywood a few years later, did their work in 'a warrantable and peaceable manner,' for she 'obtained leave of the officers' to break the windows of the churches near Bolton. The greater part, I fear, did it in an unwarrantable and unpeaceable manner.

The biographer of Mr. Bruen presents us with a beautiful picture of a Puritan Sabbath. 'His house was distant about a mile from the church, the way fair and large, so that he usually went afoot, calling all his family about him, leaving neither cook nor butler behind, nor any of his servants but two or three to make the doors and tend the house. Then taking his tenants and neighbours, as they lay in the way, along with him, he marched on with a joyful and cheerful heart towards the house of God, as a leader of the Lord's host, according to the Psalmist, *I went with the multitude to the house of God, with the voice of joy and praise, with a multitude that kept holy day.* And so it was his ordinary manner to call his company near about him, and to join together in one heart and voice, to sing praises as they went along, and that psalm especially, *How pleasant is thy dwelling-place*, which they performed with such a melodious harmony, that the like may be said of them as it was of the Jews, God made them to rejoice with great joy. Their wives also and the children rejoiced, so that their joy was heard even afar off.' . . . 'His coming to church with all his family, attendants, and followers, was constantly before the beginning of prayers or any part of divine service, that he might join more comfortably with God's minister and people in confession of sins, in prayer and praise, reading and hearing of the word, singing of psalms, and partaking of the sacraments, all which he did perform with such a reverent attention and gracious affection, with so holy a carriage and good conscience, that, as hereby he did much increase his own comfort, so was his good example a great encouragement to many others, yea, a very spur and goad unto prayer, to be more religious and conscientious in God's worship and service. After prayers and sermon he seldom went to dinner, but abode in the church to bestow himself at this interim in God's service, with such good people as were willing to stay with him. This he did by repeating the sermon, which he had taken very exactly with his own hand, and by singing of psalms, and by wholesome conference in and about good things. And so waiting for the evening sacrifice, after he had with like care and conscience performed the public duties of the Sabbath, he returned homeward with his company, with much comfort and joy in their hearts, endeavouring as they went along to increase their knowledge, faith, and obedience, by repeating and conferring of the evening sermon, and to enlarge their hearts of God's praise, by singing of psalms

afresh, considering what great things God had done for them. And if any among them were afflicted, they would be ready to counsel him, comfort him, and pray for him. He himself, especially, if he heard of any such as were troubled in conscience upon the hearing of the word, would be ever most ready and willing, like the good Samaritan, to pour wine and oil into the troubled spirit, wine that he might search it, and oil that he might supple and heal it. After this manner did he frequent the house of God, sanctify the Lord's day, and refresh his own soul with heavenly manna and other spiritual repast, so long as he could either walk or ride unto it.'

The domestic life of Mr. Bruen was such as might have been expected of one who in the moderation, not extravagance, of puritanism made the Sabbath a day of quiet enjoyment, as well as of holy solemnity. His biographer tells us, 'It was his ordinary custom to rise early in the morning, betwixt three and four of the clock in summer, and at five in the winter, so that by his vigilance and industry he gained the liberty and opportunity of an hour or two before he rang the bell to awake the rest of the family; which time he bestowed most graciously, first in private prayer for himself and for every soul in his family, making mention of some more particularly by name, as their occasions or afflictions might move him thereunto, and giving thanks to God for such mercies and comforts as both he and they had received that night past, and formerly also, from His hand. Secondly, in meditation upon some part of God's word and works, wherewith he did season his mind and refresh his heart, as to set the watch right in the morning that the clock might go the better all the day after. Thirdly, he did, as he had occasion, write out fair some part of such sermons as he had by a running hand taken from the mouth of the preacher, for renewing and increasing of the benefit and comfort which he had reaped and received by the same. Thus did he watch over his family while they were at rest, and commend them unto God by his prayers, before they could open their lips to speak with Him by their own words. Thus did he awake with God in the morning that he might the better awake unto righteousness, and walk before God in holiness and uprightness all the day after, even until the evening. This he did by way of preparation.

'Now for execution. In the performance of his family exercises he did discharge himself after this manner. After they were come together upon the ringing of the bell, they did all very reverently frame and compose themselves to stand in God's presence, and then he himself, lifting up his heart with his hands unto God in the heavens, began his morning exercise after this manner, "Blessed Lord God and our Most Merciful Father in Christ Jesus, we Thy poor children do humbly beseech Thee graciously to assist us by Thy Holy Spirit in this our morning exercise, that we may faithfully perform the same to Thy praise and our comfort, and that for Christ's sake, our only Saviour and Redeemer, Amen." This set form of short prayer before his morning and evening exercise, I do the more willingly set down, that they may see how far they were deceived, and what wrong they did him, who held him to be an utter adversary to

all set forms of prayer, who might also have received their answer, if they had but observed his ordinary practice every Lord's day, in the public assembly, where he did reverently accommodate himself to the public prayers of the church, and religiously join together with minister and people in the celebration of God's service. Certainly he was not ignorant that when the Saviour Christ taught His disciples to pray, He gave them liberty to call upon the name of God their Father, in that set form of prayer which He prescribed, and in the same words: "When you pray, say, *Our Father*," &c. Yet for all that, he knew well enough that He gave the spirit of prayer unto them, and unto all believers, children of the same Father, that they might enlarge themselves according to those grounds, and frame all their suits after that form. Therefore He gave this direction unto them, "After this manner pray ye." Yea, Christ hath left His own blessed example, when in His agony He prayed three times, saying the same words; and when after His farewell sermon to His disciples, He prayed for Himself, His disciples, and all true believers unto the world's end, in great variety of words, and for many gifts and graces in particular, which yet are not all mentioned, but are all for substance contained in that pattern of true prayer.'

On the public exercises of religion in Lancashire and Cheshire, Mr. Bruen attended with much care and frequency, even when they were at a considerable distance from his home. His biographer says he took 'many long and sore journeys, with much toil and travail of his body, and no small cost and charge of his purse, riding early and late, in heat and cold, short days and foul ways, sometimes ten, sometimes twenty, and sometimes thirty miles, as the distance of the place and season of the year required, to the end that he might gather manna where he knew that it would be rained down, and glean after the reapers in the Lord's harvest, and buy gold and white raiment, wine and milk, without money and without price, of the Lord's merchants, upon the Lord's mart and market days.' To make the most of these exercises he was accustomed to write from the lips of the preachers 'the whole substance and matter of their notes, observations, and sermons, in his book borne with him, which he would carefully repeat on his journey, to the refreshing of such good people as went along with him; and when he came home he did write over again, in a more legible hand, all that he had gathered, and so make better use of it for himself and his family, and set all on record for the benefit of his friends and his posterity.' What benefit his posterity have gained from the precious treasures which he was thirty and six years in accumulating I do not presume to conjecture, but his biographer says, 'It is scarce credible to report the multitude of volumes of manuscripts set up in order in his library.'

His must have been a happy home, sanctified by the purest influence of domestic piety, but its happiness was disturbed by a sad intrusion. The shadow of death darkened it; his wife was, in early life, taken from him and his little children. He found his best relief in the consolations of religion, and more frequently than before he had recourse to religious exercises, and remained a considerable time

from his home. His chief solace in mourning, and favourite resort for the strengthening of his faith, seems to have been the monthly exercise at Manchester. There he delighted to hear the most learned presbyters of Lancashire instruct the inferior clergy in the great doctrines of the Reformation. There he listened with pleasure to the wise discussions of the moderators, and especially to the discourses of good Mr. Bourne, who seldom concluded his lecture, whatever may have been the text, without 'making some use of the Scripture in confutation of popery;' there he conferred with many of his Lancashire relations who, like himself, were zealously affected in the puritan cause; and there, as his biographer tells us, 'he cast his eye upon a very beautiful young gentlewoman that frequented that exercise.' Even when attending to the learned confutation of popery, 'the thought arose in his heart, lo! this may be the woman that the Lord hath intended for my wife.' Puritan sanctuaries, even on occasion of high controversy, were not entirely free from such thoughts. Mr. Doolittle's meeting-house in London, as described by Matthew Henry, with its dark pews, heavy galleries, and huge pulpit, may seem a strange place for such intrusions, but even in its gloomy solemnity, as Mr. Raines tells us, 'honest John Dunton was almost charmed dead by a look of the beautiful Rachel Seaton.*' Squire Bruen, though considerably charmed, was not so nearly dead as to be incapable of taking measures to bring the matter to a favourable issue. 'As Abraham consulted Eliezer on a like business, so that he might not only please his eye, but deal wisely and advisedly touching her virtues and graces, he acquainted one of his most trusty and religious servants with his thoughts, and set him presently at work to enquire after her.' The Eliezer of Bruen Stapleford discharged his duty as faithfully as the Eliezer of Damascus. Of 'the beautiful young gentlewoman' he soon discovered that 'her name is Mistris Anne Foxe, sister to Master Foxe of the Rhodes, well descended both by father and mother; her father a gentleman of good estimation and account (while he lived) with that honourable personage, Henry, Earl of Derby, being controller of his house, and one of the special gentlemen that attended upon his honour when he was sent by Queen Elizabeth ambassador into France. Her mother, yet living, a very godly and gracious matron, descended of the ancient and worshipful families of the Andertons and Lelands in Lancashire. Herself a virtuous and religious young woman, beautiful by grace within as well as by nature without, well respected in the church of God, and well esteemed and accepted of the people of God, and such an one as might be a comfortable match and marriage for him.'

The steward having brought so good a report of the 'beautiful young gentlewoman,' the master made proposal of marriage, which proved satisfactory to all parties concerned, and Anne Foxe became

* In *Memoirs of the mother of John Wesley* a similar 'charming' is mentioned as occurring in Dr. Annealey's meeting-house, in Little St. Helens. The good Doctor was usually followed to his meeting-house by some twelve remarkably beautiful daughters, one of whom 'charmed' the father of John Wesley, then a student for the Dissenting ministry, and became his wife.

Mistress Bruen. Anne's mother was so pleased with her son-in-law, that she gave the newly-married couple their 'tabling in her house at Rhodes for a whole year.' Mr. and Mrs. Bruen then commenced their residence at Stapleford, where they established a sort of puritanical convent. 'Tablers' as they were called (that is, boarders) resided with them for the benefit of the religious privileges enjoyed in their family. Pious ladies were glad to obtain a peaceful seclusion from the world. Some young people who were not pious were placed by their parents or guardians under the care of a gentleman and lady who were able to make religious discipline pleasant as well as profitable. One or two of this class occasionally gave the family a little trouble. One young gentleman was not so puritanical in his observance of the Sabbath as would have been agreeable to Mr. Bruen; but he was reclaimed by a very ingenious, if not agreeable, contrivance of the better members of the family. 'Ten members did conspire to do him good, speaking one after another, and myself last, for the sanctifying of the Lord's day.' The young gentleman was completely subdued by so much talk, and 'did yield himself, blessed be God.' Upon the whole the 'tablers' seem to have been very happy, and many of them gained so much good from the discipline of the house, that it was with regret Mr. Bruen was compelled by some pecuniary mismanagement to break up his puritan convent.

His sister Katharine, who seems to have been in her meek and gentle disposition, as well as in her religious feelings, very like her brother, became, in her twentieth year, the wife of Mr. William Brettargh, of Brettarghaugh, near Liverpool. Among 'the lives' appended by Samuel Clark to his 'Marrow of Ecclesiastical History,' is a biography compiled from 'two excellent sermons preached at her funeral by two eminent and godly divines,' with a portrait which, from respect to the tradition of her beauty, is, I hope, not an accurate likeness. Both of the 'godly divines' who preached at her funeral, and her biographer also, speak of the great injuries which her husband sustained 'by the malicious Papists who hated him for his religion's sake.' They are said to have 'killed his horses and cattle at divers times in the night.' It seems a strange accusation, but the sufferers and their friends evidently believed it. Mrs. Brettargh not only 'bore the great affliction with admirable patience,' but 'even rejoiced in it,' and extracted comfort from the belief that 'popery would be disgraced when the world should see such wickedness flow from it. She had, however, so much of her Saviour's spirit that she prayed for those who had done the injury, entreated her husband to pray for them also, and made it her especial prayer that God would prevent him from seeking revenge for his loss.

She spent much of her time in devotional reading, taking for her daily lesson at least eight chapters of the Bible. Like many of the Puritans of her time, she made the 'Book of Martyrs' her frequent study, and often wept over the sufferings of the true witnesses for God. 'She was so blameless in her whole course that the Papists had nothing to say against her.' This remark seems as honourable to the Papists as to good Mrs. Brettargh, although her biographer

meant not to do them honour. If they were so malicious as to kill her husband's horses, it is pleasing to learn they did not calumniate his wife. So far as calumny is concerned, the Papists seem to have been the less blamable of the two parties.

Her married life soon closed. After residing in Brettarghaugh about two years, she was attacked with fever from which she never recovered. Under the depressing influence of her disease, she was in great trouble on account of her sins, of which she accused herself with words of extraordinary aggravation. She reproached herself with having been proud of her beauty, of her accomplishments, and even of her religion. 'She would cast her Bible from her,' as, although it was the book of life, it 'had become the book of death to her.' She wished she had never been born, that 'she had been made any other creature than a woman.' Ofttimes she cried out, 'Woe, woe, woe! a weak, a woeful, a wretched woman!' But after a few days she recovered her confidence, dismissed her fears, and rejoiced in her Saviour. In a season of severe temptation she found strength and comfort in saying, 'Satan, reason not with me, I am but a weak woman. If thou hast anything to say, say it to my Christ, my Advocate, my Strength, and my Redeemer, and He shall plead for me.' She died rejoicing. After exhorting her husband to beware of popery—of which, however, he was in no great danger—she spent most of her last evening on earth in singing psalms. Among her exclamations were, 'Blessed, blessed, blessed be the Lord, who hath not left me comfortless, but like a good shepherd hath brought me to a place of rest, even to the sweet waters of life. Blessed, blessed be the Lord that hath comforted me, and brought me to a place sweeter than the garden of Eden. Oh! the joy, the joy, the delightful joy that I feel! How wonderful! how wonderful! how wonderful is this joy! Oh! praise the Lord for His mercy, and for this joy that I feel.' She entreated that her little girl might be brought up in the true fear of God, and, as her strength was failing, said in a low voice, 'My warfare is accomplished, and mine iniquities are pardoned. My flesh faileth, and my heart also, but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever.' So she passed away in peace in the twenty-second year of her age. A young and beautiful woman, in the midst of many things to make life desirable, in dying so happily must have had something real and true in her faith, which enabled her, like many a Puritan, to die rejoicing in the Lord.*

I have already referred to a Puritan of a very different sort, Nicholas Assheton, Esq., of Downham. Although puritanical in his religious opinions and observances, he would, on account of his gaiety and excessive love of amusement, have been considered as carnal in the puritanical circles outside the limits of merry Lancashire, and even within them the stricter Puritans must have been grieved not only with his jovial habits, but with his excessive devotedness to

* As Mr. Bruen spent his last years in Cheshire, there is no reason for a Lancashire historian to obtrude further upon his quiet seclusion.

athletic sports and amusements, which encroached sadly upon the time which ought to have been reserved for domestic duties, pecuniary arrangements, and religious exercises.

A member of the great family of the Asshetons, educated in their traditions, and accustomed from childhood to the instructions of Puritan clergymen, he could scarcely have been any other than a Puritan. The proprietor of the estate of Downham, although he represented a younger branch of the family, lived on the most friendly terms with his great kinsfolk, the Asshetons of Whalley and of Middleton. Had he been brought under the rule of a rigid pastor, he would probably have renounced Puritanism, or have been excluded from its associations. But his cousin Abdias Assheton was, in his younger days, the rector of Sladeburn, and Abdie, of whom we have already taken notice, was not only a 'painful minister,' but a mighty hunter, a dexterous angler, a pleasant companion, and merry on all proper occasions, especially on the fifth of November, when there was no possibility of mistaking his merriment for a popish celebration. In short, Abdie was exactly the man to keep Nicholas sound in the faith, in opposition to the surplice and all papistical habits, the sign of the cross and all papistical ceremonies.

Harrison Ainsworth, in his tale of 'The Lancashire Witches,' has thus sketched his portrait: 'A very different person from Sir Ralph' (Assheton of Whalley) 'was his cousin Nicholas Assheton of Downham, who, except as regards his puritanism, may be regarded as the type of the Lancashire esquire of his day.'

'A precisian in religious notions, and constant in attendance at church and lecture, he put no sort of restraint upon himself, but mixed up fox hunting, otter hunting, shooting at the mark, and perhaps shooting with the long-bow, foot racing, horse racing, and in fact every other kind of country diversion, not forgetting tippling, dicing, and singing, with daily devotion, discourses, and psalm-singing in the oddest way imaginable. A thorough sportsman was Squire Nicholas Assheton, well versed in all the arts and mysteries of hunting and hawking. Not a man in the country could ride harder, hunt deer, unkennel fox, unearth badger, or spear otter better than he. And then as to tippling, he would sit you a whole afternoon at the ale-house and be the merriest man there, and drink a bout with every farmer present. And, if the parson chanced to be out of hearing, he would never make a mouth of a round oath, nor choose a second expression when the first would serve his turn. Then who so constant at church or lecture as Squire Nicholas? though he did sometimes snore at the long sermons of his cousin, the rector of Middleton.* A great man was he at all weddings, christenings, churchings, and funerals, and never neglected his bottle at these ceremonies, nor any sport indoors or out of doors meanwhile. In short, such a roystering Puritan was never known. A good-looking young man was the Squire of Downham, possessed of a very athletic form, and a most

* Nicholas Assheton attended the church of Sladeburn, of which his cousin Abdie was then rector, not of Middleton. Concerning his fear of parson Abdie, see the note on p. 100.

vigorous constitution, which helped him, together with the prodigious exercise he took, through any excess. He had a sanguine complexion, with a broad, good-natured visage, which he could lengthen at will in a surprising manner. His hair was cropped close to his head, and the razor did daily duty over his cheek and chin, giving him the Roundhead look some years later characteristic of the puritanical party.

Nicholas, merry fellow as he was, kept a sort of diary, in which with much candour and impartiality he entered his experiences both in church and ale-house, his disputes about the surplice and his pursuits of the otter. This diary, or a part of it, was in the possession of Dr. Whitaker, who, in his 'History of Whalley,' has printed it with some useful illustrations. The original cannot now be found, but a reprint has been published by the Chetham Society, under the able editorship of the Rev. F. R. Raines, M.A. The journal belongs to a part of the years 1617 and 1618. Dr. Whitaker concludes his annotations with the following summary:—

'Thus ends the journal of Nicholas Assheton, then a young and active man, engaged in all the business and enjoying all the amusements of the country. What he might, in a rainy day and a serious mood, have done for himself, I will now do for him, or rather for his readers—analyse this curious fragment, and assign every portion of time accounted for to its proper occupation: premising, however, that there are great chasms in the journal, one of three months at least: and that the days which are marked "home," &c., are passed over as blanks, though, perhaps, better spent than many which are more strongly characterised. In this period, then, he accounts for the hearing of forty sermons, three of them by as many bishops, and for one communion. On the other hand, he records sixteen fox-chases, ten stag hunts, two of the buck, as many of the otter and hare, one of the badger, four days of grouse shooting, the same of fishing in Ribble and Hodder, and two of hawking. Shooting with the long and cross-bow, horse matches and foot races, were other means of consuming time without doors; and dancing, masking, shovegroat (once all night long), and dice, within doors. Stage-plays and cards are never mentioned. As a scale by which the writer measured the degrees of his own intemperance, and a catalogue of his excesses, let the reader attend to the following: "merrie" eleven times, "verie merrie" once, "more than merrie" once, "merrie as Robin Hood" once, "plaid the bacchanalian" once, "somewhat too busie with drink" once, "sicke with drinke" once, "foolish" once, and lastly "fooled this day worse," once. With all these confessions we hear of neither resolutions nor attempts of amendment.

'In this short period he saw four deaths of the Asshetons; he attended the king at Hoghton Tower; assisted in quelling a private war in Wensleydale; attended the king's commissioners in the great cause of the copyholds of Blackburn Hundred; and took two journeys to London on business with the Court of Wards and Star Chamber. A man more largely connected, or extensively acquainted in his county, there probably never was. In South Lancashire we find him

familiarly conversing with the Earl of Derby, Sir Cuthbert Halsal, Mr. Standish, &c.; on the side of Craven, with the Pudseys, Tempests, Listers, Westbys, and Lamberts. Within the honour of Clitheroe itself, the *dramatis personæ* in this lively scene are, among the clergy, the rectors of Bury, Middleton, Sladeburn, and the vicars of Whalley, Blackburn, and Rochdale; and among the laity, no fewer than twenty-seven of the principal families, which constitute the genealogical part of the "History of Whalley."

In addition to what Dr. Whitaker says, it is only fair to the memory of Nicholas to notice the expressions of pious feeling which occur in his diary, and which, as they were written only for his own reading, we may presume were undoubtedly sincere. He wrote under date February 16: 'My wife in labour of childbirth. Her delivery was with such violence as the child died within half an hour, and, but for God's wonderful mercy, more than human reason could expect, she had died. But He spared her a while longer to me and took the child to His mercy, for which, as for one of His great mercies bestowed on me, I render all submission, hearty thanks and prayer, to the only good and gracious God of Israel.'

My principal reason for noticing Nicholas Assheton in connection with his reverend cousin Abdie and his more distant relative John Bruen, is to obtain some illustration of the amusements which were allowed or avoided by the early Puritans of Lancashire. I have already intimated an opinion that the Lancashire Puritans were far from being as rigid in their notions as were some of their southern brethren, although respecting even the latter there has been a great deal of misrepresentation. My remarks on this subject belong exclusively to the north of England and chiefly to Lancashire.

As to field sports, I have observed that Mr. Bruen disposed of his hounds and hawks, and destroyed his dog-kennels and cock-pits chiefly, if not solely, from prudential considerations. Sporting might not have been, cock-fighting could not have been, congenial with his quiet tastes and gentle spirit. His dogs, as his biographer tells us, were 'wide-mouthed' dogs, and his hawks very voracious, probably like the dogs and hawks of some other gentlemen of limited income, both puritan and papistical. The expense of their maintenance would have prevented him from honourably defraying the claims of his brothers. His biographer, the Rev. W. Hinde, who was respected as the leader of the Cheshire Puritans, while expressing his cordial approval of the exemplary conduct of Mr. Bruen, nowhere shows any disapproval of the sports to which so many of the Lancashire Puritans were passionately addicted.

Considering the authority of Mr. Hinde, as a Puritan minister too studious, quiet, and sedate to take any personal interest in field sports, it is satisfactory to have his opinions carefully expressed on the subject of hunting, hawking, and fishing. We may consider him as fairly representing the more intelligent of the northern Puritans.

Mr. Hinde begins by expressing some disapproval of Mr. Bruen for keeping in his younger days six couple of 'great-mouthed dogs,' because the food bestowed upon 'the base and brutish creatures'

might have been better bestowed upon his family and upon the poor. He further condemns the conduct of some esquires, who although well able to feed their own hounds quarter them upon their poor tenants. After noticing some other improprieties connected with hunting, he answers the question whether 'hunting and hawking are sinful and unlawful.' In his opinion, as I suppose in the opinion of all other people, it is 'unlawful to take pleasure in the pain and torture of any creature.' He gives instances of excessive cruelty practised by some sportsmen who evidently found pleasure in inflicting pain upon the creatures in their power. Although he condemned a sportsman who delighted in torturing a pigeon with which he fed his hawks, he declared it 'lawful for him to have taken the life of the pigeon and given its warm flesh to his hawk for her supper,' if he had done so by a speedy and not a lingering death. Sportsmen in our time would desire no greater concession from a Puritan divine. He further concludes that we may lawfully use the powers which God has given to various animals in order to obtain other animals for our food or clothing, as well as for the destruction of noxious animals like foxes and otters. We may do so not only for our profit but for our pleasure, 'so it be with Christian discretion and moderation'; that is, if our delight be in observing the qualities which God has given to His creatures. Thus we may use for pleasure 'the swiftness of the greyhound to course the hare, the sight and flight of the hawk to take the partridge, the scent and sagacity of the hound to hunt the deer, the nimbleness and subtilty of the tumbler to snatch up and catch the cony.' These 'helps we may use for our refreshing and delight, yet still with this caution and condition, that we take no pleasure either in the enmity of the creatures one against another, or in their cruelty in tearing one another.' Here was surely licence enough granted to the gentry of Mr. Hinde's parish, to take 'refreshment and delight' in sporting, for none of them would find pleasure in the suffering inflicted upon the feebler creatures, whatever they might have done in the power and dexterity by which it was inflicted. He further illustrates his opinion by saying, 'It is lawful to kill a bird with a bolt, to strike a deer with a bow, to take fish with hooks, to set snares for foxes, but to peck out their eyes, to pierce their breasts with bodkins, and so to lend them a little use of life, only to linger and lengthen out the pains of death, is a brutish cruelty to a brute creature.' His summary is:—

1. It is lawful to hunt or hawk for the taking of such creatures as are useful or may be hurtful.
2. It is lawful to take pleasure in the natural qualities of such creatures as are used in hunting and hawking.
3. It is lawful in hunting or hawking to use natural and artificial instruments to take away the lives of the creatures, not only for our profit but for our pleasure also.
4. It is lawful to hunt and hawk for recreation, but not to be a hunter or falconer making it our daily occupation.
5. It is not lawful to take pleasure in the enmity of the creatures, nor to make their vexation our recreation.

6. It is not lawful to spend more time in these recreations than in our honest and lawful callings.

7. It is not lawful in these exercises intended for our recreation to overtoil and unfit ourselves for honest labour and work.

8. It is not lawful to overcharge our estates and ruin ourselves or damage our neighbours by the expense of horses and hounds.

9. Xenophon, Plato, Aristotle, Plinius Secundus, and others, have approved of hunting, as fitted to inure and train up youth for feats of arms.

With this authoritative deliverance of a Puritan minister of great influence, given after careful examination and balancing of arguments on both sides, we may safely conclude that the Puritans of the north who could afford to keep hounds and hawks might, so far as their teachers were concerned, take pleasure in the moderate use of them. Few could have objected to the reasonable restraints which Mr. Hinde imposed upon the recreations of sporting Puritans.

Cockfighting is so barbarous a sport that we may well wonder how any humane people, puritan or popish, could have encouraged it. Yet, barbarous as it is, every town in Lancashire, at the time of which we are speaking, had its cock-pit, and almost every Lancashire squire had his fighting cocks, and men to tend and train them. Any man who objected to the sport would have been accounted an extraordinary precisian, and although the more strict Puritans may have disapproved of the practice, their looser brethren were not ashamed to countenance it. Squire Bruen destroyed his cock-pits, but Squire Assheton 'went to Prescot to a cocking,' with what seems to have been a Puritan party—his cousin Sir Richard Assheton, his cousin Braddyll, and other relatives. This sport would seem to be condemned by Mr. Hinde's fifth Puritan canon, 'It is not lawful to take pleasure in the enmity of the creatures, nor to make their vexation our recreation,' for the pleasure of the spectators is derived chiefly from the 'vexation' which 'the enmity of the creatures' causes them to inflict upon each other. But some of the mildest of men, as Roger Ascham, have been strangely addicted to it. Burton, in his 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' offers a strange reason for the practice: 'In fowle weather we use cockfighting to avoide idlenesse.'

In the time of the Commonwealth cockfighting became disreputable among the Puritans. Of the growing disapproval of the sport by their ministers, we have an illustration in the diary of Henry Newcome. 'Mr. Stopford' (a young Puritan minister) 'had spoken largely against a cocking that was to be at Manchester, and I resolved to second him. . . . Mr. Heyricke' (an old and influential minister) 'would not say one word, but I could not but speak, and it pleased God that what I said was comparatively well received.' Mr. Stopford, however, got into trouble the next Sunday for 'unadvisedly speaking' in the pulpit against cockfighting, which unadvised speech 'caused the justices' (Presbyterian justices, I suppose) 'to bind him to his good behaviour.' Newcome resolved to preach against cockfighting for this reason among others: 'It will prevent the excuse that it is only forbidden by the younger ministers,' alluding probably to the

silence of Mr. Heyricke, and to the practice having prevailed in puritan Manchester without any expressions of disapproval down to that time.

The throwing or shooting at cocks was a sport quite as barbarous and cruel as setting them to fight, although it did not encourage 'their natural enmity.' The grand day for its practice, especially with school boys, was Shrove Tuesday. That such Puritans as Nicholas Assheton should enjoy the sport may not be surprising, but it does seem strange that so good and gentle a minister as Henry Newcome should allow his boys to 'shoot at the cock.' As regularly as Shrove Tuesday returned, he indulged them in this sport, and like a pious father prayed to God to protect them from the danger. 'I was much afraid of the children going to the shooting for the cock, lest they had any hurt, and prayed that God would preserve them, and the Lord hath done it for me.*' These barbarous sports became after the Commonwealth unpuritanical even in Lancashire, one of the many benefits which that county gained from the brief establishment of presbyterianism.

Games of chance, as cards and dice, especially when played for money, were loudly condemned by all sound Puritans. Even Nicholas Assheton, although often troubled to know what to do with himself on a wet day, never mentions cards as one of his many expedients for pleasantly occupying his time. The nearest approach to such amusement seems to have been 'tables slurring almost all night.' At another time he 'tabled all night.' By 'tables slurring,' is meant either backgammon, or, as Dr. Whitaker says, 'shuffleboard.' It may be observed that on both occasions Nicholas was from home, and he was not the man to decline any sort of amusement offered him in a house of his friends. On the former occasion he was at Portfield, with that sound churchman and notorious gambler, Alexander Nowell, Jun., of Read;† on the latter, at 'a cocking' at Prescott, with nobody knows what sort of company. If 'shuffleboard' be intended, that was a favourite sport of orthodox Puritans, and, if we may conjecture from the practice of Henry Newcome and his friends, especially of their best ministers.

But be the game what it may, at which Assheton played when from home, there can be no doubt that games of chance, especially of cards and dice, were grievous abominations in the sight of all sound Puritans. John Bruen's reasons against them, as he 'set them down in writing,' are curious, and may be regarded, as they evidently were by his biographer, as expressing the prevalent opinions of his religious associates. I insert them in an abbreviated form.

1. All games of hazard are to be eschewed.
2. The prince of devils invented cards.
3. Gamesters were in old times accounted infamous and unworthy of any benefit of law.
4. Dicers, thieves, and harlots belong to one hall and corporation.

* Newcombe's *Diary*, February 4, 1661-2. On one occasion an arrow, instead of striking the cock, went through the hat of his son.

† Young Nowell's gambling propensities are said to have been the beginning of the ruin into which that ancient house has fallen.

5. All gain by gaming is *turpe lucrum*.
6. All playing at dice is plain lottery, which to use lightly is a breach of the third commandment.*
7. There is no recreation of body or mind in these games.
8. Cards seem less evil than tables, but there is 'neither a barrel better herring.'
9. They are mixed games, partly of lottery, partly of wit, and often of knavery.
10. The coat cards were the images of idols.†
11. We should abstain from them: (1) Because they were never of good repute in the church.‡ (2) Because there is appearance of evil about them. (3) Because the magistrate forbids them. (4) Because they tend not to the glory of God. (5) Because they lead to many sins and sorrows. They have reduced 'many a castle into a capcase, a lordship into a cottage, and a fee-simple into a fee-single.'§

How Mr. Bruen sustained his theory by his practice, he himself tells us: 'Finding in the chamber of my cousin' (his cousin, Mr. Done, then boarded with him), 'over the manteltree, a pack of new cards, nobody being there, I opened them and took out the four knaves and burnt them, and laid them together again.|| So for want of such knaves his gaming was marred, and never did he play in my house any more.' On another occasion he found in his library 'a pair of tables,' of which he says, 'I took them with the thirty men and the dice, and put them into a burning oven which was then heating to bake pies.' His biographer supposed (rightly, I have no doubt), 'This he did, not to honour them as martyrs, but to punish them as malefactors.'¶

Bowls and billiards were allowable. In Manchester, Henry Newcome continually refers to his playing at balls or billiards as an afternoon recreation. In this amusement he often joined Mr. Heyricke and other ministers. When, after the Act of Uniformity, several ejected ministers resided in Manchester because 'it was a godly town without a corporation,' they seem to have formed a sort of club for playing billiards and shuffleboard in a quiet public house. Whatever comfort they found in the amusement, it sounds to us somewhat strange to hear Newcome, the ejected minister, the intimate friend of Richard Baxter, expressing his regret that he had spent so much time over the balls as to be tempted to abbreviate his family duties.

* See a curious distinction between lottery 'used lightly' and lottery used religiously in a note in chapter xvi.

† This seems to have been a common notion.

‡ Mr. Hinde marshals such an array of fathers against them, as makes their cause desperate: Augustine and Jerome, Tertullian and Cyprian, Ambrose and Hilary, Lactantius and Arnobius, the Gregories and Basil, Cassiodore and Isidore, and many more. Chrysostom, he says, 'hews them in pieces as Samuel did Agag, and grinds them to powder as Moses did the golden calf.'

§ *Life*, ch. xxxix.

|| To prevent his cousin breaking the third commandment, he seems to have broken the eighth.

¶ *Life*, ch. xxxviii.

Of dancing, the stricter Puritans of the north disapproved, although their disapproval was not so decided nor so general as that of the Puritan circles of the south of England. Bruen, who in his younger days danced with so much agility and grace as to win the admiration of his associates, afterwards abandoned the practice, and delivered his own soul by this strange declaration: 'Sober and single dancing of men apart and women apart hath had its use and praise, not only among the heathen, but among the people of God, when by the nimble motions and gestures of the body they have expressed the great joy of their hearts for some good of their own, or to set forth God's glory. But mixed dancing of men and women hath ever been held, both of the ancient fathers within the Church and of the best authors among the heathen without, to have been utterly unlawful, sinful, shameful, carnal, sensual, and devilish, hateful to God and hurtful to men.' This 'sober and single dancing' seems never to have been fashionable among Puritans, or Papists, or sound Church-folk. The only dancing of men alone was the morris-dancing, and that was a vile abomination in the sight of all the Puritans of the county.

In many families of wealthy Puritans dancing was not disallowed. Nicholas Assheton spent five days of Christmastide with his Puritan cousin, Sir Ralph Assheton, of Whalley Abbey, and a merry time he seems to have had with his relatives. 'Dec. 30. Staid all night at Abbey; very merry all with dancing. Dec. 31. To the shooting. Jan. 1. Parson Abdy Assheton preached. Jan. 2. A foul rainy day, no stirring. Jan. 3. A-hunting with cousin Assheton, Richard Sherborne, &c. With cousin Braddyl to Portfield, drunk wine and was merry, and to the field again. Walbank and Adam shot in the florentine.*

Rush-bearings, very common in Lancashire, and all anniversary sports, as wakes, associated with Church festivals, were condemned by all strict Puritans as popish commemorations. Even the looser brethren who, like Nicholas Assheton, occasionally joined in the merriment, were careful to give no countenance to the *quasi* religious part of the festival. Nicholas was at a rush-bearing at Whalley, but he seemed pleased that there was 'much less solemnity than formerly,' and considered his part of the ceremony accomplished by spending twelve pence in wine to make himself 'somewhat pleasant' with a friend.†

Mr. Hinde, in his 'Life of Bruen,' gives nine reasons against rush-bearings and such celebrations: 1. They are destitute of all warrant of God's Word. 2. They are 'the base brood of the man of sin, begotten of Satan upon the harlot of Babylon in the dark night of popish superstition.' 3. They lead to the adoration of the relics of

* The florentine was a sort of cross-bow with which deer were sometimes shot.

† The rushbearing at Whalley on August 5, the eve of St. James, was a great festival. The rushes were brought to the north gate of the church, and with proper ceremonial spread over its floor. Garlands were hung on the steeple, and other rustic decorations were introduced. Booths were erected in the church-yard, morris-dancers played their part, and St. James was honoured with various kinds of athletic sports.—Notes to Assheton's Journal, Whitaker's *History of Whalley*.

saints. 4. They are 'wit-worship, and will-worship.' 5. They are often commemorations of wicked men canonised by the popish Church, honoured as saints, while 'their souls are frying in hell.*' 6. They have fellowship with devils. 7. They bring together crowds of wicked people. 8. They produce scandalous immoralities. 9. They are contrary to the holy examples of good men.†

Of Mr. Bruen his biographer observes, 'Because popery and profaneness, two sisters in evil, had consulted and conspired in his parish, as in many other places, to advance their idols against the ark of God, and to celebrate the feasts of their popish saints, as being the *dii tutelares*, the special patrons and protectors of their churches, by their wakes and vigils, kept in commemoration and honour of them, this godly gentleman, being stirred in his spirit at these gross superstitions, and grieved in heart at their misdemeanours and disorders, knowing well that the customs of the people are vain, yea and vile also, poisoning their minds with error, and corrupting their hearts and lives with base lusts and the bitter fruits thereof, and fearing that their carnal joys and delights in their fleshly and earthly things might make the heavenly manna seem as light bread unto them, and the wholesome food of life more unsavoury than otherwise it would have been; this gentleman, I say, to prevent these mischiefs did usually at these times bring in and set up the ark of God, to bring down and break in pieces their Dagon. Against St. Andrew's Day, which is the time of Tarum wakes, he observed many years together to invite two or three of the best-affected preachers in the diocese, that spent most part of those days in preaching and praying in the church, so as the pipers, and the fiddlers, and the bearwards, and players, and gamesters had no time left them for their vanities, but went away with great fretting; and multitudes of well-affected people filled the town and the church with much rejoicing, blessed be God!†

'O, what comfort did this godly man take in discountenancing and suppressing, so far as he could, all popery and profaneness, together with all the instruments, maintainers, and abettors of the same! O, how great was his rejoicing and solace, when, by any care, cost, or labour, he might refresh the bodies and rejoice the souls of God's people, either by corporal or spiritual repast provided for them! To which end, as it is well known, besides other provisions, there was spent in his house a fat beife and a half, within the space of three days, upon godly and well-affected people, as his cook did then relate unto him. How well did he herein imitate the example of Christ, who, at the feast of the dedication of the temple (though it was no divine but a human constitution), took occasion notwithstanding, upon the frequent concourse of the people, to profit and do good to their souls! Neither do I speak this to justify or approve their festival solemnities, for the anniversary commemorations of saints and martyrs, and dedication of churches, savour rank of the cask, and

* The tutelary saint of Mr. Hinde's own parish, St. Boniface, seems to have been in his estimation one of these wicked saints.

† *Life of Bruen*, ch. xxx.

‡ *Life of Bruen*, ch. xxix.

smell hugely of the vessels of Judaism, paganism, and papism, whence they were first drawn and derived.'

The drinking of the health of absent persons, as the king or queen, can scarcely be called an amusement. It was, however, a practice which the Lancashire Puritans, like their brethren elsewhere, steadily and consistently opposed. In the great rejoicing at Manchester on account of the restoration of the monarchy no men were more hearty than the presbyterian ministers; yet Heyrick and Newcome, who in their boundless exultation forgot Puritan moderation, were grieved and offended, not with the quantity of wine drunk in the streets, but with its being drunk to the health of the king, for whose health, however, they devoutly prayed. We have an amusing illustration of the perplexity of a good Puritan in this matter, and of the ingenuity with which he contrived to extricate himself, in the 'Life of Bruen.' He was once present at the high sheriff's feast, where, among lords spiritual and temporal, a health to the prince 'was entertained and maintained with a great deal of ceremonial solemnity.' Many of the company observed with some curiosity what Mr. Bruen would do in this matter. The mild and gentle Puritan merely said, 'You may drink to his health; I will pray for it, and drink for my own, and so I wish you may do for yours.' What difference there is in the morality or religion of drinking to another's health, and wishing he may drink for his own, is a curious question for puritan casuistry. The biographer of Bruen had a little more to say about this health-drinking: 'Had I not been well prevented by the godly labours of my ancient and faithful friend, Mr. Bolton, who hath spoken much out of the fathers against this drinking of healths, I had taken a little more pains to provide some rods of rebuke for this sin, purposing to whip and scourge it round about the table.'

The notices of several puritan preachers, the 'Life of John Bruen,' and the 'Journal' of Nicholas Assheton, have brought us into the reign of James I. As on the accession of a Scottish king who had called the Church of Scotland 'the purest and best reformed kirk in the world,' the English Puritans became more favourable to the presbyterian discipline, and began to cherish some hope of its introduction into England, we may from this date regard them as gradually adopting the principles, if they did not assume the name, of Presbyterians. Although at the death of the great queen there might have been no avowed Presbyterians in Lancashire, yet the writings of Cartwright, the arbitrary measures of Whitgift and other bishops, and the persecutions of good preachers by the ecclesiastical courts, had alienated the minds of many, both ministers and laymen, from the episcopal form of Church government. Opposition to the surplice, to the sign of the cross in baptism, and to kneeling at the communion, was passing into opposition to the authority which enforced these offensive things, and punished severely all who were nonconformists in such matters. Although the transition from Puritan to Presbyterian was gradual, yet from this time it steadily proceeded in Lancashire, where many of the preachers were beginning to look to the Kirk of Scotland as a model of ecclesiastical order and government.

CHAPTER VII.

PURITANISM UNDER JAMES I.

IN March 1603 James Stuart ascended the throne of England. How in perfect tranquillity he cancelled fourteen titles to the crown, which in the previous reign had been discovered for as many rivals, may probably be explained by the feebleness of the hands which held them, and also by the apprehensions of the great religious parties, every one of which had more to fear than to hope from a disputed succession, or from a determined opposition to the claims of the house of Stuart. Of that house Hallam says: 'No private man could have recovered an acre of land without proving a better right to it than they could make out to the crown of England.'* James was, however, through the wisdom and firmness of the council, proclaimed with as little resistance or complaint as was ever known on the succession of any English sovereign, however good his title, to the inheritance of his father's throne. It affords a remarkable illustration of the elasticity of the English constitution, to observe that on the accession of the house of Stuart the right of primogeniture prevailed over the statutory title; and that on the accession of the house of Hanover the statutory title prevailed over the right of primogeniture.

The Puritans—that is to say, such of them as were politicians—might have preferred the heir of the house of Suffolk, in favour of whom they might have pleaded the will of Henry VIII., and probably would have done so, had James not avowed himself a Protestant; but they had to fear the intrigues of the Catholics, the more violent of whom were ready to assert and defend the right of a member of the Spanish family, or of the pope's candidate, Arabella Stuart, cousin of King James.† While the Puritans acquiesced in the accession of a presbyterian king, and the moderate Catholics were willing to submit to the son of their martyred Mary, whose title they had so earnestly defended, the prelatical party saw no successor so likely to maintain their principles as the King of the Scots. Everything about him, except his words, promised fair as seen from the episcopal point of view, and the words of a Stuart were presumed to conceal rather than to express his thoughts. All parties approving, or at least acquiescing, the council, by their prompt and energetic

* *Constitutional History*, ch. vi., vol. i. p. 392.

† Some Lancashire Catholics in the reign of Elizabeth proposed the son of the Earl of Derby as the best successor to the queen, and had he been a Catholic they would probably have worked more zealously to establish his title. After the death of the Queen of Scots, the Lancashire Catholics could never agree about a successor to Elizabeth.

measures, seated a puny king upon a high throne, and in doing so probably spared their country many years of war and streams of blood.

Whatever may have been the validity of his title, any one who looks on his portrait may well wonder how such a man could have belonged to the glorious lineage of English kings. He had no resemblance to the Plantagenets, the Tudors, or the Stuarts. Whatever may have been his parentage, his ill-constructed countenance was the appropriate expression of his ill-conditioned soul. Mean, cowardly, suspicious, false, spiteful, ambitious in small matters, vain of small advantages, boasting of small deeds, temperate in early years because he did not like stimulants, yet often in his soberness acting as foolishly as ever he did in the intemperance of his later years, the successor of Elizabeth was as despicable as his likeness appears when exhibited by the side of the portrait of his predecessor, his mother, or any of his race. England purchased her tranquillity at some cost by putting him upon her throne; but after the last of the Tudors, royalty in England was becoming pageantry, and the tranquillity of the realm was well worth the endurance of a foolish and fantastical pageant.

The Puritans were the first to annoy the new king, the Catholics to frighten him. On his ostentatious journey to London, the Puritan clergy presented the Millenary petition, as it was called, from the presumed number of a thousand signatures.* They objected among other things to the surplice, the cross in baptism, the rite of confirmation, the ring in marriage, the reading of the Apocryphal lessons, and the bowing at the name of Jesus. James, having had enough of presbyterian annoyance in Scotland, hastily committed ten of the petitioners to prison, and found in the Star Chamber judges obsequious enough to declare that their offence was near to treason, and punishable at his discretion. The prelates were politic enough to flatter and conciliate, while the Puritans were prematurely asking for a redress of their grievances.

The king was well prepared for the Hampton Court Conference. He acted throughout like a weak man, who had been annoyed with the demands of the Puritans and gratified by the obsequiousness of the prelates. By opposing the bishops in two or three things, he wished to show that 'the Lord's anointed' was greater even in spirituals than all the ecclesiastics of the realm. When he opposed them, the bishops humbly entreated him; when he scolded the Puritans, they thought he spoke by the inspiration of God. The king, pleased with his bishops, and vain of his logic, refuted all the arguments of the Puritans, and declared that with very slight alterations the Church of England should continue what it had been in the reign of Elizabeth.

Lancashire was especially mentioned on account of its decided puritanism. Lawrence Chadderton,* the learned master of Emanuel

* The precise number was eight hundred and twenty five.—Neal, vol. i. p. 408. Fuller, part ii. p. 22.

† He belonged to the Chaddertons of Chadderton near Manchester, who were

College, upon his knees entreated the king, whatever he might do in other counties, not to force the use of the surplice upon the clergy of Lancashire, who could not endure it. The entreaty was vain. Lancashire must be in spirituals like the rest of England, perfectly submissive to the inspired wisdom of the head of the Church.

But the Puritans were not without friends who could make themselves heard, and even felt, through the country. Their voice, which had been heard in the later parliaments of Elizabeth, grew louder and bolder in the first parliament of James, who could not keep it under control as it had been kept by the stronger will and wiser policy of his predecessor. Observing the rising influence of the reforming party, able statesmen and lawyers began with more or less boldness to assert the necessity or expediency of making some concession to the demands of the Puritan clergy and their powerful adherents.

In the first year of the new reign, Bacon wrote a tract, in which, after having calmly objected to the surplice, the use of organs, the form of absolution, and other parts of the ritual, he proposed an enquiry which no Churchman ventured to answer, 'why the civil state should be purged and restored by good and wholesome laws made every three or four years by parliament assembled, devising remedies as fast as time breedeth mischief; and contrariwise, the ecclesiastical state should still continue upon the dregs of time, and receive no alteration now for these forty-five years or more?' Bacon's great rival, Sir Edward Coke, having obtained the chief seat in the King's Bench, when nothing more could be gained by subserviency, opposed with great firmness and decision the unconstitutional attempts of the bishops to make their jurisdiction independent of the control or revision of the secular courts, and effectually silenced Bancroft by the peremptory voice with which he asserted that only an Act of Parliament could invest the bishops with the authority which was claimed by that haughty prelate. From the death of Elizabeth puritanism rapidly gathered strength from various sources, but especially from its intimate association with the assertors of constitutional freedom in opposition to the arbitrary proceedings of the king and his intolerant prelates.

In the Gunpowder Plot several Lancashire Catholics were undoubtedly concerned. Many others, had they the opportunity, would have opposed as strenuously as their Protestant neighbours the horrible conspiracy by which king, lords, and commons were to be involved in indiscriminate massacre and destruction. The connection of Lord Monteagle with the Stanley family saved the government, as there can be little doubt that his sister was the writer of the letter which led to the discovery of the plot, and that she obtained her information from her Catholic relatives in Lancashire. How far the traitor Sir William Stanley was implicated it is not easy to determine.

but remotely connected with the Chaddertons of Nuthurst, to which the Puritan bishop of Chester belonged. Notwithstanding his puritanism, Lawrence Chadderton was one of the translators of the authorised version of the Bible.

Steeped in treason all over, he entered into the foulest conspiracies of the Jesuits, and having already conspired to murder Queen Elizabeth, Prince Maurice, and others, he would have had no scruple in blowing up the English throne and parliament if he could have established his Church upon their ruins. Of the desperate men whose names were enrolled among his invaders of the country was Guy Fawkes, who was ever in the hands of Stanley a willing instrument for the commission of any crime. The conspirators who, near St. Clement's church in the Strand, sealed their oath of secrecy by the Holy Sacrament, sent Fawkes to the Netherlands to consult Stanley about their conspiracy. While he was on his way, Stanley had gone to Spain to induce the king to promote another invasion of England, so that if he were left in ignorance of the treason, it was not on account of any want of confidence on the part of the conspirators in his approval or his audacity. The failure of the plot caused much consternation among his Lancashire friends, in whose halls and manor-houses there had prevailed a general expectation of some sudden overthrow of the Protestant government.

On the accession of James, the see of Chester was held by Richard Vaughan, who, instead of preserving the mild discipline of Chadderton, enforced a rigorous exaction of conformity to which his diocese had been long unaccustomed. Having cited many of the Lancashire ministers before him, he peremptorily required their subscription to the canons and articles of Whitgift, which, unauthorised by parliament, had been denounced by some of the ablest statesmen and lawyers of the time. In his diocese, twenty-one ministers of Lancashire and twelve of Cheshire were silenced, when there was throughout both counties just complaint of the great want of Protestant preachers. Being a zealous supporter of the royal prerogative, he was selected by the king to succeed Bancroft in the bishopric of London. His place in Chester was filled by George Lloyd, a prelate of a far better spirit, who ruled the nonconforming clergy with much leniency, and as far as he could protected them from persecution and annoyance. His successor, Dr. Thomas Morton, a man of considerable ability, learning, and activity, will again come before us as the composer of the famous 'Book of Sports,' and as a severe persecutor of his nonconforming clergy.

Queen Elizabeth's favourite astrologer, poor old Dr. Dee, died, as we have already observed, at Mortlake in poverty and great distress.

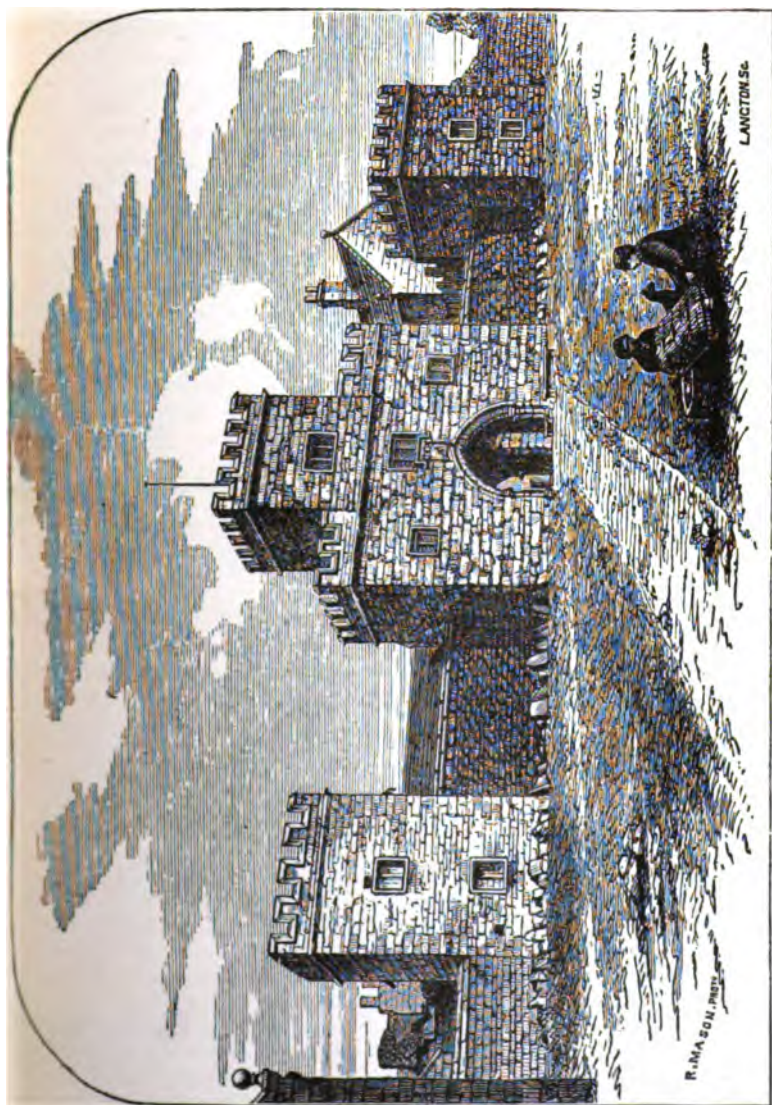
The Puritans waited for his death in the hope that their favourite preacher, William Bourne, one of the fellows of the college, would be promoted to the vacant office. He was very popular with the people, was strongly recommended by all his colleagues, and having married a relative of Lord Burleigh was on terms of intimate friendship with several influential courtiers. But the time had passed in which Puritans were promoted to oppose Papists. To James the puritanism of Bourne was no recommendation. Moreover, a Scotchman was a competitor, and the king was not so unpatriotic as to overlook the claims of his countryman. Dr. Murray desired the place, and the

place was exactly suitable for Dr. Murray. It was a dignified position in the Church, and Murray was a dignified Churchman of the noble family of the Earl of Athole. There was little to do, and Murray had neither the ability nor the inclination to do much. The warden was expected to preach but seldom, and Murray did not intend to preach at all. Murray was a gentleman in holy orders, and had nothing else to qualify him for either a preacher or a bishop. He once, it is said, preached before the king from the text, 'I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ,' to which James uttered the response, spiced with an oath, 'But the gospel may well be ashamed of thee.' A wardenship was his proper office, and therefore the sapient king made him Warden of Manchester. For state and dignity, self-importance and ostentation, Manchester had never seen such a warden, and will never see such another. He demanded the chief seat in the church, even when the bishop was present, and as on one occasion the bishop refused to vacate it, he was careful to be early enough in the afternoon to take possession and to keep it. He gave the puritan preachers very little trouble, as he seldom resided in so ungenteel a place as Manchester. Much to his credit, he refused to take the customary oath of residence, which he never intended to observe. It is, therefore, doubtful whether he was or was not legally the warden. Although he retained his office, or at least its emoluments, during the reign of his patron, we shall have very little more to say about him, as he had very little to say, good or evil, of his puritan colleagues or parishioners.

In the summer of 1617, the king on his return from Scotland made his 'progresses,' as they were called, in Lancashire. As in consequence of this visit the first 'Book of Sports' was issued by royal authority, we must regard it with great interest, as the beginning of a course of events which led through the civil war and temporary subversion of the throne and Church to the eventual expulsion of the Stuarts, and adjustment of the differences between Prelatists and Puritans by the revolutionary, or rather constitutional, settlement of 1688.

The 'progresses' of the king from one mansion to another were conducted with great parade and magnificence, while all classes did their best to show their loyalty and admiration of their sovereign, who, however awkward in the expression of his approval, was not insensible to the flattery and applause of his subjects. The interest of the 'progresses' centres in Hoghton Tower, to which he 'progressed' from Myerscough, and from which, after doing many extraordinary things, he 'progressed' to Lathom. The traditions and legends still popular in the county are all associated with Hoghton. Whatever wise or foolish things the king said and did in Lancashire are reported, truly or falsely, to have been said or done there. There, if anywhere, he knighted the sirloin of beef; there, if anywhere, he ordered his attendants to turn over a huge stone that he might decipher the mysterious 'scripture,' which proved to be—

'Hot porritch softens hard butter cakes,
So turn me o'er again.'



HOUGHTON TOWER.



Be these tales as true as the Lancashire people believe them, or as false as other people consider them, there he made the fatal concession which contributed to the ruin of his family—the concession to the Lancashire petitioners who prayed that, as in old times, they might enjoy after the performance of divine service on Sundays the sports and diversions which the puritan magistrates had attempted to suppress.* This he did, as we shall hereafter see, in a manner most offensive to the Puritans, as he not only disallowed the prohibitions which the magistrates under Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth had published against the sports, but made it imperative upon all the ministers of the county to announce in the churches his proclamation in favour of them, and that avowedly to conciliate the Papists. The king's visit to Hoghton is therefore a subject of great interest to all concerned in the puritan controversy.

Hoghton Tower, now in ruins, was at that time an imposing structure and strong fortress. It was built in the reign of Elizabeth, when the Hoghton family removed from their ancient residence at Walton-le-dale to the conical hill which rises abruptly in the midst of their hereditary estate. It is accessible to a carriage only on its western side, and even there the ascent is difficult, and may easily be prevented. On the other sides the rocks are precipitous, and men on foot could climb the precipice only by winding paths through the tangled briars and brushwood. Along the base of the northern side flows the Darwen, in the old time a clear stream abounding in salmon, as both Nicholas Assheton and his sporting pastor, Abdie, knew very well.

The castellated front of the mansion on the west side consisted of three stately towers and connecting walls, the approach to which was through an avenue of trees terminating at the foot of the ascent. The grand entrance through the central tower led to the lower court, of which two sides consisted of domestic offices and dwellings of the numerous servants and officials of the family. A noble range of buildings opposite the entrance, and separating the two courts, consisted of the great hall and chapel, between which an ascent of steps led from the lower to the upper court, situate on the summit of the hill. On one side of the upper, or inner, court was a spacious gallery, reached by a broad oaken staircase; on the other two were the apartments reserved for the family and their visitors. In the reign of James it was the most stately mansion in Lancashire.

As soon as it was known that the king intended to honour the tower with a visit, great interest was excited among the gentry of the neighbourhood, who determined to make as loyal and as magnificent a display as possible. Many of them agreed to attend the king on this occasion, dressed in the livery of the Hoghton family. Among them was Nicholas Assheton, who made in his journal the entry:

* It has been said that the petition was presented at Myerscough; but whatever may have been done there, the king committed himself irrevocably at Hoghton Tower in favour of Sunday sports, to the great mortification of the puritan magistrates and ministers.

'Aug. 11. My brother Sherborne's taylor brought him a suit of apparel, and us two others, and a livery cloak from Sir Richard Hoghton, that we should attend him at the king's coming, rather for his grace and reputation than any exacting of mean service.' With a retinue thus collected of Asshetons, Sherbornes, Townleys, and other representatives of the best families of Blackburnshire and Leyland, Sir Richard Hoghton went to escort the king from Myerscough Lodge, where his majesty made his first speech in favour of 'piping and honest recreation on the Sunday.' 'Progressing' through Preston, where the king attended a grand banquet, he was conducted in great state by Sir Richard's magnificent retinue to Hoghton Tower. Among the officers of the king were his cup-bearer, the Duke of Buckingham; his master of the household, the Duke of Richmond; his chamberlain, the Earl of Pembroke; his lord high admiral, the Earl of Nottingham; his lord high steward, Lord Howard of Effingham; the Bishop of Chester; the Judges of the King's Bench; and about a hundred of the chief gentlemen of the county. The servants of all these courtiers and gentlemen are not to be enumerated, and what they cost for board and lodging is not to be estimated. It was long before the Hoghton family recovered, if ever they recovered, from the inconvenience entailed upon them by the enormous expense of the royal visit.

The family was not at that time connected with the Puritans. In the reign of Elizabeth its members had professed the Catholic faith, and the tower had afforded concealment and protection to seminary priests and emissaries of the pope. Sir William Stanley in the Netherlands, and Cardinal Allen at Rome, knew by their intercourse with their friends at Hoghton whatever of importance was done in that neighbourhood. Sir Richard, who entertained the king, avowed himself the first Protestant of the family;* but, as we may suppose from the sort of hospitality with which he received his royal guest, he had nothing of the Puritan in his character. It was not until the breaking out of the civil war, when the father and his son were ranged on opposite sides, that puritanism was associated with the baronets of Hoghton. This should be observed, because it is difficult for those who have walked in the hanging woods where Isaac Ambrose meditated, or in the ruined gallery where John Howe studied, to divest the tower of puritanical associations. But Hoghton Tower on the visit of the king presented a scene of which the puritan descendants of Sir Richard must have thought with disgust and shame, as they had reason to lament its extravagance.

In the great avenue of stately trees which led to the ascent of the hill, the king was received, as was due to his sacred Majesty, by the divinities of the place. 'Two, conceived to be the household gods, attired in a purple taffeta mantle,' welcomed 'the great king for government admired.' The first, with a sufficiency of absurd flattery tolerable only to such a king as James, got through his

* The father of Sir Richard was, in 1586, returned to the council of Elizabeth as 'a harbourer of priests and recusants' and as 'a Papist ill-affected to the state.'—*Stanley Papers*, p. 7.

address pretty well; 'but the second tutelary god' could only say, 'Thou greatest of mortals,' when he was 'nonplust' and 'glopped,' until his brother god relieved him by addressing the king—

'Dread Lord! the splendour and the glorious rays
Of thy high majesty hath stricken dumb
His weaker godhead.'

But enough of this absurdity; worse appears on the next day, which was Sunday, August 17.

On that day a petition was presented to the king, signed by great numbers of Lancashire peasants, tradesmen and servants—that is, as few of them could write, signed by some other persons on their behalf. It prayed that they might be no longer debarred from their 'lawful recreations and honest exercises' after evening prayers on Sundays. The king condemned the restrictions of the preceding reign, and promised indulgence to 'his good people within the county of Lancaster.' An auspicious sign of the liberty or licence to be granted to the merry county might be seen on that fine summer Sunday when 'his sacred Majesty' was entertained at Hoghton. We have an account of what was done in the 'Journal' of Nicholas Assheton, with abundant illustrations in the 'Notes of the Diet at Hoghton,' printed in 'The Progresses of King James.' Assheton says:—

'August 17. We served the lords with biskett, wyne, and jellie. The Bushopp of Chester pretched before the king. To dinner. At four o'clock there was a rushbearing and piping afore the king in the middle court. Then to sup. Then about ten o'clock a maske of noblemen, knights, courtiers, and gentlemen, afore the king in the garden. Some speeches of the rest, dancing the Huckler, Tom Bedlo, and the cowp justice of the peace.'

These brief notes of the Sunday may be illustrated by the account of 'The Diet of the Visit,' printed by Nichols in 'The Progresses,' and by some lingering traditions of a day which will never be forgotten in Lancashire.*

'The Bushopp of Chester pretched.' The 'bushopp' was Dr. Morton, the author of the 'Book of Sports.' This discourse must have been very pleasant to his Majesty, and very edifying to his subjects, for it enforced the duty of obedience to the king as 'the representative and vicegerent of God.' The preacher adduced an argument sufficient, if it were sound, to refute all puritanical objections to the 'Book of Sports': 'God himself had repealed the old law of the Sabbath by the work of His 'earthly representative and vicegerent.' So it seemed, at least for the remainder of that day.

'To dinner.' If the reader has any curiosity to know the provision for 'the Sunday's dinner,' he may look over the appended note, which refers to one table only, where the king and his lords were

* A story of that day is well told in Roby's *Traditions of Lancashire*.

seated.* The supper was as sumptuous a board for gluttony as the dinner.

'A rush-bearing and piping.' . . . 'A maske of noblemen, knights, courtiers, and gentlemen.' An extraordinary masque it was! Lawful recreations and honest exercises indeed! The queen of beauty was in her bower. A man was enclosed, as the learned author of 'The History of Preston' tells us, 'in a dendrological foliage of fronds. 'Men attired like lions and bears were wonderfully amusing,' and 'an ape boy leaped upon them, to the delight of the company.' 'Speeches were made wittily pleasant,' and all kinds of 'frolics were carried on by Robin Goodfellow, Bill Huckler, Tom Bedloe, Old Crambe, Jim Tosspot, Dolly Wango, and the 'Cowp or 'Cap Justice.† Archy Armstrong, the king's fool, was at Hoghton with his royal master, but, as if his services were superfluous amidst such fooleries, he was very quiet during the festival.

So passed a Sunday long memorable in Lancashire for its disastrous consequences to Puritans, Prelatists, Papists,—all classes of society.

The king, having promised to 'indulge his good people within the county of Lancaster,' and to restrain 'the Puritans and precise

* Printed from a MS. in the possession of the family, communicated by Sir Henry Bold Hoghton to Mr. Nichols for his 'Progresses.'

First course.

Pullets	Roast turkey	Pullet
Boiled capon	Veal burred	Beef roast [sirloin]
Mutton boiled	Swan roast, one, and one	Tongue pye cold
Boiled chickens	for to-morrow	Sprod boiled
Shoulder of mutton roast	Chicken pye hot	Heron's roast cold
Ducks boiled	Goose roasted	Curlew pye cold
Loin of veal roast	Rabbits cold	Mince pye hot
Pullets	Jiggits of mutton boiled	Custards
Haunch of venison roast	Snipe pye	Pig roast
Burred capon	Breast of veal boiled	
Pastry of venison hot	Capons roast	

Second course.

Hot pheasant, one, and one for the king	Lamb roast
Quails, six for the king	Gammon of bacon
Partridge	Pigeons roast
Poults	Made dish
Artichoke pye	Chicken burred
Chickens	Pear tart
Curlews roast	Pullets and grease
Peas buttered	Dryed tongues
Rabbits	Turkey pye
Duck	Pheasant pye
Plovers	Pheasant tart
Red deer pye	Hog's cheek dryed
Pig burred	Turkey chicks cold
Hot herons roast, three of a dish	

† The three judges, among whom was Sir John Doddridge, an ancestor of the nonconforming minister of Northampton, assured the king that 'the cap justice was acted to the very life.' The Tom Bedloes were poor creatures released from Bedlam, who were licensed to beg. They usually carried a horn, which, when empty, they blew and got it filled with ale.

people,' commanded Bishop Morton to prepare the 'Book of Sports,' which work, if he believed his own sermon, he could execute with a good conscience, having received his order from 'the representative and vicerent of God.'

The 'book' was a proclamation of the king to the effect that 'for his good people's recreation, they should not be disturbed, letted, or discouraged, after divine service on Sundays, from any lawful recreations, such as dancing either of men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, nor from having May games, Whitsun ales, or morris-dancers, or setting up of May-poles, or other sports therewith used, and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to church for the decorating of it, according to their old customs, withal prohibiting unlawful games to be used on Sundays, as bear-baiting, bull-baiting, interludes, and at all times to the meaner sort of the people prohibited, bowling.' From these lawful recreations three classes were excluded: popish recusants, such as did not attend the whole of divine service, and such as did not adhere to their own parish churches. The two latter classes were intended to exclude Puritans, who often went to church after the reading of the Liturgy, and often to distant churches to hear their favourite preachers. It must have been amusing for puritan ladies to find that they were prohibited from dancing round the village May-pole and 'decorating' the village church with rushes.

This proclamation was dated Greenwich, May 24, 1616. It was originally intended to enforce the reading of it in all the churches in the kingdom, but as Archbishop Abbot boldly forbade its being read in his church at Croydon, the first reading was confined to Lancashire, the county of Papists and Puritans. To the Papists it could have afforded small comfort, as they could obtain the privilege of evening dances only by attending morning services which to them were heretical and profane. To the Puritans it was a snare or a scandal, as they believed the whole of the Lord's day to be equally sacred, and regarded amusements as a desecration of its divine sanctity.

As the puritan ministers of the later years of Elizabeth followed one another to their rest, their successors occupied a position more decidedly opposed to the ecclesiastical authorities. Partly through the severe and arbitrary measures of the bishop, partly through the scandal of the 'Book of Sports,' and partly through a growing desire for a presbyterian discipline, a considerable number of preachers in Lancashire began to be regarded, and perhaps to regard themselves, as a distinct party of 'nonconforming Puritans.' The sectarian feeling was growing so strong between the two parties, that conforming parents objected to the marriage of their daughters with nonconforming ministers; and, on the other hand, nonconforming ministers advised their children to form affinities with families of their own persuasion. The distinction became, in various ways, and through various causes, more wide and manifest towards the close of the reign of James.

Against some of these ministers proceedings were commenced by Bishop Morton in the Ecclesiastical Court of Chester. So highly

were they esteemed, that several magistrates and gentlemen of the diocese addressed the following letter on their behalf to the bishop when he was on his visitation at Stockport:—

‘RIGHT REVEREND,—Whereas we understand that divers of our painful and discreet ministers are lately by letters missive from your lordship, and others of His Majesty’s Commission for Causes Ecclesiastical, enjoined to appear before you to answer to such matters as shall be objected against them, we whose names are subscribed have thought fit to acquaint you with our opinion of those ministers, for the preventing of much sinister and malicious information, which is frequently stirred up against men of their sort and quality, sometimes by lewd and profane persons, and many times by disguised, subtle, and superstitious Romanists and church-papists, whose hearts are against us while their faces are seemingly for us. We have observed in these our ministers integrity of life and conversation, orthodox soundness of doctrine, diligence and painfulness in their places, sobriety and peaceableness in their dispositions, and freedom from faction; also the great good and profit which our congregations, where they live, have abundantly received from their ministry. Therefore we are emboldened to entreat your favour.*

The bishop, on receiving this letter, had the bad taste, or something worse, to reply: ‘They whom this letter concerns are the worse to be liked for the testimony here given to them.’

The Puritan ministers who have been mentioned as belonging to the reign of Elizabeth were in many instances succeeded by young men who lived to take an active part in the conflict of the next reign, when they will come more distinctly before us. Mr. William Bourne continued the favourite preacher of the Lancashire Puritans until the beginning of the civil war, when we shall again meet with the old man ‘heartening’ the parliamentary soldiers in the defence of Manchester. There were, however, some nonconforming preachers who commenced their ministry in Lancashire in the reign of James, and rested from their labours or left the county before the appeal was made to arms, and who on that account should be noticed before we proceed to the more exciting events of the subsequent reign.

Of these, one of the most impressive preachers was Mr. Palin of Leigh, of whose sermons, heard by Richard Mather when a child, the remembrance was ‘most comfortable and honourable in his thoughts,’ when, in his old age and on the other side of the Atlantic, he comforted himself with ‘the thoughts of the plain, powerful, and piercing efficacy of Mr. Palin’s ministry, such as was not to be found in the common preachers.’

Another ‘famous minister’ of that time was Mr. Gellibrand, of Warrington, remarkable for his fervent wrestling prayers, his clear

* Preface to Mr. John Paget’s *Defence of Church Governments*, 1641. The preface was written by Mr. Thomas Paget, one of the nonconforming ministers on whose behalf the letter of the magistrates was addressed to the bishop. What relation there was between Mr. John Paget, the author of the *Defence*, and Mr. Thomas Paget the writer of the preface, I have not been able to ascertain.

expositions of Scripture, and his powerful appeals to the consciences of his hearers—'the more famous,' says Samuel Clark, 'for that though he did much stammer in his ordinary discourse, yet would he pray and preach very fluently.'

Another was Mr. Harrison of Huyton, celebrated for the extraordinary impressions which his preaching often produced on the minds of the young and thoughtless, especially on occasion of his lecturing at markets and fairs. To announce at a fair that he was about to preach in a neighbouring church, was quite enough to bring together a crowded congregation of attentive listeners who seldom listened attentively to any other preacher.

Mr. Hubbert was the puritan minister of the chapelry of Ainsworth, near Bolton, on whose faithful preaching the grandmother of Oliver Heywood (one of the puritan family of the Hultons) attended with great interest, and whose counsel and prayers she sought on behalf of her husband, because he, being carnal, as the Puritans called him, exercised himself on Sunday afternoons in shooting at the butts on Lomas Moor. Although the kindly advice of Mr. Hubbert and the earnest remonstrance of Mrs. Heywood seem to have been unavailing, their prayers were heard, and his conversion was effected in a very unexpected manner. The old gentleman being at Bury fair, and finding the church, as was not unusual at that time, open for lecturing on the fair day, heard the lecture of that eminent preacher Mr. Paget, whose earnest appeal reached his conscience and his heart, 'and from that time he set his face heavenward,' to the great comfort of his wife and spiritual welfare of his children.

This Mr. Thomas Paget was one of the nonconforming preachers on behalf of whom the letter I have already cited was addressed by the magistrates of Lancashire to the Bishop of Chester. Of a Leicestershire family, to which belonged several nonconforming ministers, he was induced by the earnest persuasion of Mr. Bourne—who, as Hollingworth says, 'laboured much and succeeded well in procuring ministers in every chapel in the parish of Manchester'—to become minister of Blackley. He had accepted the appointment before 1603, as his name is inserted as the minister in 'a platform,' or ground plan, of the chapel of that date. In 1617 he was cited to appear before the bishop and answer for his nonconformity. Paget appeared before a Court of Commissioners at Chester with several of his nonconforming brethren, when the bishop required them to state their arguments against the use of the cross in baptism, adding his assurance that he would speedily confute them. The ministers at first declined to answer, assigning as their reason that they might expose themselves to punishment by expressing their disapproval of the prescribed ritual. The bishop however, confident of his own ability and never unwilling to make some display of it, urged them to state candidly and defend fearlessly their objections in the presence of several persons of importance. Mr. Paget spoke on behalf of his brethren. The bishop listened with great attention, and either from candour or from fear of exposing his ignorance, acknowledged that

Mr. Paget had defended his cause with more learning than he had expected, and that as he had not studied the controversy he must reserve his refutation for a more convenient opportunity.

But Paget did not so easily escape his persecutors. He was ordered by the commissioners to produce his arguments in writing before the end of another month. Three times he was compelled to travel to Chester, and as the convenient opportunity for the bishop's refutation had not come, he had to endure the insolent and abusive language of the officials and servants of the ecclesiastical court. When the convenient opportunity at length came, the bishop, instead of refuting the arguments of Paget, remonstrated with him on his obstinacy, and intimated that he himself, through his leniency towards the nonconformists, had lost the appointment to the bishopric of Lincoln. There might have been some truth in this intimation, for Morton's deeds were not always as bad as his threatenings. On this occasion, for instance, the bishop threatened to suspend Paget, to degrade him, to excommunicate him, to drive him out of the country; but he did none of these things. He only scolded, called the poor man 'a blasphemer of his mother, the Church,' and left him to go home as soon as he had paid the customary fees to the officers of the court. An order, however, was sent to the chapel-wardens of Blackley, directing them to provide a book of homilies for the desk, and to permit no one to preach without a license from the bishop.

Whatever Morton may have lost by his leniency to the nonconformists, he gained the bishopric of Lichfield by writing the 'Book of Sports.' His successor, Dr. Bridgman, was at first quite as lenient, and much more quiet, in his dealings with nonconforming ministers. His leniency and quietness were so offensive to the ecclesiastical authorities, that his metropolitan sent commissioners to enquire and report upon the state of his diocese. Charged with negligence, he was compelled to become a persecutor, and persecutors from compulsion sometimes do their work more severely than persecutors from choice. Morton loved to threaten when he was unwilling to strike; Bridgman loved neither to threaten nor to strike, but when he did strike he did it as effectually as if he loved to do it. Bridgman, although inferior to Morton in logical power, would argue where Morton felt that he could not, but his arguments were often of a very peculiar kind. Paget, on being cited to appear again at Chester, was required to assign his reason for refusing to kneel at the Sacrament. He cited the words of our Lord, 'In vain do they worship Me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.' The bishop replied that he expected a more learned argument founded on the reclining posture of our Lord and His disciples at the institution of the Sacrament. As this was the usual argument of the Puritans, Bridgman seems to have been prepared for it, and unwilling to lose the opportunity of refuting the Puritans, he stretched himself upon a bench by the side of the table, leaning upon his elbow, and enquired whether it would be decent and proper for a congregation in that recumbent position to partake of the Sacrament. Poor

Mr. Paget was not only refuted in argument, but punished by suspension from his ministry for two years.

Soon after his suspension, writs of attachment were issued from the Court at York to imprison him until he paid the heavy fines which were imposed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. To escape their officers he fled to Holland, and became minister of an English congregation in Amsterdam. While he was resident there, he wrote the preface to John Paget's 'Defence of Church Government,' in which these incidents of his life are related. Brook, in his life of Thomas Paget, says, 'He most probably spent the remainder of his days there.' It seems, however, that after nine years' residence in Holland, he returned to England, became rector of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, and in extreme old age died rector of Stockport.*

Henry Newcome in his autobiography mentions 'a remarkable providence,' which Mr. Paget, who was probably more cautious in interpreting 'providences,' does not notice. 'An apparitor,' having discovered the irregularities of Mr. Paget's administration of the Lord's Supper, rudely interrupted the service in Blackley Chapel, by taking down the names of the communicants who received the

* Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, vol. ii. pp. 291-294. *History of the Ancient Chapel of Blackley*, pp. 67-69.

It is pleasant to find an opportunity of connecting Milton with the nonconformity of Lancashire. Mr. Paget requested his cousin Thomas Minshull of Manchester, apothecary, to be the supervisor of his will. This apothecary was very kind and attentive to the nonconforming ministers of Manchester. His gratuitous services are gratefully acknowledged in Newcome's diary. He was the third son of Richard Minshull, of Wistaston, in Cheshire, to which family Elizabeth Minshull, the third wife of Milton, belonged. What relation was she to the nonconforming apothecary, the cousin of the nonconforming minister Paget? Philippe tells us that Milton married the 'kinswoman' of his friend Dr. Paget. Nathan Paget, the eldest son of the minister, settled as a physician in Coleman Street, London, and became an intimate friend of John Milton. In his will he left a bequest 'to his cousin Elizabeth Milton.' As the minister Paget was cousin to the apothecary Minshull, of course the physician Paget was second cousin to the daughters of the apothecary, mentioned in his will, Dorothy, Elizabeth, and Mary. Was Elizabeth the wife of Milton? So it would seem. But there is other evidence of the fact. In a pedigree of the Minshull family, formerly in the possession of the Rev. William Hadfield of Chester, it is stated that Thomas Minshull (the apothecary) had four sons, that his son John was buried in Manchester, and that letters of administration were granted to John's sister, the widow of John Milton. The undesigned coincidence is remarkable. Dr. Paget calls Mrs. Milton his cousin, and she undoubtedly was so, if she was the daughter of the apothecary.

Mr. Marsh of Warrington, to whose valuable tract, entitled *Papers connected with Milton and his Family*, I am indebted for many of these particulars, thinks that Mrs. Milton belonged to another branch of the Minshull family, because, if she was the apothecary's daughter, she was only sixteen years old when she married the blind old poet. This, at first sight, seems improbable, although the improbability scarcely outweighs the evidence. But is it really improbable? Mrs. Milton executed her own will in 1727, and died soon afterwards. She was married to the poet in 1664, that is, sixty-three years before her death. She must, therefore, have been married at a very early age. Were she then only sixteen, she died in her eightieth year. So I wrote in the first edition. Since writing it I find that there is some evidence of the early death of Elizabeth, the daughter of Mr. Thomas Minshull. Mrs. Milton was certainly the kinswoman of Dr. Paget. If I cannot call the good nonconforming apothecary the step-father of John Milton, I can regard him as the step-uncle, or in some way the step-kinsman of the poet.

communion in a sitting posture, and by threatening to present them at the next visitation. But 'on the Sabbath morning, when he was getting up, something gave him a dust in the neck; he fell immediately sick, and died within two hours.'

Mr. Paget was succeeded in Blackley Chapel by William Rathband, a puritan preacher of considerable eminence in his day. He had been for nineteen years the minister of the chapelry of Ainsworth, near Bolton. Being there suspended for nonconformity, he obtained his livelihood by teaching the children of the many puritan families of that neighbourhood. Among his pupils was the celebrated Oliver Heywood. Notwithstanding his suspension, he preached privately as often as he had opportunity, until in 1632 he was appointed minister of Blackley. How he obtained the consent of the bishop I do not know; but they seem to have been reconciled, for his name occurs in the list of commissioners appointed by the bishop to allot the benches in the newly-restored chapel. That Rathband made no compromise of his principles is certain, for he was as notorious for his nonconformity at Blackley as he had been at Ainsworth. The explanation is probably to be found in the names of the influential families who resided in the chapelry and paid for their benches. The chief seat in that synagogue was occupied by Mr. Assheton of Blackley Hall, of puritan connections and habits. The squire paid eight shillings a quarter for his bench. According to the 'platform' of the chapel, the benches immediately behind his were occupied by a Mr. Booth and Mr. George Travis, assessed at six shillings each. Traverses, Beswickes, and other puritan names are appended to benches let for smaller sums. The chapel had a puritan congregation, and therefore the bishop apparently allowed them a nonconforming minister. Nonconformist as he was, he was zealously opposed to the Brownists, against whom he wrote a somewhat abusive book, which was afterwards commended by Bishop Stillingfleet as of great authority among the Puritans. Rathband removed to Northumberland, where, being suspended for nonconformity, he lived as a domestic chaplain in a private family.

I cannot leave the old chapel of Blackley without noticing the goodly succession of puritan families who, according to the copies of two 'platforms,' one dated 1603, the other made a few years afterwards,* occupied its benches, and paid their 'chapel wage.' The names of Travis and Beswicke occurring among the contributors, seem to connect the first reformers with the later nonconformists. The Traverses belonged to the family of Father Traves, and the Beswickes were the relatives of John Bradford, at whose martyrdom in Smithfield his brother-in-law Beswicke attended to cheer him in his last moments. Their descendants were among the first to raise and support a presbyterian meeting-house in their native village. The light of Father Traves and martyr Bradford long illumined the neighbourhood of Blackley. So we have seen the spirit of the other

* In the second platform the communion table is represented as not being close to the end of the chancel, but as leaving an intervening space, occupied by two benches. (See note on p. 37.)

Lancashire martyr, George Marsh, long perpetuated in Bolton and its neighbouring villages, among the Levers, the Pilkingtons, the Hultons, the Critchlaws, the Bradshaws, the Cromptons, the Heywoods, the hardy yeomanry of that moorland country, who were ever ready to resist oppression, when it attempted to coerce their consciences or silence their favourite preachers.

We meet with another group of Puritans, although their puritanism seems to have been of a milder type than that of the moorlands, in and about Toxteth Park near Liverpool. They erected a chapel in which they could hear the evangelical doctrines of the Reformation preached in their purity, and lift up a standard against the popery abounding in their neighbourhood. They invited Richard Mather when a boy to teach their children, and, when only a youth, to teach themselves. Time has spared the name of one of them (I wish it had spared more), Edward Aspinwall, the intimate friend of the sainted Mrs. Brettargh, and her comforter in her last hours of mortal sickness. The Church of Christ has some reason to venerate his memory, for by the influence of his holy conversation, his beautiful example, and his domestic piety, the young schoolmaster, Richard Mather, was won over to the puritan cause, and prepared for the great work which he did so well in New England. What the Mathers, father and four sons and many grandsons, did for New England may, under God, be attributed in no small degree to the holy life of Edward Aspinwall. It is pleasant to trace a wide flowing stream of good to its source in the unostentatious labours of some humble and almost forgotten servant of God.

Of Toxteth Park Chapel, in the reign of James, Richard Mather was the minister, and continued there until in the early part of the reign of Charles he was driven by persecution across the Atlantic. He was born at Lowton, a hamlet in the parish of Winwick, of respectable parents, who during his childhood were struggling with adverse fortune, and compelled to mortgage their hereditary estate. At an early age he was sent to the grammar school of Winwick, where, in common with many of his school-fellows, he had to endure much severe and undeserved chastisement from an irritable though able and learned schoolmaster. His grandson, Cotton Mather, and his biographer, Samuel Clark, tell a strange story of 'some Welsh Papists' who travelled through those parts, 'in search of boys of pregnant wits,' and selected Richard as very suitable for their purpose. They proposed to take charge of his education, and his father was induced by pecuniary embarrassment to think favourably of their proposal. What the 'Welsh Papists' wished to do with him does not distinctly appear, but had they intended to kill him, or even to make him a pope, his biographers could not have expressed greater admiration than they did of the good Providence which preserved him from their wicked devices. Deliverance came from an unexpected quarter. His schoolmaster, who had never before said a kind word to him, either really liking the boy, or supposing his 'pregnant wits' would do credit to the school, immediately made arrangements by which Richard might continue his education without putting his

father to any further expense. When only fifteen years old he was, on the recommendation of his master, invited to take charge of a school recently established at Toxteth Park. Being there brought under the influence of religion, chiefly by the example and encouragement of Mr. Aspinwall,* he was induced to prepare for the work of the Christian ministry. Assisted by the good people of Toxteth he entered at Brasenose College, Oxford; but before he had completed his collegiate course, the importunity of his friends, who knew the worth of the young schoolmaster, induced him, young as he was, to become the minister of their chapel. So great was the pleasure with which he was received at Toxteth, that a great crowd assembled to hear his first sermon, and assure him of a cordial welcome. The nonconforming minister of a puritan congregation who preached without a surplice had reason to apprehend some difficulty in obtaining ordination from so strict a Churchman as Bishop Morton. The bishop, however, readily assented to his appointment, and expressed a desire to see him alone immediately after the ordination. Instead of being rebuked, as he expected, for not conforming to the ceremonies, he was surprised to hear the bishop earnestly entreating to be remembered in his prayers, because 'the prayer of a good man availeth much.' Mather returned to Toxteth with all the authority which the bishop's hands could give him, praying no doubt very earnestly for his lordship. As the chapel was considered in some respects private property, neither Morton nor his successor Bridgman gave him much trouble for his nonconformity. On one occasion he was suspended on the complaint of some litigious neighbours, but on the intercession of several influential gentlemen he was allowed quietly to resume his ministrations. Soon afterwards the Archbishop of York,† a 'popish Arminian prelate,' as Prynne called him, hearing of the prevalence of nonconformity in the diocese of Chester, sent his commissioners into Lancashire armed with archiepiscopal authority. They held their court with considerable state and formality to overawe the clergy and their lenient bishop, and summoned several of the neighbouring ministers to appear before them, and answer to accusations of nonconformity. Mather was not overlooked, nor protected by the peculiarity of his chapel. Besides, whatever may have been the privileges of Toxteth Chapel, Richard Mather was not the sort of man to confine his ministry to a village congregation. He was a frequent preacher in many of the neighbouring churches and chapels,‡

* 'That more thorough and real conversion in him was occasioned by observing a difference between his own walk and the exact, watchful, faithful, and prayerful conversation of some in the family of the learned and pious Mr. Aspinwall of Toxteth, where he sojourned. The exemplary walk of that holy man caused many sad fears to arise in his own soul that he was himself out of the way.'—*Life* by Cotton Mather in his *History of New England*, book iii. ch. xx.

† Dr. Neale, to whose ill conduct King James referring, wittily said, 'he promoted popery by inducing people to pray for his predecessor.' Brook, in his *Life of Mather*, seems to have mistaken this little piece of pleasantry for a grave complaint against the archbishop, as if he had encouraged prayers for the dead.

‡ He was a great preacher of funeral sermons, which practice his grandson

and regularly lectured every other Tuesday morning in Prescott church. As he never wore the surplice in any of these places, his nonconformity to the habits was regarded as evidence of his nonconformity to the ceremonies. It was well known that at Toxteth he never made the sign of the cross in baptism, nor administered the sacrament to the communicants kneeling, but whether he baptised or administered the communion in any other place could not be ascertained. Before the commissioners he was scolded in the most gross and offensive manner for not wearing the surplice. The unrestrained coarseness of their language was in strange contrast with the formal parade and pomp of their officials. Mather was calm, as he tells us: 'The terror of their threatening words, of their pursuivants, and the rest of their pomp, did not terrify my mind. I could stand before them without being daunted in the least measure, but answered for myself such words of truth and soberness as the Lord put into my mouth, not being afraid of their faces at all, which supporting and comforting presence of the Lord I count not much less mercy than if I had been altogether preserved out of their hands.' He was, however, silenced, and threatened with fine and imprisonment if he officiated again without giving satisfaction to the commissioners for his future conformity.

Such satisfaction Mather would not give. The popish livery he would not wear, nor betray the simplicity of the gospel by any approval of ceremonial worship. Come what would, he resolved to stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ had made him free, and not to touch the things defiled with popery. When his influential friends who had previously prevailed with the bishop to allow him to resume his ministry interceded for him with the commissioners, they obtained nothing better than coarse insult and peremptory orders to desist from troubling the court.

The good man saw no prospect of again exercising his ministry in England. The times were dark and threatening. Charles had succeeded to his father's throne, and Laud, installed at Canterbury, ruled the Church with a rod of iron. Although the Puritans of the northern province were at first disposed to congratulate one another on their being exempt from his jurisdiction, they soon learned that Laud could make his iron rod felt in the north by means of their own authorities, who either courted his favour or feared his displeasure. Mather saw the cloud gathering over his country, and his gentle spirit longed to escape from the threatening storm. Looking one summer evening over the sea, he repeated the words of the Psalmist, 'O that I had wings like a dove! Lo! then would I wander far off, and remain in the wilderness. I would hasten my escape from the windy storm and tempest.' Possibly the sight of a white sail on the distant sea, looking in the evening twilight like the

Cotton Mather learnedly vindicated in opposition to some Puritans who regarded funeral sermons as countenancing the popish practice of celebrating religious services for the dead. Cotton Mather was the earliest Puritan, so far as I know, who ventured to say, 'In some matters the Papists are wiser than we are.'

wing of a dove, suggested the desire, which soon grew into a purpose, of leaving his country and dwelling with the Puritans of New England.

But he did not act without due consideration. He consulted his friends at Toxteth, submitted the subject to the consideration of the wisest of the Lancashire ministers, and corresponded with several of the pilgrims of New England. Having thus obtained ample materials for careful thought and deliberation, he committed to paper the principal reasons for and against his removal, and earnestly prayed for divine guidance in coming to a conclusion. After prolonged consideration and many prayers, his decision was to exercise his ministry in the settlements of the puritan emigrants. With many tears he took leave of his Lancashire friends, and in the disguise of strange apparel, fearing he might be apprehended on his journey, he travelled on foot to Bristol, where he expected to find, what in those days could not be found at Liverpool, a ship fit to sail across the Atlantic. In May 1635, he sailed, and after a stormy and perilous passage arrived at Boston. His subsequent labours, however, do not belong to our history. If they did, I should be glad to give some account of the great success of his ministry at Dorchester, and especially of the influence which he had, and the judicious use he made of it, in so modifying the discipline of the puritan churches of New England as to induce them to maintain unimpaired the freedom of independency, and yet to submit to the order of presbyterianism; a discipline of independency without anarchy, and presbyterianism without tyranny, in which the authority of the people was restrained, not destroyed, by the responsibility of popularly elected officers. We leave Richard Mather doing God's work in New England, although we shall be hereafter reminded of him when we find in his native county congregationalism formed after his model, distinct both from the independency of the eastern counties and from the presbyterianism of the north.*

The departure of Richard Mather has brought us to the reign of Charles; but before we leave that of James, I would notice, as natives of Lancashire, two learned and eminent ministers, whose biography has only a slight connection with the religious history of their native county, and of whom, therefore, my notice must be very brief. I refer to Robert Bolton and Henry Ainsworth.

Robert Bolton was born at Blackburn, in the reign of Elizabeth, and while very young was sent to complete his education at Oxford. Subsequently distinguished in the university by his lectures on philosophy, mathematics, and divinity, he was selected on the occasion of a royal visit as best qualified to exhibit to the king a specimen of the learning and philosophy of that 'famous seat of the Muses.' At that time, he disliked the Puritans quite as much as the royal visitor whom he entertained. Soon after this foolish exhibition, he was affected with distressing and terrible convictions of the evil of his sins, through which convictions, after many months of deep humiliation and anguish, even to the loss of his health, he attained full assurance of pardon and perfect peace with God. In the thirty-fifth

* Mather's *History of New England*, book iii. ch. xx.

year of his age he was presented to the living of Broughton, in Northamptonshire; on which presentation King James, who had not forgotten his entertainment at Oxford, and probably had never heard of Bolton's conversion, said the patron had robbed the university of its brightest ornament. The king had some reason to say so, for even Anthony Wood, the bitter enemy of all other Puritans, calls him: 'A most religious and learned Puritan, a painful and constant preacher, of great zeal for God, charitable and bountiful, and so famous for relieving afflicted consciences, that many foreigners, as well as persons at home, resorted to him and found relief. He was so expert in the Greek language, that he could write and dispute in it with as much ease as in English or Latin.* When their venerable pastor died, his weeping parishioners said, referring to his white locks of flowing hair, 'Now the snow melts there comes a great flood.' His memory is still venerated by the admirers of Puritan literature, on account of his 'Four Last Things,' his 'Directions for Walking with God,' and his 'Instructions for Comforting Afflicted Consciences.†

Not inferior to Robert Bolton in sacred literature, and in some departments of it far superior, was Henry Ainsworth, the second son of Lawrence Ainsworth, Esq., whose family was of considerable antiquity and good repute in Blackburnshire. He was born in 1560, in the mansion of his ancestors at Plessington, and educated in the University of Cambridge. Becoming attached to the early Independents, he suffered much persecution, until, in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, he found a refuge in Holland, and settled at Amsterdam with others of his own persuasion. These poor exiles, having formed, in 1592, a Congregational Church, published, in 1598, a 'Confession of their Faith,' dedicated to the Universities of Leyden, Heidelberg, Geneva, and St. Andrews. As it is written in good clean Latin, it is undoubtedly the production of their learned teacher. Like most of his brethren in Amsterdam, who, as they said of themselves, 'were almost consumed with deep poverty,' he suffered much privation and distress. According to Roger Williams, 'he lived upon ninepence a week and some boiled roots.' It is not so well known that this poor scholar had been brought up in the comforts of a wealthy Lancashire family. While he was a porter to a bookseller, his master discovered his extensive knowledge of the Hebrew language, and helped him to some improvement of his circumstances. Ainsworth is now known chiefly as the author of 'Annotations on the Five Books of Moses, the Psalms, and the Song of Solomon.' He is said to have been poisoned by a Jew, but as in those times any story of the wickedness of Jews, Papists, or Puritans, readily obtained wide circulation, I am not disposed to give much credit to the tale.

In the later years of James I., as Neal observes, both puritanism and popery increased prodigiously in England. They did so especially in Lancashire. We have already seen that in the reign of Elizabeth the two extreme parties prevailed, almost to the exclusion

* *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. i. p. 479.

† *Brook's Lives*; Doddridge's *Lectures on Preaching*.

of the friends of the English Church. Nothing that occurred in the reign of James strengthened the position of the intermediate party. The Puritans and the Papists were so fiercely opposed, and so willing to engage in the conflict, that moderate men found it difficult to maintain neutrality without becoming, or appearing to become, indifferent to the great principles of a momentous controversy, which was about soon to affect the liberty and best interests of the nation. In these circumstances earnest men could not be content to allow the Church to remain as Elizabeth had left it. So far as Lancashire was concerned, to make any change in the Church was to displease nearly half of the county, while to do nothing was to leave almost the whole dissatisfied. It was, however, evident that puritanism was gathering strength in all parts of the country. Its spirit pervaded the religious literature of the land, for, as Neal observes, almost all the practical writers of the age were puritan. The arbitrary measures of the bishops, and their notorious subserviency to the king, offended the liberal statesmen of the time, and contributed to strengthen the union which was silently forming between the Puritans and the patriots. The traders of the cities and boroughs were to a large extent brought under the influence of the puritan clergy, who made that influence apparent in the parliamentary elections. Nor were the Catholics idle or indifferent to politics. It may seem strange at first sight, but it shows the energetic action of both parties, that in the Catholic towns of Lancashire, as in Liverpool and Wigan, a stern Puritan and a zealous Catholic were returned on several occasions, to the exclusion of Churchmen supported by the great influence of the Stanley family. The spirit of puritanism, strong in the later parliaments of King James, afforded many presentiments of the great conflict of the next reign, while so far as the representation of Lancashire was concerned, it became evident that although its puritanism had many and powerful opponents, there were very few who would moderate between the conflicting parties.

We leave King James to the admiration of the courtiers of his day. We cherish no respect for the memory of the meanest, the vainest, the most despicable of English monarchs. Following in imagination his funeral procession, we are ready to hail the fine opportunity his successor had to restore the faded glory of the English crown. But when we look on his son, who had hitherto proved fickle, uncertain, deceitful, the instrument of political profligates, the victim of scandalous intrigues, we cannot but regret the death of Prince Henry, the promising pupil of a Lancashire Puritan. Had he lived and taken the advice of his tutor, Leigh, rather than his brother's favourite, Laud, he would have saved his father's throne from disgrace and destruction. As it was, the succession placed upon the throne a gentleman instead of a pedant, but a gentleman without energy, without wisdom, without generosity, without perseverance, without patriotism, without veracity, without independence, without anything better than good manners, graceful appearance, and fair speech, with which to rule a great people hating tyranny, conscious of oppression, and resolved to assert their freedom.

CHAPTER VIII.

PURITANISM UNDER CHARLES I.

On March 27, 1625, Charles succeeded to the throne of his father. George Abbot, at that time Archbishop of Canterbury, was too decided a Puritan and patriot to have much influence at court in the government of either the Church or the State. A firm Protestant, a strict Calvinist, a stern moralist, he had disapproved of the 'Book of Sports,' remonstrated against the articles of the proposed Spanish marriage, and resisted with uncompromising resolution the policy, management, and growing influence of Laud, then Bishop of London. Having committed a casual homicide, he had retired from court, and lived in seclusion at his country residence near Croydon. Soon after the accession of Charles he peremptorily refused to license a sermon dedicated to his Majesty, in which the preacher, Dr. Sibthorpe, asserted that the king was not himself bound to observe the laws of the realm, but that his subjects were bound to obey him in whatever might be his commands. For this refusal the archbishop was suspended from the discharge of all his archiepiscopal functions, and ordered to retire to the neighbourhood of Canterbury. Laud, who not only licensed, but recommended the objectionable sermon, became ostensibly, as he had long been virtually, the chief authority in England in ecclesiastical affairs. On the death of Abbot he was elevated to the see of Canterbury, and had the pleasure of finding most of his suffragans either imbued with his spirit or subservient to his purpose.

But what were the spirit and purpose of Laud? He was certainly not a Papist; there was not a man in England who would more stoutly have resisted any attempt to subordinate the English Church to the Romish hierarchy. A High Churchman, fond of splendour and pomp in religious services, because they promote the reverence of the people for their clergy, he would have made the English Church a rival in magnificence to that of Rome, and invested her priesthood with an authority inferior to that of no priesthood upon earth. Gladly would he have promoted the arbitrary rule of the secular power, that he might by its assistance establish the domination of the spiritual authority.

Although Laud had gained the confidence of the king, he could not obtain that of the people. Puritans were alarmed by what seemed the restoration of popery; Catholics were annoyed by what seemed the exaltation of a rival Church. Laud's restless energy roused indomitable opposition in all parts of England, and nowhere was the opposition which he roused more fierce and indomitable than in Lancashire.

Before I notice this opposition, I have to observe that a new element, or at least a new word, was introduced by the friends or the enemies of Laud into the puritan controversy. Arminianism became first a terror and afterwards a war-cry among the Puritans. In the time of Elizabeth, High Churchmen were doctrinally as Calvinistic as Puritans, Whitgift as much so as Cartwright. In the reign of James, some of the High Church clergy began to think favourably of the doctrinal views of the Dutch Remonstrants, and among them Laud was regarded as a zealous and powerful leader. Under his influence, although there seemed to be theoretically no connection between free will and prelatical government, or between unconditional election and abhorrence of ritual, the connection became practically so established as scarcely ever to be interrupted. A preacher without a surplice was invariably a Calvinist; a preacher in full canonicals was almost as invariably an Arminian. Although the people knew but little of the doctrine of Arminius, they knew that something called Calvinism was the tradition of the English reformers. The doctrine of Cranmer and Ridley, as well as of Latimer and Hooper, of the Smithfield martyrs and of the returning exiles, it had been associated with every advance of the English Church towards reformation, and sanctioned by every name of authority amongst the English reformers. Revolt from the doctrine of Calvin seemed to the people renunciation of the reformed religion, and as their notion was confirmed by the proceedings of Laud in associating the new doctrine with ostentatious ceremony and arbitrary government, the popular cry of the Puritans and the patriots, of Presbyterian preachers and liberal statesmen, was for liberty in temporals against tyranny, and in spirituals against Arminianism, popery, and prelacy.

The king had offended or grieved his Protestant subjects by his marriage with Henrietta Maria of France. Of the daughter of the great Henry IV. I would speak respectfully, as she deserves respect on account of many good qualities, and especially her unwearied devotedness to the cause of her husband, bad as may have been both her husband and his cause. But with indecent haste Charles had the marriage celebrated before he had solemnised the funeral of his father. The marriage service was performed first by proxy, according to the ritual of the Catholic Church, and afterwards according to the order of the Church of England. The queen, on her arrival in England, was attended by an ostentatious procession of Catholic priests, and received in much state by the papal nuncio. A chapel, appropriated to her service, was prepared and furnished for the ceremonial of Catholic worship. The articles of marriage were nearly the same as those which had given so much offence to the Protestant feeling of England in the proposed Spanish alliance. All this was very offensive, not only to Puritans, but to many sound and even High Churchmen. Laud himself probably envied the splendour of the rival Church, although he was too politic to express his dislike, however deeply he may have felt it.

In Lancashire the Protestant feeling was grievously offended. To the Puritans of that county there seemed little difference between the

popery of Henrietta and the Churchism of Laud. The queen and the archbishop were alike dreaded and often represented as acting in harmony. Popery and prelacy were words commonly associated, and the association was confirmed by the conduct of many of the prelates. Professions of loyalty to the king were freely made, but they were becoming unmeaning or insincere with many who had lost their confidence in the king through their fear of the queen and their dislike of the archbishop, by whom he was supposed to be advised or managed.

I have already observed that the Puritan ministers of Lancashire were, on the elevation of Laud, disposed to congratulate one another that they did not belong to the province of Canterbury. The archbishop, however, made his strong arm to be felt in the northern as well as in the southern province. Bridgman, Bishop of Chester, who, as I have said, was at first disposed to be lenient towards the nonconforming clergy of his diocese, was forced into persecution, and a forced persecutor, like a conscript soldier, soon learns to fight as fiercely as a volunteer. In the 'Life of John Angier,' written by his son-in-law, Oliver Heywood, there is a notice of the good bishop, who, although not a suffragan of Canterbury, was terribly afraid of the archbishop, who took care to let Lancashire know that he was Primate of *all* England. Bridgman resided at Great Lever near Bolton, while Angier was minister of the neighbouring chapel of Ringley. The visits of the good minister had proved very edifying and consolatory to the afflicted wife of the bishop. His lordship occasionally expostulated with the puritan minister for his nonconformity, but as his expostulations were usually followed by a request to pray with his wife, we may suppose they were not very peremptory, as they certainly were not very effectual. On one occasion the bishop, grieved rather than angry, said, 'Mr. Angier, I have a good will to indulge you, but cannot, for my lord's grace of Canterbury hath rebuked me for permitting two nonconforming ministers, the one within a mile on one hand, Mr. Horrocks of Dean, on the other yourself, and I am likely to come into disfavour on this behalf. As for Mr. Horrocks, my hands are bound, I cannot meddle with him' (it is thought by some promise made to his wife); 'but as for you, Mr. Angier, you are a young man, and may doubtless get another place; and if you were anywhere at a little further distance I could better look away from you, for I do study to do you a kindness, but cannot as long as you are thus near me.' It was difficult for a bishop who had a kindly disposition, a puritan wife, and a sense of personal obligation, to persecute a puritan neighbour; but Bridgman did suspend Angier, or rather Laud did it by the reluctant hand of Bridgman. The Archbishop of Canterbury made his power to be respected in Lancashire as easily as in his own diocese of East Kent.

The fear of Laud, felt in every part of the kingdom, not only compelled kindly disposed prelates like Bridgman to persecute their neighbours, but excited to something like action inert, indolent, gentlemanly ecclesiastics like Murray, Warden of Manchester, who, in

1684, exhibited 'a libel' before Archbishop Laud against Richard Johnson, one of the fellows of the college, for not wearing a surplice when he conducted divine service at Gorton chapel. As this seems to have been about the only duty which Murray discharged in the twenty-eight years during which he was Warden of Manchester, it shows the power of Laud which could excite such a man, at so great a distance, and without the limits of the province of Canterbury, to make so great an effort as to 'exhibit a libel' against anybody. The effort, however, seems to have been too much for him, for soon afterwards he resigned his office, the duties or the dangers of which had become too formidable for him to encounter. Johnson, in reply to the libel, said that he preached at Gorton without a surplice, because there was no surplice in the place for him to wear. He petitioned the archbishop, that as he did not act from any disrespect to the authority of his grace, he might be pardoned for the offence. Whether his grace, thus propitiated, pardoned the delinquent, or whether the warden had no energy to prosecute the matter any further, does not appear from the records of Gorton chapel, in which there is no further entry upon the subject. Johnson, at all events, continued in the discharge of his duties as a fellow of Manchester College. It was not an uncommon artifice for puritan ministers to appoint churchwardens who would not provide a surplice.*

Laud was thus virtually the supreme head of the Church of England, although the supremacy was still nominally vested in the king. That shrill and piercing voice which Charles heard in the midst of the ceremonial of his coronation, to the unutterable astonishment of all present, had, as long as the speaker lived, a mighty spell for evil upon the will and heart of the king. Laud was a bold man to address his sovereign while sitting crowned on the throne to receive the homage of his nobles: 'Stand and hold fast, henceforth, the place to which you have been heir by the succession of your forefathers, being now delivered to you by the authority of Almighty God, and by the hands of us the bishops and servants of God. As you see the clergy come nearer the altar than others, so remember that in all places convenient you give them the greater honour, that the Mediator of God and man may establish you in the kingly throne to be a mediator between the clergy and the laity, and that you may reign for ever with Jesus Christ. Amen.' The spirit of that cry haunted Charles wherever he went, until its author expiated his temerity on the scaffold.

In 1633, the king, on occasion of his visit to Scotland, passed through Lancashire. As his father's proclamation in favour of Sunday sports and recreations had become, in the parts of the county

* The two fellows, Richard Johnson and William Bourne, had a long and angry dispute whether sin was a 'privative' thing or a 'positive' thing. Hollingworth says a Papist priest wrote a tract showing the sad state of the Protestants in not being able to decide such a question. He found comfort in knowing that neither could the Papists, for 'this very controversy was first fathered and hatched amongst the Papists.—*Mancuniensis*.

where puritanism prevailed, inoperative and almost forgotten, he publicly expressed his firm disapproval of the strictness and severity with which the Lancashire sabbath was observed, and especially in the suppression of Sunday wakes and festivals, in which, to the infinite horror of the Puritans, religion and pleasure were strangely blended. He, therefore, for 'the ease and comfort of his loyal subjects,' ratified and republished the declaration of his 'blessed father,' and commanded the judges of assize and the clergy 'to make known to the people his gracious will and intention.' The Puritans were indignant, and the more so as it was generally believed that Laud had instigated and promoted this harsh and indiscreet measure. The second 'Book of Sports' was not, like the first, confined to Lancashire, but enforced over the whole kingdom. Of its opponents, no one deserves more respectful notice than that good Lancashire magistrate, Henry Ashurst, of Ashurst, Esq., who boldly, but peaceably, denied the legality of the king's injunction, and resolved to resist proceedings which were instituted against him, and to test the authority of the king to enforce the book upon the magistrates and clergy. In this affair, Henry Ashurst stood before the public in defence of the people as nobly and fearlessly as John Hampden did in the matter of the ship-money. Although the case was never decided, Baxter says, in his funeral sermon for this good man's son (I know not on what authority), that his conduct received the approval of the judges.

In 1636, Dr. Murray, the Scotch gentleman who, by the especial favour of King James, was made Warden of Manchester, resigned his office. During the twenty-eight years in which he retained its emoluments, he is said to have preached only twice. As the fellows were puritanically inclined, and as he was promoted over their candidate, William Bourne, it is strange that he was allowed to retain office so long without perfecting his legal title by taking the customary oath of residence. His undisturbed possession may be explained by his easy, inoffensive disposition; he did not trouble the Puritans so long as they refrained from troubling him. The parishioners again made some effort to obtain the succession for their favourite preacher. They still loved old William Bourne. They could not forget that in the time of the great sickness, when the people in the town were forbidden to leave it and those in the country to enter it, he would stand on one side of Shooter's Brook, the boundary which might not be crossed, and preach upon one of the plague-stones (stones on which the country people placed food, and on their retiring the townspeople took it away) to the crowd listening with intense interest on the other side of the little stream. But Bourne had grown too old to desire the office or to discharge its duties. It was also known that a young clergyman to whose father the king was under pecuniary obligations was likely to obtain the office, and that he was a Puritan, a patriot, and a bitter enemy of all Arminians and Papists. The people were content; Bourne was pleased with the appointment. A new charter was granted to the college, in which Richard Heyricke was designated as the first warden on the new

foundation; an appointment of which the king had soon and long reason to repent, for he had given to the Lancashire Puritans an able, active, and intrepid leader, who never rested until he became the head of an organised presbyterianism established throughout the county.

RICHARD HEYRICKE was the third son of Sir William Heyricke, who, having been a teller of the Exchequer in the reign of James, advanced the sum of 8,000*l.* for the king, and obtained in return the promise, but not the payment, of an annual pension. The unfortunate teller, having been unable to obtain any money from James, bethought himself, on the accession of Charles, of an expedient by which he could obtain payment without taking anything from the exhausted coffers of the king. As his son Richard was qualified for church preferment, and no doubt deserving of it, Sir William 'humbly petitioned his most excellent Majesty' that, as there was due to him a great sum of money, the reversion of the wardenship of Manchester College might be granted to his son. 'His most excellent Majesty was graciously pleased' to grant his prayer, and accordingly, on the resignation of Dr. Murray, his promising son 'of many pregnant parts' became Warden of Manchester.

Richard Heyricke, M.A. and Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxon, was thirty-six years old when he came into possession of his influential and dignified office. A man of wayward impetuosity, untiring energy, unyielding resolution, and dauntless courage, in all things the opposite of his quiet predecessor, he acknowledged small obligation to the king or to anyone else for his lucrative preferment. He had purchased his office, and therefore considered it as his own property, the influence of which he might use, without incurring any charge of ingratitude, against the king's most excellent Majesty, if his most excellent Majesty did not please Warden Heyricke.

At a critical time he became resident in Manchester. Although a stranger in the county, he never found it in his nature to act as a stranger in the exciting circumstances in which he was unexpectedly placed. The times were growing stormy, and amidst the presages of storm he would make his voice heard for the guidance of his friends and the dismay of his foes. The king little knew how bad a bargain he had made in selling an office of influence and power to so determined a Puritan and patriot as Heyricke, without whose exertions it is doubtful whether the presbyterian gentry and yeomanry of Lancashire would have gathered as numerous and resolutely as they did around the parliamentary standard.

The irritation which had been excited in Lancashire by the republication of the 'Book of Sports' had been aggravated by the imposition of ship-money, which was being collected amidst much opposition when Heyricke settled in the county. Although Humphrey Chetham, respected by all parties, was high sheriff in 1635, and discharged his difficult duty of collecting the tax with singular prudence and moderation, he could not allay the excitement, nor do more than prevent any immediate and riotous outbreak of popular indignation.* But worse than the ship-money, worse even than the 'Book

* The assessment of the ship-money affords good illustration of the comparative

of Sports' in the estimation of Heyricke, whose puritanism was not of the austere sort, were the encouragement and growth of popery in the neighbourhood of Manchester. Severe as were the laws which prohibited the services of the Catholic Church, the Catholics promulgated their doctrines by their private meetings, their secret conferences, their missionary priests, and their clandestine publications. Hollingworth mentions three noted converts, whose conversion had been effected just before the arrival of the new warden. Francis Downes, of Wardley, Esq., 'revolted from the reformed religion.' His relative Sir Cecyll Trafford, who had been a cruel persecutor of Papists, resolved, before he resorted to harsher measures, to attempt the reconversion of his friend by the force of argument. In reasoning, however, the Catholic was too clever for the Protestant, and thoroughly argued Sir Cecyll out of the reformed faith. From that time, the Traffords of Trafford, who had been among the earliest adherents of the Reformation in Lancashire, have been steady and consistent Catholics. William Malhoone, 'a scholar of a pregnant wit,' was induced by some Irish merchants to go beyond sea, where he was converted to popery. He became one of the ablest controversialists of his Church, wrote with great ability in reply to Archbishop Usher, became Master of the Irish College in Rome, and eventually Rector of the College of Seville, where he died in 1654. These and other apostasies almost drove the warden mad. He denounced the apostates from the pulpit, and published his sermon, full of bitter denunciations. 'The man of sin,' he exclaimed, 'hath of late years revived among us. It may be a lightning before death. The mass hath out-faced our Christian meetings, Jesuits have jeered our ministers, and confuted and abused their authority. Manchester, the Goshen accounted of this Egypt, is of late years darkened with the blackness of it. Some of our prime men in dignity, authority, and power, have revolted to them. Their example commands many. Great men have followers of their vices as of their persons, and when they please to be idolaters, their children, servants, tenants, poor kindred, and idolising neighbours, will go to mass with them.'

But in the war with the Papists, the fifth of November was Heyricke's grand field-day; a day, he says in one of his published sermons, 'that ought to be celebrated with preaching, feasting and send-

wealth of different places and parties at the time. In 1634 Lancashire was assessed at 3,500*l.*, of which the share of the clergy was 52*l.* 2*s.* If the assessment was fairly made (and the fairness of the sheriff was universally acknowledged), the clergy must have been miserably poor. When the proportion due from the warden and fellows of Manchester, and from the rich rectors of Winwick, Wigan, and Middleton, is deducted, the average of the remaining incumbencies is pitifully small. Of the towns, Liverpool was assessed at 25*l.*, Lancaster at 30*l.*, Preston at 40*l.*, and Wigan at 50*l.* In the preceding year Liverpool had been assessed at 15*l.* when Chester paid 100*l.* Humphrey Chetham wrote, 'Liverpool, being very poor, goes as it were a-begging, and can pay very little.' The assessment in 1633 seems to have been duly paid by the people of Liverpool, but that in 1634 was not collected, probably through the growing influence of the Presbyterians, who, in that year, raised Mr. Williamson, one of themselves, to the dignity of Mayor.—See letter and papers of Humphrey Chetham in the Appendix to Wharton's *History of the Chetham Hospital*.

ing gifts to one another, with ringing of bells, making bonfires, and sounding trumpets, with thunderings of ordnance and with all outward expressions of joy, that so God may see our thankfulness, that people may hear from the pulpit of our deliverance, that children in the streets may understand the salvation of the Lord, that strangers abroad may know the barbarousness of the plot, the religion of the traitors, and the bloodthirstiness of the Papists. *Horret animus!* Believe me, I cannot think of the horror of the treason, but my spirit is moved within me, my indignation is stirred as often as the mention of the name Papist is made, of such Papists as adhere to the Pope of Rome, Italian, Spanish, Jesuit, gunpowder Papists. I could be angry and sin not. I could stamp, knock, bend my brow, and thunder. I could take up the execration of David, "*Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and my right hand forget her cunning, if I forget the deliverance of this day.*" After a great deal more of 'stamping,' 'knocking,' 'bending the brow,' and 'thundering,' Heyricke utters a terrible denunciation: 'Papists, in that sense in that I say Papists, are sure of eternal damnation. I may not speak peace, where God speaks no peace. What peace can I speak to Rome while their whoredoms and witchcrafts remain amongst them? Saul lost his kingdom for sparing Agag, and God may damn me, for aught I know, if I refuse to damn them. When God preaches damnation to them, I may not preach salvation. Antichrist, the man of sin, is called the son of perdition, and so he is, actively and passively. He is damned himself, and is the cause of damnation to others.' . . . 'It is confessed of all that an English apostate Papist cannot be saved. God has preached damnation to him; so must we. Now, you see the danger of being Papists. They are traitors to their king, heretics, infidels, atheists, in continual danger of temporal destruction and at last of eternal damnation.' He concluded his ferocious declamation with the very appropriate peroration, 'Why is it that popery so much increases among us? I beseech you that are armed with authority, go to the utmost of your authority. You that have power to punish—punish; to indite—indite; to present—present. Let no Papist rest in peace or security. You that keep back the sword from doing justice, when God calls for it, may yourselves die by the sword of God, and the blood of all that perish through your neglect shall lie upon your hearts. *Crudelitas pro Christo pietas est*: cruelty for Christ is godliness.'*

On another anniversary of his great day, he says: 'Let the fifth of November be ever kept holy by the English nation. O let the heavens echo our praises to God! Let there be all outward signs of joy. Let our bells ring to drown the noise of the thundering skies. Let fires flame to darken the light of the sun. Let our organs and singers lift

* In the Westminster Assembly there was, on Nov. 8, 1643, a debate respecting the duties of pastors. After it had been decided that the pastor was to teach, to pray with and for the people, to bless them, and so on, "Mr. Heyricke urged that it was the pastor's office also to curse." "But this," says Lightfoot, "was waved for the present." See *Journal of the Proceedings of the Assembly of Divines*. Lightfoot's Works, edited by Pitman, vol. xiii. p. 45.

up their voice, that it may be heard and echoed by angels and saints. Let all that hath a tongue and breath praise the Lord.

Other puritan preachers, though not so fierce as Heyricke, were in their several modes and places contributing to excite the Protestant feeling of the county. The fellows of the collegiate church zealously seconded the efforts of their warden to produce in Manchester an inflexible resolution to resist all who in Church or State favoured popery or popish ceremonial. Charles Herle, the incumbent of the rich rectory of Winwick, engaged in learned refutation of the errors of the Papists. Peaceable ministers, as John Angier of Ainsworth, and Isaac Ambrose of Preston, in their quiet, gentle manner instilled into the minds of their hearers a dread of popery, probably quite as effectual in promoting opposition as the arguments of Herle or the denunciations of Heyricke. A great conflict was threatening. Many were preparing to take their place in the ranks of Protestants or Papists, Puritans or Prelatists. In Lancashire, more than in any other county, the hatred or the fear of popery was a potent element in the war, and made it more fierce and desperate.

Of the puritan clergy who took an active part in the great conflict with prelacy and in the establishment of the presbyterian discipline in Lancashire, the next in importance to Richard Heyricke, and perhaps his equal in influence, was CHARLES HERLE, of Winwick. Unlike in almost every respect, they were united in promoting the same cause, and sat together as the two representatives of Lancashire in the Westminster assembly. Both were gentlemen, well born, well bred, of good reputation in their University of Oxford.* But Heyricke was a gentleman of dignified and lofty bearing; Herle of graceful and courteous manners. Heyricke was proud and generous, never forgetful of what was due to himself; Herle mild and gentle, ever mindful of what was due to others.

He had been promoted to his valuable rectory on account of the service he had rendered as the college tutor of James, Lord Strange, afterwards the seventh Earl of Derby. It is to the credit of both parties that, opposed as they became in the violence of the civil war, they retained mutual esteem and sought several opportunities of doing each other kindly service.† Herle obtained his preferment in 1626, and the following presentments registered in the early part of his ministry, most of them in 1632, curiously illustrate the state of his parish. William Clare was presented for bowling in service time; Oliver Robie for going forth from the church before the sacrament of baptism was ended, he being bidden to stay. The wife of James Starkie and others were presented for having a candle burning in a superstitious manner and kneeling by the corpse of Matthew Hull set down at a cross; as were several persons for sending a blessing to

* Herle was of the ancient family of the Herles of Prideaux Herle in Cornwall and educated at Exeter College, Oxon.

† There are in Dr. Williams's library three large folio volumes of MSS. entitled *Chronology of Eminent Persons*, referred to by Brook in his *Lives of the Puritans*. According to this authority, the Earl of Derby, after the disastrous battle of Warrington Bridge, was sheltered and nursed in the house of Mr. Herle at Winwick.—See Brook, vol. iii. p. 325.

bless cattle that were sick, and for using invocations upon the bodies of men and beasts; Robert Downing for receiving the cup sitting and refusing the bread save at another man's hands, and not at the minister's; Margaret Otewill for dipping a child in the font after it had been baptised. The register book contains some other curious entries, as of a certificate granted to entitle a parishioner to be introduced to the king and 'touched for the evil.' If the above presentments were made with the approval of Herle, some of his parishioners must have become more puritanical than their pastor, while others were more papistical. The burning of candles near the dead and the blessing of sick cattle, occasionally noticed in the records of other parishes, were regarded by the Puritans as remains of popish superstition.

But Herle as well as Heyricke will continually come across our path, and therefore I leave him for the present with the commendation of old Fuller: 'He was so much the Christian, the scholar, and the gentleman, that he could agree in affection with those who differed from him in judgment.' I fear that in those times there were few such Christians, scholars, or gentlemen in Lancashire.

The events of 1640 contributed greatly to increase the excitement and perplexity of the Puritans. The unfortunate war with the Scotch placed them in a very difficult and perilous position, especially when a day of fasting was appointed on account of the surrender of Newcastle. Their religious sympathies were with the Scottish Presbyterians, although in Lancashire, however it may have been in London, their patriotism could not refuse to mourn for the disasters and humiliation of their country. They observed the fast very devoutly, but for what to pray, save for peace, they knew not. Victory on the side of the Scotch would bring dishonour upon their own country; while on the side of the English it would establish the arbitrary power of the king and his prelates. On the fast-day, July 8, Heyricke preached in the collegiate church, and, for once in his life, preached temperately, as if he were overawed by the solemnity of the occasion, and the perilous consequences of victory or defeat, to whichever nation God might send it. He disapproved of the war, but he showed by his moderate language that he still retained a lingering respect for the king. Heyricke, though a Presbyterian, was not a Scotchman; and though a patriot was not a republican. He was disposed to excuse the king by attributing his measures to the influence of Laud, Strafford, and other courtiers. His text was '*Pray for the peace of Jerusalem,*' and his sermon an earnest exhortation to pray for and to promote the peace of the two nations. He spoke kindly of all parties except Arminians and Papists. Even on that solemn occasion he could not forget them, and when he remembered them the fire that for a time had been suppressed flamed up furiously. 'Pray that the foreigners and strangers that are in the city, the malcontents and desperate herd, the Canaanites that dwell among them, the French, the Papists, may not disturb our peace. Pray that there be no heresy, no heretical doctrine, no erroneous articles of religion, no Trent determinations, no Socinian blasphemies, no Arminian quiddities, no Antinomian wickedness.

Pray that there be no schism, no separation, no wall of partition, no heathenish customs, no Samaritan rites, no idolatrous superstitions, no Popish ceremonies, no canons to batter and terrify the consciences of God's people.' Returning to a calmer mood he said, 'War is only sweet to them who are ignorant of it. Our kingdom has enjoyed a long time of peace. Our age has not been roused by the barking of uncouth wolves. The midnight drum has not disturbed our sleep; the sounding trumpet has not deafened our ears; our beacons have not been fired, our ships arrested, or our walls manned; our towns have not been ransacked, our houses ruined, our women ravished, or our infants dashed against the stones. We have not sowed and the stranger reaped. We have not built and the enemy possessed. We have not been confounded with strange languages. Peace has been within our walls and plenteousness within our dwellings; peace, the daughter of the gospel of peace, and plenty, the daughter of peace; peace, the glory of Heaven, the joy of the whole world.'

There came soon afterwards into Lancashire sad rumours of the massacre of the Irish Protestants. The rumours were speedily followed by sorrowful realities. The fugitives, destitute, naked, starving, driven from their homes, found their way to Liverpool, and told their pitiable tales of robbery and murder. Widows, orphans, old men, and young children landed in sad destitution, and sought hospitality or charity in the neighbouring country. Excited by their tales of woe, the Puritans of Lancashire were alarmed lest the Catholics of their own county should conspire to perpetrate the barbarities of the Irish Papists. There undoubtedly were desperate villains among the Lancashire Catholics, but there were many more of them who would have denounced the massacre of their Protestant neighbours as earnestly, if not as furiously, as Heyricke himself. But in those sad times men had no confidence in any of another faith. Lancashire was fearfully excited. The Papists were believed to be everywhere conspiring and arming: the Protestants were everywhere indignant and alarmed. Heyricke preached on the occasion, as all Manchester expected he would, a sermon which breathed throughout a furious and frantic spirit. His sentences were terrible execrations his teaching, if his ravings could be said to teach anything, the necessity and duty of utterly exterminating the Papists of Lancashire.

The puritan ministers in other parts of the county took advantage of the excitement to preach to their people, if not as furiously as Heyricke, yet furiously enough, on the duty of avenging the wrongs of the Irish Protestants, and of preparing to defend themselves from the danger to which they were exposed of popish conspiracy and insurrection. Everywhere a cry was raised for charity to the Irish sufferers, justice to their cruel oppressors, protection from threatening evils, and arms for English Protestants. In the midst of this agitation and alarm there came the unwelcome intelligence, which was rapidly diffused and greatly exaggerated, of the employment and promotion of Catholic officers in the king's army. Many who had hitherto refrained from acting with the Puritans professed their willingness to unite in petition, remonstrance, measures of defence, or punishment of traitors.

A requisition was presented to the lord-lieutenant of the county to provide arms and ammunition, the expense of which was to be supplied by levies on the property of the county. Lord Strange, who, however loyal to his sovereign, was a true Protestant, readily formed magazines in Warrington, Liverpool, Preston, and Manchester. The gunpowder and match deposited in these towns, and looked upon with covetous eyes by both parties, precipitated, as we shall hereafter find, the early and unexpected outbreak of the civil war in Lancashire. In the meanwhile a cry arose from all parts of the country for a free parliament, and in that cry the voice of the Protestants of Lancashire was raised with extraordinary unanimity and resolution. The elections of 1640 seconded the demand, and furnished an answer to the enquiry how Protestant England was to be governed.

CHAPTER IX.

RELIGIOUS PARTIES.

IN approaching that great and awful conflict in which many of the dearest interests of England were involved, and much of its precious blood was shed, it becomes necessary for a clear understanding of it, as it was carried on in Lancashire, to notice the political and religious principles of the chief families of the county, or at least of so many of them as took an active part in the war. The members of the same family generally adhered to the same party, so that the name will usually indicate the side on which the man who bore it may be found. With scarcely an exception we find on one side the Stanleys, the Ffaringtons, and the Tyldesleys, and on the other the Asshetons, the Booths, and the Birches. Of the few families that were divided, like the Standishes and the Hoghtons, it may be necessary to specify the more prominent members on each side, as it may be to mention the few individuals who acted in opposition to their family connections. Of the Rigbys found among the leaders of both sides it should be observed that they belonged to different families, who, although they might have sprung from one root, had nothing left in common but their name. A few families maintained their neutrality, and contrived to secure the respect, or more frequently incurred the suspicion, of both sides. Humphrey Chetham, first receiver of ship-money, afterwards treasurer of the parliamentary commissioners, was the only influential person, so far as I know, who gained the confidence, as he saw and lamented the faults, of both Parliamentarians and Royalists.

The STANLEYS, although deprived of a large and valuable part of their hereditary estates, were still the most powerful family of Lancashire. On the death of Ferdinando, the fifth Earl of Derby, although a great part of the vast possessions which had been accumulating amidst all changes through several generations was carried by his three daughters into other families, the property which remained inalienable from the earldom was sufficient to make his brother William the greatest man of the county. Earl William, having become very aged and infirm before the breaking out of the civil war, retired from public life, and left the management of his affairs and property to his son, Lord Strange,* who became the honest, zealous, and indefatigable, though unfortunate, leader of the Royalists.

Of all the Stanleys, Protestant and Catholic, only two were on the parliamentary side, one of whom was as fierce and determined an

* The title of Lord Strange has been occasionally assumed by the heir to the Earldom of Derby, although, on the division of the estates, the barony of Strange passed to the family of Athole.

enemy of the Royalists as any man in the county. Sir Thomas Stanley of Bickerstaffe was engaged in the first skirmish that occurred between the two parties, and is said by the Royalists to have fired the first shot of the many that were fired in that lamentable war.* Sir Thomas is represented by the Royalist accounts as bankrupt and desperate at the time. If he was, he was very unlike his race, and certainly his descendants have not been unfaithful to the acquisitiveness which has been a sort of hereditary religion in their family.

Intimately associated with the Stanleys from the Reformation to the Revolution, were the FARINGTONS of Worden. From the reign of Henry VIII., when the head of this family held a high appointment in the household of Edward, the great Earl of Derby, acting as his secretary, accountant, and auditor, his descendants retained their friendship and connection with the successive earls. The family had a considerable share of the lands of the monasteries and other Church property confiscated by the government, and like most persons who held that sort of property, they were sound Protestants. Their protestantism, however sound, was not extreme, as they showed no inclination to support the measures of the Puritans. Like their patrons, while not approving of the arbitrary proceedings of the court, when the appeal was made to arms they steadily adhered to the cause of the monarchy.†

The ancient and honourable family of TYLDESLEY, of Tyldesley and Myerscough, unanimously and invariably Royalists, furnished the ablest soldier who fought for the king in Lancashire, and probably the most active, resolute, and uncompromising partisan. If Lord Strange was the head of the king's forces in Lancashire, Sir Thomas Tyldesley was their right hand, or rather their heart and soul and living power. A soldier by temperament as well as by profession, early trained in the wars of the Low Countries, brave, proud, generous, enthusiastically loyal, he raised and equipped troops at the expense of his family, and commanded them at the battle of Edge Hill. With indomitable zeal and courage he served at the sieges of Bolton and Lancaster. After the execution of the king, he rallied the Royalists in support of the cause of Prince Charles, and persevered amidst

* The Parliamentary accounts attribute the first shot to Lord Strange. Whichever statement be true, the actual fighting began with the Stanleys, one or other of whom provoked the first skirmish. For reasons to be afterwards assigned, I prefer the Royalist account, confirmed by the borough-reeve and constables of Manchester and twenty-four respectable inhabitants; according to which Lord Strange, while walking in the street, 'was shot at with two pistols out of a window by Sir Thomas Stanley and another by him, as will be deposed, but, God be thanked, they both missed.'—*A True and Credible Relation of the several Passages at Manchester, July 15, 1642.*

It may not be generally known that the late noble leader of the Conservative party was descended, not from the Royalist Earl James and his magnanimous countess, the defender of Lathom, but from the Roundhead of the race, whose rashness and precipitancy led to the shedding of the first blood that stained the conflict.

† We are indebted to the farington papers, edited by Miss farington, for much valuable information respecting the civil war in Lancashire.

many discouragements, until, fighting at the head of his soldiers in the battle of Wigan Lane, he was shot by one of Lilburn's Round-heads. On the spot where he fell, a column was raised to the memory of the bravest, and in some respects the best, of the Lancashire defenders of royalty.

The STANDISHES were distinguished in Lancashire as early as the reign of Edward I. To them belonged Ralph Standish, who was with the Lord Mayor of London when Wat Tyler was killed, and assisted in dispersing the rebels. From him descended two families bearing his name and arms, the Standishes of Standish, and the Standishes of Duxbury. Almost all the members of the older family have quietly and consistently adhered to the Catholic Church, and have been known in the history of Lancashire chiefly as recusants and compounders for their estates.

Of the Duxbury family, Thomas Standish the elder was a member of the Long Parliament, and a zealous supporter of its cause, while his son Thomas, the heir to the estate, was quite as zealous a Royalist. The son, fighting under Lord Strange, was killed at the siege of Manchester. The adherence of the father to the parliament was so opposed to the feelings and opinions of his family connections and Catholic tenantry, that we may estimate the influence of the Standishes of both houses as decidedly on the Royalist side.*

The BRADSHAWs of the Haigh, in Wigan, unlike the numerous branches of their family planted on the eastern side of the county, were steady and decided Royalists. As we shall have frequent occasion to refer to the Puritans of this name, it may be sufficient at present to observe that they all derive their descent from John Bradshaw, who, although a Saxon, was so clever, or so fortunate, as to recover his hereditary estates from the Norman conquerors. Of his descendants, William the Crusader obtained by his marriage with a rich heiress the lordship of Haigh, and of several other manors in the neighbourhood. Although no one of these Bradshaws took so prominent a part in the civil war as did several of their relatives who were on the Parliamentary side, their numerous tenantry formed no inconsiderable part of the strength of the Royalists.

On the confines of the hundred of Leyland, and looking as if with defiance upon the Puritans of Blackburnshire, stood on its precipitous hill the fortified tower and residence of the HOGHTONS. At the commencement of the war, the chief of this powerful family, Sir Gilbert Hoghton, was a fierce and determined Royalist, and his tower was probably the strongest and most defensible house in the county in the possession of the king's forces. A brother of Sir Gilbert, and his youngest son, zealously served in the royal army. Richard, the

* Captain Miles Standish, the fighting man of the pilgrim fathers, belonged to the Duxbury branch, as I infer from his giving his estate in New England the name of Duxbury. An officer in the army sent by Queen Elizabeth into the Low Countries, he came under the influence of John Robinson, the independent pastor, and undertook to escort the pilgrims then preparing to sail for America.

eldest son, adhered to the opposite side, and even before the death of his father became an active member of the parliamentary committee. Notwithstanding the grievous apostasy of the heir, as the old man regarded it, the power of the Hoghtons was almost entirely on the side of the king until the death of Sir Gilbert in 1647, when Sir Richard came into possession of his inheritance. From that time until the middle of the last century, the Hoghtons were the most influential supporters of the Presbyterian interest in Lancashire.

If anyone will look over a map of the county in which the manor houses are designated, he may observe that Lathom, Knowsley, Worden, the Haigh, Standish, Duxbury, and Hoghton Tower, the residences of the great families I have mentioned, are situate in the two western hundreds of South Lancashire. Of those hundreds of West Derby and Leyland, and especially of the eastern side near the puritan districts, these families, with their numerous tenantry and connections, had the principal—almost the entire—government and control. Westward of these great houses, that is between them and the sea, a considerable number of the gentry were Catholics, while those who were Protestant, subject to the influence of the Stanleys, were, for the most part, as decided Royalists as their Catholic neighbours. In the reign of Elizabeth, we have seen that independent of the earl the only Protestant family of importance in the hundred of West Derby was that of the Butlers of Bewsey, often called the barons of Warrington. But, before the puritan conflict divided the county, this old family had sadly declined and ceased to be of much consideration to any party. The Protestant family of the Irelands, into whose possession a considerable part of the Bewsey estates had come, were in the civil war partly Royalist and partly Puritan.* The Gerards of Bryn, the Blundels of Crosby, the Blundels of Ince, the Norrises of Speke, the Scarisbricks of Scarisbrick, the Molineux of Sefton, the Harringtons, the Fazakerleys, almost all the proprietors of the estates along the coast between the Mersey and the Ribble, were more or less devotedly attached to the Catholic faith.† Many of the principal families of the hundred of Leyland were also Catholic, as the Bannisters of Bank, the Heskeths of Rufford, the Andertons of Euxton, the Andertons of Lostock, and the Charnocks of Heath Charnock. Many of these were loyal and peaceable, having preserved their allegiance inviolate through the reigns of Elizabeth and James; but among them were some desperate conspirators, as Sir Robert Molineux, Sir William Norris, and Robert Blundel of Ince, who were charged with having sworn allegiance to the pope before emissary priests, commissioned to receive their oaths and to absolve them from their allegiance to a Protestant monarch. John Charnock was concerned in Babington's plot, and sworn to murder Queen Elizabeth. Although Catholics of this kind cared much more for the pope than for either king or parliament, they united with their moderate brethren in defence of the arbitrary measures of Charles.

* Sir Gilbert Ireland, under the Protectorate and the government of Richard Cromwell, was the representative of Liverpool in the Presbyterian interest.

† 'The gentry of the sea-coast are almost wholly Papist.'—Adam Martindale.

But puritanism had some strength even in West Derby and Leyland. A few of the landed gentry were supporters of the parliamentary cause, of whom the most active and influential were the MOORES of Moore and Bank Hall. In every one of the parliamentary boroughs of West Derby—Liverpool, Wigan, and Newton—the puritan party was strong enough, or active and energetic enough to share the representation, and make its voice heard in the Long Parliament. In whatever considerable village there was a puritan preacher, as at Winwick, at Huyton, and at Toxteth, he found or made adherents to the parliamentary cause among the yeomanry and traders of his neighbourhood. The party, although small, was remarkable for its energy, activity, and resolution. Its wise and effective organisation appears in its carrying the election in the three boroughs, notwithstanding the powerful opposition which it had to encounter.

In Liverpool the MOORES were the leaders of the puritan party. In the early history of that town, they were distinguished by the sagacity with which they managed their own interests amidst the rivalries and quarrels of the great houses of Molineux and Stanley. Acting sometimes with the Molineux of the Castle and sometimes with the Stanleys of the Tower, occasionally opposing both, and more frequently mediating between them, the Moores not only made considerable additions to their own property, but gained the good feeling of the burgesses as neither of the great families had ever gained it.

In the reign of Charles the three parties divided the political influence of Liverpool: the Catholics under Lord Molineux, the Protestant Royalists under the Earl of Derby, and the Puritans under John Moore. In the first parliament of Charles two Catholics were returned. In the next the Protestants seem to have united, as they rejected the Catholics and returned one of each party, Lord Strange and Edward Moore. In 1628 the Stanleys secured the return of both members. In 1640 Moore's party returned two decided opponents of the king's policy; but, on the dissolution of the same year, the Stanleys recovered one seat for the king and John Moore secured the other. In so critical a time as 1640, the puritan party must have been well organised and well managed to have returned a representative in opposition to the other two parties, then united in the cause of royalty. A bitterer enemy, a more unrelenting persecutor, neither king nor prelate ever had than John Moore the regicide, and the only regicide Lancashire sent to parliament.

The election of a puritan representative for Wigan was still more extraordinary. Surrounded by Catholic gentry, and subject to the influence of the Bradshaws of the Haigh, Wigan was reckoned by the Puritans the most malignant town of Lancashire. Bridgman, bishop of Chester, was parson of Wigan at the time, and his eldest son Orlando was, in 1640, one of the candidates. There seems not to have been a good understanding between his party and the Catholics; while the Presbyterians, with the promptitude and energy which distinguished them in the elections of that year, took advantage of

the opportunity and carried the return of their able and active parliamentary leader, Alexander Rigby, as the colleague in one sense, the opponent in another, of Orlando Bridgman. So far as ability was concerned, no town of Lancashire was so well represented in the Long Parliament as Wigan, although its representatives, both of them lawyers, were on opposite sides in the great conflict of their time.

Like Liverpool and Wigan the only other parliamentary borough in the hundred returned a Presbyterian to the Long Parliament, William Ashurst, the eldest son of the magistrate who nobly risked his property in resisting the imposition of the 'Book of Sports.' The puritan burgesses of Newton attended the church of Winwick, and were probably encouraged by Mr. Herle, the rector, to do their utmost to secure the return of Ashurst. As these three boroughs of West Derby returned each a Presbyterian as well as a Royalist, it is evident that a considerable party in the towns was zealously opposed to the arbitrary measures of the king and his prelates. While the two western hundreds of the county, West Derby and Leyland, were chiefly royalist, the puritan minority consisted of a few landed proprietors, a considerable party in the towns, and many of the yeomen and traders in the villages in which puritan preachers officiated.

We now turn eastward to the opposite district of South Lancashire, consisting also of two hundreds—those of Salford and Blackburn. The Puritans were strong and the Royalists weak in the east of the county, in about the same proportion as the Royalists were strong and the Puritans weak in the west.

The most influential family in this district was that of the ASSHETONS, of which several branches flourished in different parts of the hundreds of Salford and Blackburn. They all descended, or professed to have descended, from Orme, who was Lord of Assheton under Lyne soon after the Norman conquest. The great estate of the elder branch has been carried by heiresses to the Booths of Barton and Dunham Massey, and is still held by their representative.

Although the lands of the elder branch were thus conveyed to people of another name, several junior members of the family, by their own industry, by marriage with heiresses, or by speculating in Church property, acquired considerable wealth and territorial dignity in several parts of the county. Raphe Assheton married, in 1438, the rich heiress of the Bartons of Middleton, and settling upon the great inheritance of his wife founded the historic family of the Asshetons of Middleton. In the Wars of the Roses they were devoted adherents of the house of York. Raphe of Middleton obtained grants of several confiscated estates of the Lancastrian partisans. Known as the Black Knight, he was not a pleasant neighbour to the good people of Ashton, as we may suppose from a traditional verse with which, in the ceremonies of Easter Monday, they long execrated his memory—

'Sweet Jesus, for Thy mercy's sake,
And for Thy bitter passion,
Save us from the axe of the Tower,
And from Sir Raphe of Ashton.'

A grandson of the Black Knight gained honour and renown on the Field of Flodden,* and a descendant of the Flodden hero, Ralph, Lord of Middleton, represented the presbyterian interest of the county in the Long Parliament, commanded the Parliamentary forces on the breaking out of the war, and was regarded as the leader of his party in Lancashire.†

A younger son of the Black Knight, imitating his father's prudent example, married a rich heiress, the daughter of Adam de Lever, and founded upon her inheritance the house of Assheton of Great Lever, near Bolton.

Richard, a grandson of Raphe of Lever, being appointed by Lord Burleigh Receiver-General of the Duchy of Lancaster, 'improved his good opportunities' of purchasing monastic property in Lancashire. In connection with his nephew Thomas Crompton, Auditor of the Crown Revenue (a suspicious connection), he purchased the lands of Whalley Abbey, became, as might have been expected, a very sound Protestant, and founded the family of Asshetons of Whalley, as sound as himself in the Protestant faith.

Having purchased the manor of Downham, he devised it to a younger son of his nephew, Raphe of Lever, who thus became the founder of the Asshetons of Downham.

Another family of Asshetons traced their descent from the celebrated alchemist, Sir Thomas of Ashton. His son Edmund discovered a shorter, if not a better, way of making gold than that which his father practised, by marrying the heiress of Radcliffe of Chadderton, near Oldham. His descendants were known as the Asshetons of Chadderton.

There were other offshoots of this widely spread family, as the Asshetons of Cuerdale, and the Asshetons of Clegg near Rochdale. With few exceptions‡ all these clans were moderate Presbyterians, adhering in all changes to an intermediate course between prelacy and independency, and opposing with equal decision the arbitrary rule of King Charles, and the usurpation of Cromwell.

Closely connected with the Asshetons by many marriages, as well as by common interests of policy and religion, were the BOOTHs of Barton and Dunham Massey. They traced their descent from the hero of Flodden Field;

'Sir John Booth of Barton
Was borne from his life;
A more bolder burne
Was never borne of woman.'

* This Sir Richard Assheton is represented on a window of Middleton church leading his bowmen to the Scottish war.

† A son of the Parliamentary leader was bewitched to death. The evidence of the fact is, 'one Utley was tried for bewitching Richard Assheton at the assizes at Lancaster. His guilt was *proved* and he was executed.'

‡ Some of the Asshetons of Chadderton, unlike their relatives, were Catholics. James Assheton of Chadderton was a Parliamentarian, and was nominated by an ordinance of parliament one of the committee for the county of Lancaster. The Ashtons of Penketh, near Warrington, belonged to a different race, and, like most of their neighbours in West Derby, were Royalists.

He, dying without male issue, left his lands to three daughters, who carried them by marriage to the families of Trafford of Trafford, Leigh of High Leigh, and Molineux of Sefton. Although the great inheritance, including a moiety of the estates of the older branch of the Asshetons, was thus alienated to men of other names, the other moiety passed by an heiress to the Booths of Dunham Massey. Resident in Cheshire, they were so intimately connected with Lancashire, to which county they originally belonged, and in which a large proportion of their tenantry resided, that they will occupy a prominent place in our narrative. At the commencement of the civil war the head of the family, Sir George Booth, notwithstanding his great age and infirmities, took a decided part in defence of the parliamentary cause. After the death of Colonel Assheton, Sir George Booth the younger, grandson of the old baronet, became the acknowledged leader of the presbyterian interest in both counties. This old puritan family is now represented by the Earl of Stamford and Warrington, who probably inherits more presbyterian property than any other English nobleman.

In the great parish of Manchester were settled several puritan families of considerable estates and influence, as the Hollands of Denton, the Hydes of Denton, the Birches of Birch, and the Worsleys of Platt. Around these old houses, and on lands purchased from them, other Puritans who had obtained their wealth from the prosperity of manufacturing industry, had in the seventeenth century established their families in good reputation, and brought considerable accession of strength and influence to the parliamentary cause.

The HOLLANDS were known in Lancashire as early as the reign of John. Originally settled, as their name intimates, at Up-Holland, in the hundred of West Derby, several of them were distinguished by their military renown, as especially Robert de Holland, who founded the priory of Black Monks in his native village. An uncle of the pious soldier (the Black Monks commemorated his great piety) married the heiress of Sir Alexander Denton, and established his family upon her lands. From the Reformation this family had been inclined to puritanism. In the reign of Elizabeth, Richard Holland, when high sheriff of the county, received the thanks of the queen for his services in prosecuting popish recusants and zealously promoting the Protestant religion. To persecuted Puritans under Tudor or Stuart, Denton House afforded a safe and hospitable asylum. This family was among the earliest to avow itself on the side of the parliament. A great-nephew of the persecutor of the Papists took the command of Manchester when it was besieged by the Royalists. Of this ancient and honourable family, long distinguished in the annals of the county, the name has passed away, and the estate has descended through an heiress to the Earl of Wilton, the present representative of two great puritan families of Lancashire.*

* The last of the Hollands born at Denton took orders, renounced the political and religious principles of his fathers, and complied with the requisitions of the Act of Uniformity. As rector of the lower moiety of Malpas, in which parish

The HYDES of Hyde Hall were the near neighbours, and, from their acting together in support of the same political and religious interests, the good friends, of the Hollands. The heads of the two houses, being the chief proprietors of the township, had, at their joint expense, erected the chapel of Denton, of which the northern half was appropriated to the Hollands and their tenantry, the southern to the Hydcs and their tenantry, Robert Hyde, the proprietor of the estate at the commencement of the war, armed his tenants, and, with Colonel Holland, marched to the defence of Manchester against the attack of the Royalists. So resolute and determined was he, that, when several of his puritan neighbours advised the surrender of the town, by his indignant remonstrance and his assertion that if forsaken he would stand alone against the Royalists, he induced his friends to maintain their position until assistance came from Bolton. The name of this ancient family is gone from Lancashire, and their lands strangers inhabit.

The BIRCHES were established as early as the reign of John upon the estate of Hindley Birch, or, as it has more recently been called, Birch Hall. The members of this family, zealously protestant from the time of Bradford's ministry, were Puritans under Elizabeth, Presbyterians under the Long Parliament, and Independents under the government of Cromwell. To them belonged William Birch, whom I have already noticed as a chaplain of Edward VI., and as the honest Warden of Manchester. Thomas Birch fought for the parliamentary cause first as captain under Lord Wharton, afterwards as colonel under Lord Fairfax. Unlike the Puritans of Denton, he zealously supported the measures of Cromwell in opposition to the Presbyterians of the county, and uniformly acted with the extreme party in subverting the monarchy. On him, and on Robert Bradshaw and Alexander Rigby, lay the heavy responsibility of the execution of the Earl of Derby.

A younger branch of the Birch family was settled at Ardwick in Manchester. To them belonged Colonel John Birch, who has been often mistaken for his kinsman, Colonel Thomas Birch of Birch Hall. They were both members of the Long Parliament, and both colonels in the parliamentary army. They were, however, very different men. Thomas was an adherent of Cromwell, and a decided friend of Independency; John acted with the Presbyterians, refused the engagement, and became one of the most active members of the council of state in negotiating the restoration of royalty. In the many changes of his political life, John maintained an honourable consistency, while under Charles I., the Protectorate, Charles II., James II., and King William, he represented the borough of Weobley, an avowed Presbyterian and a vigilant defender of constitutional, not republican liberty. A monument in Weobley church commemorates the

Broad Oak was supposed to be situate, he baptised Matthew Henry. Good Philip Henry, on presenting the babe, entreated Mr. Holland to omit the signing of the cross. On the rector's refusal, he submitted, saying, 'Then, sir, let it lie at your door.' There were, however, no sponsors provided.—*Life of Henry*, by Sir J. B. Williams.

courage, energy, wisdom, and fidelity of the old patriot in asserting and defending, through his long life, the freedom of his country.

The near neighbours of the Birches of Birch were the WORSLEYS of Platt. The two families were intimately connected by several intermarriages, as well as by their political and religious sympathies. The Worsleys claim their descent from Elias, Lord of Worsley, an adherent of Robert, Duke of Normandy. Of this ancient and honourable family, proud of its knights, crusaders, and noble affinities, one unfortunate member soiled the escutcheon of his house, but greatly augmented his wealth, by engaging in trade, and extracting money from the factories and markets of Manchester. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, Charles Worsley, having become by trade much richer than his proud relatives, left his property to his son Ralph, who continued in his father's business until he was able to purchase the lands of Platt, and to live like a Worsley, instead of being, like some of his race, a poor soldier or a poorer gentleman. Greatly respected by his neighbours for his integrity, energy, and faculty for business, he was regarded as one of the most powerful supporters of the parliamentary cause in Lancashire. A kind of diary kept by him, partly in French and partly in English, shows him to have been a man of very decided puritan principles and of intense devotedness to the parliamentary cause. His son Charles, inheriting his spirit, so gained the confidence of Cromwell as to be entrusted with the command of the Protector's 'own regiment of foot.' Elected member for Manchester in the parliament of 1654, he was appointed one of the ten generals who governed the several divisions of the country. Dying at the early age of thirty-five, he was buried in Westminster Abbey, with the military pomp which became, says Heath, 'a prince of the modern creation and Oliver's great and rising favourite.' I shall in the course of the narrative have occasion to refer more minutely to him, as well as to the two Birches, on account of the very important part which they took in the civil war and the establishment of presbyterianism in Lancashire.

Two other puritan families of less consideration than the Birches and the Worsleys, yet of some local importance, were settled in the township of Rusholme, the SIDDALS of Slade, and the EDGES of Birch-Hall-Houses. Like their influential neighbours they were zealously devoted to the parliamentary interest. Captain Oliver Edge was the officer who, after the battle of Worcester, captured the Earl of Derby, and treated him with so much kindness and consideration that the unfortunate earl wrote in a letter addressed to his countess, 'Lord Lauderdale and I, falling into the hands of the enemy, were not thought worth killing, but had quarter given us by Captain Edge, a Lancashire man, and one that was so civil to me that I and all who love me are beholden to him.'

On the boundary of the parish of Manchester, on the Cheshire side of the stream that separates the counties, was the mansion of a family of ancient and historical renown, the DUKENFIELDS of Dukenfield. Dwelling within a few yards of Lancashire, and having large property

in that county, many of them were so intimately connected with its religious history, that they will frequently appear acting an important part as soldiers and statesmen. The ivy-covered walls of the old family chapel are the oldest architectural memorials which can now be identified of English congregationalism. In that chapel, encouraged by Colonel Robert Dukenfield, a distinguished officer of Cromwell's army, the Rev. Samuel Eaton gathered the first congregational church in the north of England, and for many years continued its recognised teacher, though not its pastor.* Colonel Dukenfield was nominated one of the high court for the trial of King Charles, but, being that year sheriff of Cheshire, he did not occupy the place assigned to him, and so escaped the peril of the regicides. Cromwell afterwards applied to him for assistance, and received in reply one of the most plain and honest letters which his highness ever read. He told the Protector: 'I firmly believe the root of the tree of piety is alive in you, though the leaves thereof, through the abundance of temptation and flatterers, seem to be much withered of late, yet I hope time and experience will have a good influence on your lordship.' On account of some act of disobedience to the Protector, he was suspected of being concerned in an intrigue for the restoration of the king. Nothing was more opposed to his intentions, as appeared afterwards, when he armed his tenantry against Sir George Booth, and did more than any one else in Lancashire or Cheshire to oppose the restoration of royalty. Although he never flattered Cromwell, he never loved the Stuarts, and, after their restoration, he suffered imprisonment on the charge of disloyalty. In many respects he was a patriot of the type of Algernon Sydney. He lived to rejoice in the accession of King William, died the year after the Revolution, and was buried, where many good Puritans of the old times lie around him, in the chapel of Denton.

When we consider the influence of these great puritan families, dwelling near Manchester in the midst of their numerous tenantry, and observe further that the smaller gentry and yeomanry of their neighbourhood held the same political and religious principles, that the collegiate clergy of Manchester were zealous and active in promoting the same cause, that they were exceedingly popular with their parishioners, and that with few exceptions the townspeople were as devoted to the Protestant Church as the gentry and clergy of the district, we cannot hesitate in acknowledging Manchester as the head and strength of the parliamentary cause in Lancashire. But in sustaining that cause Manchester was mightily supported by the populous towns of the hundred of Salford.

Bolton and its neighbourhood were quite as devoted to the parliamentary cause as Manchester itself; or even more so, for in Manchester there was a minority of decided Royalists, while in the parishes of Bolton and Dean, and in their dependent chapelries, almost the whole population was thoroughly Protestant, and extremely Puritan. Indeed Bolton, the Geneva of Lancashire, was, in the opinion of the

* The chapel recently restored is again occupied by Congregational worshippers.

Royalists, what Wigan was in the opinion of the Parliamentarians, 'the most malignant town of the north.'

In the parish of Bolton was Bradshaw Hall, the residence of a younger branch of the Saxon family of the BRADSHAWs. Although not so distinguished for their wealth and territorial power as their great kinsfolk, the lords of Haigh in Wigan, they have gained a more prominent place in the political and religious history of their county. Two of their family, Lawrence and James Bradshaw, the faithful friends of George Marsh, have been justly reckoned among the founders of the puritanical protestantism by which Bolton was long distinguished. For several generations their descendants zealously maintained the cause of puritanism, as dear to them as it had been to their fathers and their fathers' friends, the friends of the martyrs Bradford and Marsh. Among them was Captain Robert Bradshaw, who will presently come before us as the heroic defender of Manchester when it was besieged by the Royalists.* To this family also belonged several Puritan clergymen, of whom three were ejected from their livings by the Act of Uniformity.†

Although the Puritans of the neighbourhood of Bolton were not so powerful in territorial influence, nor so elevated in social position, as several of those resident in the parish of Manchester, they were substantial yeomen and manufacturers, cultivating their own lands, managing their own mills, and many of them possessed of considerable wealth. Such were the HOLMES, the LEVERs, the CRITCHLAWS, the WHITTALS, the CROMPTONS, the ANDREWS, the GREGS, the BOLTONS, the HULTONS, and the HEYWOODS. Intimately connected by numerous intermarriages, employing almost all the labourers of the district, and unitedly quite as powerful as if they constituted one great territorial family of the neighbourhood, they were of one heart and one mind in cherishing and defending the faith which had been ratified by the blood of George Marsh, whose memory they had been taught from their infancy to venerate. How great was the interest which these Puritans of Bolton Moors felt in the proceedings of the king and parliament, is apparent from a fact mentioned by Oliver Heywood, who was a little boy at the time: 'Many days of prayer have I known my father keep among God's people; yea, I remember a whole night wherein he, Dr. Bradshaw, Adam Fearnside, Thomas Crompton, and several more did pray all night in a parlour at Ralph Whittall's, upon occasion of King Charles demanding the five members of the House of Commons. Such a night of prayers, tears, and groans,

* His elder brother John was at that time proprietor of Bradshaw Hall. Although not a fighting man, he was a decided adherent of the parliamentary cause. The mother of these Bradshaws was an Asaheton.

† The Lord President Bradshaw was a scion of this family. His grandfather removed from the family home and settled at Marple in Cheshire, where, or at Wybalegh Hall, his father's residence in the neighbourhood during his grandfather's life, the president was born. His elder brother Henry, the proprietor of Marple, although a Cheshire man, served the parliament as lieutenant-colonel of Asaheton's Lancashire regiment, and was appointed one of the court-martial which tried the Earl of Derby.

I was never present at in all my life. The case was extraordinary, and the work extraordinary.*

Many such praying yeomen cultivated their lands, and worked their mills, in the neighbourhood of Rochdale, Bury, and Ashton. Rochdale, from the time of its puritan vicars, the two Midgeleys, had continued largely Puritan, although it contained a Catholic minority of some importance. Mr. Bath, at that time the vicar, although a nephew of Archbishop Laud, was a decided Puritan, and a zealous opponent of his uncle. Bury, with many puritan inhabitants, was probably more divided in its political feeling than any other town of East Lancashire, as the Earl of Derby had many friends and retainers in its neighbourhood. Ashton, under the influence of its proprietor, Sir George Booth, was thoroughly, almost exclusively, devoted to the parliamentary cause.

The hundred of Blackburn was closely united with that of Salford in its steadfast adherence to puritan doctrine and constitutional liberty. Next to the Asshetons of Whalley already noticed, the most influential of the puritan families in that division of the county were the Shuttleworths of Gawthorp, and the Starkies of Huntroyd.

The SHUTTLEWORTHS, who had settled at Gawthorp as early as the reign of Richard II., were accounted among the yeomanry or inferior gentry, until, in the reign of Elizabeth, the head of the family, by his ability and activity as a lawyer, acquired wealth, reputation, and knighthood. His son was the puritan member for Preston in the Long Parliament. Of his grandsons, five were distinguished officers in the parliamentary army. Richard, the eldest, member for Clitheroe, was among the first of the Lancashire gentry who armed his tenantry in opposition to the arbitrary proceedings of the king. He died young, exhausted with the fatigue and anxiety of parliamentary and military service. His brothers Nicholas and Oughtred were colonels in Lambert's army, the former of cavalry, the latter of infantry. William, the youngest, was killed in defending Lancaster against the assault of Lord Derby's forces.

The STARKIES were quite as devoted to the parliamentary cause as their neighbours of Gawthorp. One of them, Nicholas, a young officer of great energy and promise, was killed by a treacherous or accidental explosion at Hoghton Tower.

Of the smaller gentry and yeomanry, the greater part were decidedly puritan and parliamentary in their principles, feelings, and associations. Blackburn was considered, next to Bolton and Manchester, the most puritan town of Lancashire. Clitheroe

* *Life of Oliver Heywood*, by Hunter, p. 33. Some of the Bolton Puritans had curious notions of the war. Oliver's uncle, William Critchlaw, would not join the ranks of the Parliamentary army, but 'when he heard,' says his nephew, 'of a fight nigh at hand, or a town to be taken by the Parliamentary army, he used to take his musket, and run to the army and join in any hazardous expedition.' This privateer sort of fighting cost him his life. He was carried from the siege of Wigan to his daughter at Bolton, 'shot through the shoulder and with another bullet in his thigh.' He died 'uttering many gracious expressions.'

(the only borough in the hundred) returned to the Long Parliament, in opposition to the power of its castle, two influential Puritans, Ralph Assheton of Whalley and Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorp.

Such was the strength of the puritan party in the two hundreds which constitute the eastern division of South Lancashire.

But as in the western parts of South Lancashire there was an important minority of decided Parliamentarians, so in the eastern parts there was an important minority of decided Royalists. The strength of this minority was Catholic, although some influential Protestants adhered to the royal cause, and others strove to maintain neutrality, or, come what would, to keep themselves out of the fray.

In the neighbourhood of Manchester the most important Catholic family was that of **TRAFFORD** of Trafford. Protestant in the reign of Elizabeth, and even like their kindred the Asshetons and the Booths inclined to puritanism, they had, much to the vexation of Warden Heyricke, become Catholic, and, with their co-religionists, avowed and steadily maintained their adherence to the cause of the king.

In their neighbourhood resided an ancient and honourable family, which, in all changes from the Reformation to the Revolution, remained consistent, quiet, peaceable, and loyal Catholics—the **BARLOWS** of Barlow, in Chorlton. They maintained a spotless reputation, a religious consistency, and a saintly character, a sort of Catholic puritanism, unsurpassed in its fervent devotion and charity by any protestant puritanism in the county. Their puritan neighbours, even in those uncharitable times, respected them as upright, peaceable, kind, and virtuous men, although they were so, as Hollingworth says, 'in their own way.' Suffering severely by the frequent confiscations of their property, they adhered with exemplary devotion to the Church of their fathers. Their estate was registered, and the fines exacted were cruelly exorbitant. Being persecuted, they behaved with extraordinary moderation, and lived, as far as they were allowed, in peace and charity with their protestant neighbours. To this family belonged that saintly man, that meek and godly priest, Edward Barlow, called in religion Father Ambrose, whose holy life and labours are well worthy of comparison with those of Oliver Heywood or Isaac Ambrose, and whose death for his religion may be compared with the martyrdom of John Bradford or of George Marsh.

Other Catholic families of the neighbourhood of Manchester, as the Chaddertons of Chadderton, and the Radcliffes of Ordsall,* were, like the Traffords and the Barlows, attached to the moderate or English party of their Church, in opposition to the Spanish party of Jesuitical traitors and assassins. They steadfastly maintained their

* The Radcliffes of Radcliffe Hall, in Manchester, were Parliamentarians. Sir Alexander Radcliffe of Ordsall was one of the assailants of Manchester, when Captain Robert Radcliffe of the Hall was one of its bravest defenders. The two families were only remotely connected.

loyalty, as under Elizabeth, in opposition to popish plots, so under Charles, in opposition to puritan insurrections.

In the neighbourhood of Rochdale, some influential families adhered to the party of the king, as especially the Byrons of Clayton, and the Crossleys of Scaitcliffe.

The BYRONS had a great name and reputation in the early history of the county. Inheriting the estates of the Claytons and the Savilles, they were connected by several affinities with most of the great families of South Lancashire. In the Civil War, the first Lord Byron gained the reputation among the Royalists of invincible courage, among the Parliamentarians of implacable cruelty. So bad was his conduct in the estimation of parliament, that he was one of seven excepted from the general amnesty which was granted immediately after the execution of the king.*

Of the CROSSLEYS of Scaitcliffe, one of the family commanded the Todmorden men under the royal standard in the battle of Marston Moor; another was the governor of Liverpool when that town was in the possession of the Royalists.

In the hundred of Blackburn the Catholics were numerous and powerful. The great and influential family of the Townleys, who trace their descent (a scandal, some may think, in a Catholic lineage) from the married Priests of Whalley, have been from the Reformation distinguished by their faithful adherence to the Church of their ancestors. Charles Townley, the head of the family in 1644, died bravely fighting for his king on Marston Moor, where many Lancashire Catholics fell by his side.†

The SOUTHWORTHS of Samlesbury, and the SHERBURNES of Stonyhurst, moderate Catholics rather than Papists, were steady and powerful adherents of the cause of royalty.

Between the Puritans on one hand and the Catholics on the other there were in the hundred of Blackburn a few Protestant families, as the NOWELLS of Read, who adhered to the cause of the king, and acted, although not cordially, with their Catholic neighbours.

From this estimate of the comparative strength of the opposing parties in South Lancashire, they appear to have been very equally balanced, the preponderance of the king's party in the western

* Sir Robert Byron, a younger brother of the lord, was the Royalist governor of Liverpool when it was besieged by the parliamentary forces. Henry Byron, of the same family, was killed fighting for the king in the battle of Edge Hill.

† "Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Trapper, married Charles Townley, who was killed at the battle of Marston Moor. During the engagement she was with her father at Knaresborough, where she heard of her husband's fate, and came upon the field the next morning in order to search for his body, while the attendants of the camp were stripping and burying the dead. Here she was accosted by a general officer, to whom she told her melancholy tale. He heard her with great tenderness, but earnestly desired her to leave a place where, besides the distress of witnessing such a scene, she might probably be insulted. She complied, and he called a trooper, who took her *en croupe*. On her way to Knaresborough she inquired the name of the officer to whose civility she had been indebted, and learned that it was Lieutenant-General Cromwell." Sandford's *Illustrations*, p. 610, cited in Stoughton's *Ecclesiastical History of England*, vol. I., p. 428.

hundreds having been proportionate to that of the parliament in the eastern.

In the hundreds of Amounderness and Lonsdale, forming the northern division of the county, the party of the king seemed, at the beginning of the war, to be much stronger than that of the parliament. In the fertile district known as the Fylde country, between the Ribble and the Wyre, several Catholic proprietors had great influence over the tenantry of their own persuasion. Of these the CLIFTONS were the most powerful, as the lords, not only of Clifton, but of Fairsnape, Westby, Lytham, and several other manors of the Fylde. Undutiful sons of the Church these Cliftons had often been in the middle ages; as, for instance, in the reign of Edward III., when William de Clifton prohibited the rector of Kirkham from solemnising divine service, publicly whipped the abbot's clerk, as deputy for his master, through the streets, and forbade his tenantry to have their children baptised. After the Reformation they seemed willing to compound for their past sins by their steady, faithful, and unresisting submission to the claims of their Church. They were, from the outbreak of the civil war, firm supporters of the royal prerogative. With them were associated several other Catholic families, as the Butlers of Rawcliffe, the Westbys of Mowbrick, and the Butlers of Kirkland, who were all represented among the dead of Marston Moor. The Fleetwoods of Poulton were as to their religion divided or indifferent, as they had intermarried with Protestant families of the south; but as to their politics they were steady and consistent, if not very active, adherents of the king.

Farther north, in the hundred of Lonsdale, the most powerful family was that of the DALTONS of Thurnham. Although they were intimately connected with the principal Catholic families of the north of England, their possession of the lands of the Abbey of Cockersand had made them unwilling to disturb the ecclesiastical arrangements of Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth. Thomas Dalton, the proprietor of the estate, although very old and feeble, raised and equipped a regiment of cavalry for the service of the king. Not content, like many of the Lancashire gentry, to fight for his principles in his own county, he marched southward at the head of his tenantry, and died of the wounds he received in the second battle of Newbury, which was fatal to many Lancashire Royalists.

The TUNSTALLS of Thurland Castle, one of the most distinguished families of North Lancashire, had suffered so much from fines, sequestrations, and lawsuits on account of their steady adherence to the Catholic Church, that they had been compelled to alienate the greater part of their hereditary estates. Thurland Castle, the strongest fortress in that part of the county, had come into the possession of Sir John Girlington, who, being a Catholic, held it for the king, and resolutely defended it against the parliamentary forces. To the rashness of Sir John, when high sheriff, the early outbreak of the war in this county is, as we shall hereafter see, in a considerable degree to be attributed. The Tunstalls and their retainers followed the standard of the lord of their ancestors' castle.

On crossing the sands of Morecambe Bay, we naturally enquire for the purchasers or lessees of the estates of the two great religious houses, the abbey of Furness and the priory of Cartmell. The greater part of the lordship and liberty of Furness was at that time annexed to the duchy of Lancaster, and the tenantry, holding their farms on easy terms, were generally supposed to maintain the sovereignty of their liege lord and superior, without considering the merits or caring much for the results of the conflict. The ruined abbey and the property lying immediately around it, as well as a considerable part of the lands of Cartmell priory, belonged to the old family of the PRESTONS, who, like most of their neighbours, wished well to the king, but seem to have been content with good wishes, probably unwilling to strengthen the Catholics, who had not abandoned the hope of recovering the monastic property. Of the other proprietors of the romantic fells and glens of Lonsdale over the sands, as the Biglands of Bigland, and the Sandyses of Graithwaite, it may be sufficient to say that most of them were Royalists, some of them Catholics, none of them disposed to make any sacrifices for either their king or their Church.

It is evident from this cursory glance over the northern parts of the county that the Royalists there far exceeded the Parliamentarians in numbers, wealth, and influence. Of the landed proprietors only a few, whose estates were small and situated chiefly near the banks of the Ribble or among the hills bordering on Yorkshire, adhered to the cause of the parliament. In the towns of Preston, Kirkham, and Garstang, the earnest, loving, persuasive preaching of Isaac Ambrose had found or made many admirers, who, cordially attached to his doctrine and discipline, were prepared to defend them against the hostility of the country people.* In Preston, as we may infer from the assistance and resistance which both parties found in the sieges and assaults of that town, they must have been nearly equal in numbers and strength. The Puritans, however, were strong enough to return two zealous members of their own party to the Long Parliament, although probably their successes may be attributed rather to their better organisation than to their preponderating numbers.

Lancaster was called a royalist town, and probably the majority of its inhabitants were Royalists. It must, however, have contained a considerable party opposed to that majority, or the town and castle would not so easily have surrendered to the small body of soldiers who, under Major Birch of Manchester, demanded and obtained possession of it for the parliament.

In estimating the proportionate strength of the parties engaged in the civil war, I have not taken any notice of a large and powerful

* It appears from a letter of Ambrose found among the Ffarington papers, that he was once taken prisoner by the Royalists. In that letter he bears testimony to the kindness with which, when a prisoner, he had been treated by Mr. Ffarington, and recommends his benefactor to the kind consideration of the victorious Parliamentarians. I cannot ascertain when or how Isaac was taken prisoner, but no words in his writings sound like the words of a man of war.

family, whose several branches were established in different parts of the county, and whose name appears more frequently and more prominently than any other in the records of that terrible conflict. I refer to the RIGBYS, who were so numerous, in many instances so distantly related, and so opposed in their purposes and parties, as to occasion much confusion and great danger of mistaking the identity, the difference, the party connections or the family relations of the several persons who bore a common and widely prevalent name. There were Puritan Rigbys and Catholic Rigbys, Republican Rigbys and Royalist Rigbys, fighting in almost every battle, and making their voices heard in almost every assembly. As if to increase the confusion, there were four Alexander Rigbys, all colonels, two of each party; besides Joseph Rigbys, Edward Rigbys, Nicholas Rigbys, and many other Rigbys, soldiers, statesmen, lawyers, magistrates, writers, preachers, acting their part in almost every scene of this lamentable tragedy. The two principal families of the name were the Rigbys of Middleton in Goosnargh near Preston, and those of Burgh and Layton in the Fylde, the former chiefly puritan, the latter royalist. Both families belonged to the northern division, but in the course of events from the meeting of the Long Parliament to the restoration of royalty they may be found fighting, or negotiating, or intriguing in all parts of the county and even beyond its boundaries.

Alexander Rigby of Goosnargh was one of the most active members of the Long Parliament, as well as one of the most zealous defenders of the puritan interest in Lancashire. Although his estate was not large, he was connected by birth and marriage with many of the best families of the county, and his uncommon abilities gave him great influence over them all. His activity was unwearied, his energy irrepressible. Scarcely a man in those exciting times did as much work as this untiring lawyer, statesman, magistrate, and colonel. Although Ralph Assheton was the acknowledged commander of the parliamentary army in Lancashire, Alexander Rigby was head and heart and hand and almost everything else of importance. There was no borough in Lancashire of which it was more difficult for a Puritan to gain the representation than 'malignant Wigan,' yet Rigby, leaving the easier work of representing the neighbouring borough of Preston to less daring or less energetic men, defied all the malignancy of Wigan, won its representation in the Long Parliament, and never forgot in the unexpected triumph of his friends the malignancy of the other half of his constituents. It is said of him, that he sat on more committees than any other member of the Long Parliament. Busy as he was in the House of Commons, he was engaged in every important action in Lancashire. I doubt whether any man of his time had so often travelled the long, rough, wearisome road from London to Manchester. He commanded at the siege of Lathom, the fight in Furness, the capture of Thurland Castle, and the defence of Bolton. Nominated one of the king's judges, he declined to act, why, I know not, for it was probably the only occasion in his life on which he declined to do his worst against royalty. Such was one side of his character. On turning to the other, we see him rash,

impetuous, rude, haughty, severe, implacable. Although admired by many, he was esteemed by few, loved by none. Some very bad things are said of him, which I fear are true; but the worst is so bad that I hope it is not true, although the evidence against him is very strong. He is said to have contrived a scheme and bargain by which the royalist masters of three Cambridge Colleges, St. John's, Queen's, and Jesus, were to be sold for slaves to the Algerines. When a judge on circuit, he caught the gaol fever of the prisoners at Croydon, and died in 1650.

His son Alexander was a lieutenant-colonel in the parliamentary army, and subsequently the representative of Lancaster. He had many of the great qualities of his father, and few of the bad ones. He consistently maintained the same policy, and after the Restoration continued steadily to act under discouraging circumstances with the patriotic party, who resisted the unconstitutional measures of Charles II. and his brother James.

Edward, a younger son, gained little credit either for himself or his father. Careless, dissipated, embarrassed with debt, he evaded the demands of his creditors by calling himself the servant of his father, who claimed on his behalf the privilege of freedom from arrest, on the ground of his being in attendance on a member of parliament. Being thus protected from imprisonment, the embarrassed debtor was proposed for the lucrative office of clerk of the crown in Lancashire; but the House of Commons, much as they admired his father, seem to have thought this proposal rather too bad, as they appointed a much better Puritan, William Ashurst, to fill the vacant office. After the Restoration, Edward made his peace with the Royalists, and became a magistrate in his native county, where he is said to have administered justice severely and mercy sparingly to the members of the party with which he had been long associated. Servile as he had become, he found the popery of King James too much for his approval, and was sent to prison on suspicion of conspiring with his brother against the government.*

Alexander Rigby of the Burgh was as decided, if not as able, a Royalist as his namesake of Goosnargh was a Republican. The Rigbys of the Burgh, all Royalists, possessed large estates in Layton-with-Warbreck, on which now stands the flourishing watering-place of Blackpool. As there were many other gentlemen of that neighbourhood able to lead the Royalists of the Fylde, he crossed Morecambe Bay for the purpose of arming and training in the service of the king the hardy mountaineers of Furness and Cartmell. He found, however, more difficulty than he expected in inducing that people to submit to military discipline. The parliamentary Alexander, who was at the time laying siege to Thurland Castle, hearing of the doings of his namesake, with his usual promptitude and energy led some five hundred infantry and three troops of cavalry across the

* Nicholas Rigby of Harrock, one of the committee nominated by an ordinance of parliament for the county of Lancaster, was an offshoot of this family. In that committee of sequestration and assessment, consisting of thirty persons, were four Rigbys.

sands of Morecambe, and came unexpectedly upon those ill-trained Royalists. The Parliamentarians, 'the next morning being the Lord's day, began their work with public prayer,' and then raised a shout, which (or was it the psalm-singing?) so frightened the mountaineers that they 'ran clean away,' and left their ammunition for the benefit of their enemies.*

Alexander Rigby, junior, of the Burgh, inheriting the spirit of his father, fought in the battle of Wigan Lane, where the gallant leader of the Royalists, Sir Thomas Tyldesley, was killed. He was the 'grateful cornet,' as he designated himself, who erected after the Restoration a column on the spot where his brave commander fell. Colonel Creson Rigby, a member of the same family, was one of the numerous prisoners taken by the Parliamentarians in that battle which was so disastrous to the cause of the Royalists in Lancashire.

Major Joseph Rigby, author of the 'Drunkard's Perspective or Burning Glass,' and his brother George, may occasionally appear in the war, on the side of the parliament.

These notices may be sufficient to enable the reader to discriminate the party and family connections of the principal persons who will appear as acting an important part in that religious conflict which, belonging especially to Lancashire and carried on by Lancashire people, has a history of its own distinguished from, although simultaneous with, that of the great civil war waged between the king and the parliament of England.

Before the commencement of the war most of the old castles and towers had fallen into decay and become nearly useless as places of military service or defence. The only fortresses which were defensible against an attack of superior forces were the castles of Lancaster, Thurland, Hornby, Clitheroe, and Greenhaugh, the tower of Hoghton, and the house of Lathom, which were all in the possession of the Royalists. Of the towns, Wigan was the best fortified. Military works—chiefly mud walls, posts and chains, and timber gates at the entrances—were made for the defence of Manchester, Liverpool, Warrington, Preston, and Lancaster. These works, except those of Manchester, were at the commencement of the war in the possession of the king's party.

* Letter of Alexander Rigby to Speaker Lenthall in *Tracts relating to the Military Affairs in Lancashire*.

CHAPTER X.

THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

SUCH was the state of Lancashire in that memorable year, 1640, when the king and his council, having long ruled England without a parliament, ventured, depending for their success on the interest excited by the Scottish war, to convene one in order to obtain the necessary supplies for its vigorous prosecution. The Scottish war, however, was not so popular with the English constituencies as the king and his ministers had hastily supposed. Englishmen do not like to be beaten even in a bad cause; but if they know their cause is bad before they begin to fight, they are occasionally at least honest enough to keep out of the fray. Parliament met in April 1640, and evidently not liking the business for which it was convened, instead of granting supplies appointed committees to consider the grievances of the people. Within a month the king dissolved it, and in doing so deprived himself of the power of dissolving its more troublesome successor. This short parliament was the precursor of the longest that England ever knew.

If parliament did nothing, convocation did a great deal, and a great deal that was mischievous to itself and its patrons. Opened with unusual formality, show, and ostentation, it claimed a right to sit, by the king's authority, after the parliament was dissolved. It appointed committees, granted subsidies, made new canons, and conceded extraordinary power to Archbishop Laud. What more it would have done it is not easy to say; but as the people threatened to pull down the convocation house, the king was wise enough, or timid enough, to dissolve it by a special mandate. The evil done to the Church by this unconstitutional sitting of its representatives was never undone, as it undoubtedly influenced the elections and the proceedings of the next parliament. The arbitrary canons which it enacted roused the opposition of the puritan clergy, while its extravagant exaltation of the royal prerogative alarmed the patriotic laity in all parts of the country, but in none more than in Lancashire.

The king was soon compelled by the urgency of his wants and encouraged by the hopes of his friends to issue writs for the meeting of a new parliament. The elections occurred in the autumn of 1640. There was in many places a fierce contest. Probably the opponents of the court never before exerted themselves as they did in that election, while the courtiers feared that, without the most strenuous efforts, they would lose all in the approaching conflict. Unconstitutional influence was said to have been used by the court party in Lancashire, but if it were, it was used to little purpose, for Lancashire sent to Westminster a formidable majority of sturdy patriots, decided

Puritans, and active partisans. The members returned to the Long Parliament were for—

LANCASHIRE.

Ralph Assheton, Esq.

Roger Kirby, Esq.

CLITHEROE.

NEWTON.

Ralph Assheton, Esq.

William Ashurst, Esq.

Richard Shuttleworth, Gent.

Roger Palmer, Knight.

LANCASTER.

PRESTON.

John Harrison, Knight.

Richard Shuttleworth, Esq.

Thomas Fanshawe, Esq.

Thomas Standish, Esq.

LIVERPOOL.

WIGAN.

John Moore, Esq.

Orlando Bridgman, Esq.

Richard Wynn, Bart.

Alexander Rigby, Esq.

A glance over these names will discover the superiority of the party which was opposed to the arbitrary measures of the king and his prelates. The advantage to the Puritans was not only in their majority, but pre-eminently in the ability and energy of their representatives. With the exception of Orlando Bridgman, the son of the bishop of Chester, an able lawyer, a fluent speaker, and a useful partisan, there was not a man returned by the Royalists who could render any service to his party beyond the value of his silent vote.

Roger Kirby, one of the representatives of the county, was too undecided, and yet too hasty, often hesitating when he ought to act, and often acting when he ought to hesitate, to be trusted or feared by either party. In the beginning of the great conflict it was not easy to determine what part he would eventually take, as he seemed to be trimming and temporising, and striving to conciliate friends on both sides. On his election he was supported by moderate men of both parties, as he was disposed to give a qualified approval to some of the measures which they severally desired to secure, but as the contest became too decided to allow of his neutrality, he avowed himself a Royalist, and armed his tenantry in defence of the king.

Sir Richard Wynn, returned for Liverpool, appeared at first a very decided supporter of royalty, prelacy, and all the prerogatives of the king and his bishops. It was, however, observed that his zeal waned as the king's party grew weak, until he ceased to appear on the losing side. He had sufficient resolution to support the desperate cause of Lord Strafford, but his vote on the memorable occasion of the impeachment of his friend seems to have been the last exhausting effort of his courage, for afterwards his Welsh blood cooled wonderfully and he never moved his tongue or his hand in defence of his party. He became negligent of his duties, for he had to make his appearance 'in the house' to prevent the imposition of a heavy penalty 'for the neglect of the public service.' Compelled to be present, he contrived to busy himself in Welsh committees, and was lost in the obscurity of bills about roads, bridges, and fisheries. As to the other royalist representatives, they are not worth the labour of bringing their small doings to the light.

Very different were the representatives of the opposite party. The

two Ralph Asshetons were active, energetic, able men, thoroughly in earnest, devoted to their cause, working for it in London, fighting for it in Lancashire. The knight of the shire was the head of the Middleton family, who became colonel-general of the Parliamentary forces of the county, and never spared his time, his health, his money, or his friends in defending the cause of constitutional liberty. His incessant and exhausting labours probably hastened his premature death in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

His namesake, the member for Clitheroe, was the eldest son of Sir Ralph Assheton of Great Lever and Whalley, an able and active supporter, both in debate and arms, of his cousin of Middleton.

The two Richard Shuttleworths, of Gawthorp, father and son, the former member for Preston, the latter for Clitheroe, as I have already observed, were among the ablest defenders of the puritan cause in the county. Having done their utmost to secure the liberty of their country by their voice in parliament, they returned to Lancashire to arm their tenantry and to prepare, by personal service, for the threatening war.

William Ashurst of Ashurst, the representative of Newton, was an earnest Presbyterian, who took an active part in all measures intended to limit the royal prerogative without destroying the monarchy. He was a major in the Parliamentary army, and indefatigable in its service, until the execution of the king, after which he coalesced with the Royalists in support of Charles II., was discovered negotiating with the leading Presbyterians of Lancashire for the restoration of royalty, fled for safety to the Earl of Derby in the Isle of Man, returned to Lancashire as a colonel of Charles II. in his unfortunate march through the county in 1651, and associated, good Presbyterian as he was, with people whom General Harrison calls 'bloody Papists' and 'subtle jesuited malignants.' Notwithstanding these self-denying services, he was reproached by the king and the earl for not inducing more of the Presbyterians to support their cause,* while at the same time he incurred the displeasure of many of his presbyterian friends for not taking more decisive measures in protesting against the Papist associations of the Earl of Derby. Like many other members of his family, he was a man of eminent piety and devotion.†

Thomas Standish of Duxbury, the representative of Preston, was greatly respected by the leaders of his party, both as a statesman and as a soldier. Acting, as I have already observed, in opposition to most of his relations, he commanded one of the Lancashire regiments on the side of the parliament, and even after the death of his eldest son, who was shot when fighting for the Royalists, he had spirit enough in his old age, much as he deplored his bereavement, to continue faithful to his trust in command of his regiment, and did

* Letter from Major-General Harrison in *Tracts relating to the Military Proceedings in Lancashire*, p. 286. Cary's *Memorials*, vol. ii. p. 333.

† Baxter, in a funeral sermon, commemorates the piety and good works of his younger brother Henry, one of the founders of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

good service in opposing the invasion of the Scotch under the Duke of Hamilton.

Of that desperate regicide, John Moore, and that indefatigable lawyer, Alexander Rigby, I have already said enough to show that two more active or energetic men were not to be found, either debating in the committees of Westminster or fighting in the battles of Lancashire. Although not very agreeable, perhaps not very good men, they were especially fitted for the work which was given them to do.

Such was the representation of Lancashire in the Long Parliament.

That great parliament, to which, more than to any other, England is indebted for the maintenance of her constitutional liberty, was opened on November 3, 1640, as all parliaments are opened, with 'a most gracious speech from his Majesty.'

It may be desirable, before we consider the particulars which especially refer to Lancashire, to notice the religious character of this parliament. It has been described by party writers as a convention of sectaries and fanatics, bitterly opposed to the doctrine and discipline of the Episcopal Church, and it has been represented by more liberal writers, especially of late years, as an assembly of good Churchmen, sincerely attached to the episcopal government and formularies of the ecclesiastical establishment. Like most general statements of party writers, both seem to be inaccurate, and the latter, though nearer the truth than the former, can be accepted only with considerable limitation.

It is true that the leaders of the patriotic party had not separated from the communion of the English Church. They were not Brownists, they were not sectaries, nor do I think that many of them, when they first assembled, would be called Presbyterians. But they were Puritans, intent upon the further reformation of the Church, and beginning to look to the kirk of Scotland as an incentive and example in the good work of reforming their own. They were Episcopalians who did not love bishops, and Churchmen who did not approve of the formularies of their Church. It is true that the Commons resolved none should sit in their house who would not receive the communion according to the usage of the Church of England, but it is also true that on the Sunday after their assembling, they received the sacrament not at the rails of the altar, but at a table placed, 'by order of the house,' in the middle of the church. Their theological propensities were soon apparent in their selection of preachers, for on their first day of fasting, they appointed to preach before them Stephen Marshall and Cornelius Burgess, preachers as far gone towards puritanism as any they could have found competent to preach on such an occasion. If, as some liberal writers say, they were all in favour of episcopacy when they assembled in November, many of them must have been very apt scholars in learning a more excellent way, for in December a petition was presented, praying that episcopacy 'with all its dependencies, root and branch, may be abolished,' and in the following spring Sir Harry Vane, Sergeant Thomas, Mr. Bagshaw, Mr. White, Alexander Rigby, John Moore,

and many others, supported the petition, and were ready to abolish episcopacy 'root and branch.'

Provoked by the unconstitutional proceedings of the last convocation, the new parliament gave its early attention to ecclesiastical affairs. It condemned the recently made canons, declared the proceedings of the late convocation to be illegal, sent Laud to the Tower, abolished the court of High Commission and the Star Chamber, impeached thirteen bishops at once, released Prynne, Burton, Bastwick, and Leighton, sent commissioners through the land to demolish and remove 'altars or tables turned altarwise, crucifixes, pictures, and other relics of idolatry,' passed the grand remonstrance, and did a great many other things which proved that Charles—hectoring, fawning, threatening, cringing, now resisting, now yielding, doing neither at the right time, meanly sacrificing Wentworth, and grieving for his cowardice—was the heir only of the throne, not of the firm hand, the strong will, or the dauntless soul of Harry or Elizabeth Tudor.

In these proceedings the Puritans of Lancashire felt intense interest. The representatives wrote to their constituents, and the constituents watched the conduct of their representatives. Especially were Rigby and Moore active and unwearied in sending early and regular information to their friends in Wigan and Liverpool. Then were the whole nights of prayer, to which I have already referred as among the boyish recollections of Oliver Heywood, spent in tears and groans upon the bleak moors of Lancashire; such prayers, and such nights, as Oliver Heywood never afterwards knew. Then the Puritans in their intense excitement saw strange signs in the heavens. When Heywood's 'uncle Francis was at prayer and wonderfully carried out in affection and strong wrestlings, all on a sudden a bright shining light, far brighter than the sun, shone in the room. It dazzled and astonished them. My uncle gave over. They rose off their knees; were amazed; said nothing, but looked upon one another: heard no voice. It continued about a quarter of an hour, as long as one might have gone to the further side of the Little Meadow and back again, as Luke Hoyle hath told me, who was then present. This was a little before the wars, in the heat and height of the bishops' tyranny over godly ministers.* Neither Luke Hoyle nor Oliver Heywood ever saw such portents in quiet times, as neither their imaginations nor their feelings were sufficiently excited to behold them. Strange diseases were believed to trouble men and cattle; demoniacal possessions were thought to be unusually frequent and violent. Notice was taken of the strange and mysterious sayings of lunatics and of dying people. Some years after, when Oliver Heywood saw 'a strange flaming northwind,' which I suppose was the aurora borealis, he was greatly alarmed, as it reminded him of the portents of his childhood. A woman said, 'it was just like that streaming that she saw above twenty years ago, immediately before the Scotch wars. It shone in at the windows, and was very formidable to

* Hunter's *Life of Oliver Heywood*, pp. 34, 35.

behold.* Whatever may now be thought of such portentous signs, the men who in that age had faith in them were prepared to do desperate deeds of valour. The Puritans of Lancashire were in earnest, and their earnestness often illumined the imagination with light which dazzled and bewildered the judgment.

The fatal separation having been made between the king and his parliament, they both strove to obtain the command of the militia. In order to accomplish this great object, they knew the importance of securing the assistance of the lords-lieutenant of the counties and their deputies. The king at York by his 'commands,' the parliament at Westminster by its 'ordinances,' elevated to these offices different persons, on whom they could severally depend.

In Lancashire, on the retirement of the Earl of Derby from active life on account of the infirmities of age, his eldest son, James Lord Strange, was made lord-lieutenant by the king. A devoted Royalist, he would have done more service to his party, had the king been wise enough to follow his counsel and trust his fidelity. He was, however, a Protestant as well as a Royalist, and although prepared at all costs to defend the prerogative of the crown, he desired to preserve some measure of constitutional liberty. The courtiers who at that time managed the king's affairs disliked him, and even Clarendon failed to do him justice. It was suggested at one time that the king should raise his standard in the county of the Stanleys, and Warrington was proposed as the appropriate town for the purpose. Good reasons there undoubtedly were to induce Charles not to venture into Lancashire, but the reasons which prevailed seem to have been suggested by the jealousy of the court favourites. But no jealousies of the courtiers, no suspicions of the Royalists, no slights of the king or queen could shake the enthusiastic loyalty of James Stanley, lord-lieutenant of Lancashire.

The parliament with good reason, notwithstanding his protestantism, distrusted Lord Strange. On February 12, 1641-2, they nominated Lord Wharton to occupy his place. On the refusal of the king to confirm their nomination, they appointed Lord Wharton by their own 'ordinance' to be lord-lieutenant of Lancashire, and directed him to submit for their approval the names of 'persons of quality' to be his deputy-lieutenants, especially recommending Sir George Booth, Mr. John Moore, Sir Thomas Stanley of Bickerstaffe, and Alexander Rigby of Preston. There were thus two lords-lieutenant, with their respective deputies, acknowledged only by their own parties. It may prevent confusion to observe that the royalist officers were usually called 'commissioners of array,' and the parliamentary officers 'deputy-lieutenants' or 'commanders of the militia.' The terms are not exactly appropriate, as on both sides were many volunteers from the yeomanry of the county, but with this explanation the use of the terms 'the array' and the 'militia' will prevent mistake and readily suggest the party intended.

On March 12, only one week after the appointment of Lord Wharton, 'divers gentlemen of the county palatinate of Lancaster were at the

* *Life of Heywood*, p. 35.

door of the house who desired to present a petition.' They were called in by the commons, and after their petition had been read they were again called in, and told by 'Mr. Speaker that the house had read their petition, and found in it many weighty considerations and great expressions of their care and affection to the Commonwealth, and to this house in particular, and for the particulars mentioned they will take them into consideration.' *

This 'humble petition of divers knights, esquires, ministers, gentlemen, and freeholders of the county palatine of Lancaster,' began with 'the gratitude of thankful hearts for the fidelity, patience, and indefatigable industry of the honourable house.' It thanked the house for 'expunging the innovations in religion.' It acknowledged Lord Wharton as the lord-lieutenant of the county, and promised 'ready and willing obedience to the power with which he may be trusted.' It prayed that popish recusants might be disarmed, that the distractions of the Church might be settled by a national synod, that the number of ministers might be augmented, that the revenues of the Church might be fairly distributed, and that a fleet of small ships might be appointed to guard the coast from Irish Papists.

A few weeks afterwards the same persons presented a petition to the king at York, earnestly beseeching him to return 'to his great council in whom the nation has confided,' and professing the utmost affection for his 'Majesty's person far more worth than ten thousand of us,' in danger from the 'popish and malignant party.' These two petitions represented the opinions and feelings of the great majority of the people residing in the eastern hundreds of the county.

These Lancashire people, having begun a great work, prosecuted it with unflinching activity and resolution. Somehow or other they contrived to move about from Manchester to London, home again to Manchester, then to York, and a second time to York in the same month. The second petition to the king, drawn up by Warden Heyricke, who had become the leader of the Lancashire Puritans, meant, or at all events said, a great deal more than the first. His dauntless spirit breathed in every line of the address from 'divers of his Majesty's faithful subjects of the true protestant religion of the county palatine of Lancaster.' It was subscribed by sixty-four knights and esquires, fifty-five divines, seven hundred and forty gentlemen, and 'of freeholders and others above seven thousand.' It was presented to the king by the Warden of Manchester, attended by 'very many gentlemen of the county,' who expressed 'the inmost and closest thoughts of their souls' esteem, and prized His Majesty's most righteous intentions of governing his liege people according to the wholesome laws of the kingdom; 'thanked the king for his 'manifold and evident manifestations to the world that he affected not an arbitrary government,' and for his executing the laws against Papists, for relinquishing the power of levying taxes without the consent of parliament, for abolishing the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission,

* Proceedings of the House of Commons, 17 Car. Die Sabbati, 12 Martii 1641-2. The petition is preserved among the broadsides in the British Museum, and published in the *Tracts relating to the Military Proceedings in Lancashire*.

and for doing other things which parliament either compelled him to do, or did in his name without his approval. The petitioners then entreated the king 'to continue in his most Christian and pious resolution of ruling according to the laws of the land,' and 'to confirm whatever your parliament shall offer to your royal view.' They concluded with a protestation of willingness to 'tender their lives and fortunes for the preservation of the royal person, crown, and dignity, according to their duty and allegiance.'*

It was not easy for the king to answer such an address. It thanked him for what he had done, although he was very sorry for having done it; and prayed him to continue in the good course which he had resolved to abandon. The king, intimating that the petition, being from only one party in the county, would soon be followed by another of a different kind, promised to send his answer in a short time. On June 6, his Majesty sent his gracious answer, in which 'he was glad to find such real acknowledgement of the great graces which he had bountifully bestowed upon his kingdom of England,' and assured his 'loyal and true subjects' of 'his zeal and constancy for the maintenance of the true protestant religion, both against popish superstition on the one hand, and schismatic innovation and confusion on the other.'

The royal answer was sent to Sir John Girlington of Thurland Castle, at that time high sheriff of the county, a Catholic and Royalist, ready to take any opportunity which his official position might afford of promoting the interests of the king. He convened a meeting of the county on Preston Moor to hear the answer of his Majesty to the petition of the freeholders. Having read the petition and the answer, he proceeded to read two royal proclamations announcing a commission of array, which was authorised and required to arm the loyal inhabitants in defence of the king and his prerogatives. Proceeding amidst the acclamations of the Royalists, he was interrupted by the loud and angry remonstrances of the friends of the parliament. The sheriff, calling out 'You that are for the king, follow us,' rode across the moor towards Preston, accompanied by Lord Strange, Lord Molineux, and about four hundred others, 'whereof the most part were popish recusants.' Their cry was 'For the king!' 'For the king!' as they gathered round the commissioners of array authorised to arm the people. Others collected round the friends of the parliament on the opposite side of the moor, and raised the cry, 'For the king and parliament!' 'For the king and parliament!'

This meeting, in which for the first time the men of Lancashire were arranged on opposite sides, was followed by great and memorable consequences. Considerable quantities of gunpowder and match were stored in Preston, Liverpool, and Manchester. The sheriff at once secured the magazine of Preston.† Lord Strange had taken

* Warden Heyricke could not restrain himself from complaining in the address not only of 'popish impieties and idolatries,' but also of 'the growing danger of Anabaptists, Brownists, and other novellists.'

† William Sampson, a servant to Master Farrington, who had placed in a private house in Preston about thirteen barrels of gunpowder and some quantity of

precautions to obtain thirty barrels of powder which had been deposited in Liverpool. Sir Alexander Radcliffe and Mr. Prestwich, two of the commissioners of array nominated in the king's proclamation, attended by the under-sheriff, proceeded to Manchester in order to seize ten barrels of powder and several bundles of match, which were stored in a room of the college, belonging to the Earl of Derby. Alexander Rigby, ever vigilant and active, on hearing of the capture of the ammunition in Preston and Liverpool, immediately sent the intelligence to Mr. Assheton of Middleton, who hastened to Manchester, and arrived there in time to remove the powder and match from the college before the appearance of the commissioners of array. Several of the townsmen offered their houses, and the deputy-lieutenants mustered the train bands to protect them. Lord Strange, with a considerable body of armed men collected in the neighbourhood of Bury, marched upon Manchester and demanded the military stores. Finding, however, that the townsmen, who with extraordinary zeal and resolution had put themselves under training in the use of the musket and pike, were determined to resist his entrance into the town, he proposed that the stores should be placed in the custody of magistrates selected from both parties, and so he would 'atone the offence.' The compromise failed. The commissioners of array shouted 'For the king!' the train bands replied 'For the king and parliament!' Lord Strange, distrusting the strength or the courage of his men, retired, and the deputy-lieutenants kept possession of the gunpowder.*

Some days of anxiety and hesitation elapsed, during which the commissioners of array demanded for the king the surrender of the gunpowder which was concealed in Manchester, and the deputy-lieutenants, on the other hand, required for the parliament the restoration of that which had been removed from the magazines of Preston and Liverpool. Neither party would yield to the demands of the other, while both were unwilling to proceed to the extremity of fighting with their countrymen. In the interval, some of the townsmen who were favourable to the Royalists invited Lord Strange to a banquet, with what object does not distinctly appear in the conflicting accounts of the time. Possibly they expected by some treachery or sudden movement to enable Lord Strange to obtain possession of the gunpowder, probably they hoped to suggest some means of reconciling the parties, or they may have intended nothing more than a friendly entertainment in which, as a contemporaneous writer says, Lord Strange 'accepted the loves of the town.'† The conduct of the parliamentary party may be explained by supposing that they were

match, did secretly convey away about six barrels thereof, in pack-cloths upon pack-horses, and the next morning about six of the clock, before we had notice in whose house the powder and match were lodged, the sheriff did convey away the residue of the said powder and match.'—Alexander Rigby's Letter to the Speaker, printed in Baines's *Lancashire*, vol. iv. p. 312.

* Letter to Speaker Lenthall, signed by Raphe Assheton, John Moore, and Alexander Rigby, printed by order of parliament. Printed also in the *Tracts relating to the Military Proceedings in Lancashire*.

† A very true and credible Relation of the several Passages at Manchester on July 15, 1642, printed in the *Civil War Tracts*.

at first not unwilling that Lord Strange should be peaceably entertained by his friends, but that when they saw the number of 'malignants' who accompanied him they were alarmed, and the more zealous of them called out the militia. Lord Strange was accompanied by the high sheriff, Lord Molineux, Sir Gilbert Houghton, Sir Alexander Radcliffe, and other leaders of his party, and was followed by a troop of horse one hundred and twenty strong. The military, as well as the large retinue, excited the displeasure of some and the alarm of others. Sir Thomas Stanley of Bickerstaffe, and Captain Birch of Birch, who happened to be in the town at the time, beat up the train bands by the sound of drum, and led them to the front of the house where the Royalists were feasting. The accounts differ as to the party which actually began the fray. The Royalists say that the attack was commenced by Sir Thomas Stanley, who fired a pistol-shot at his relative, Lord Strange. The Parliamentarians say that Lord Strange ordered his horsemen to attack the train bands who were preserving order in the street. On the one side or the other a Stanley seems to have begun the fight, in which Richard Percival, a weaver, was shot by the Royalists, the first person in Lancashire, and probably in England, who was killed in the civil war.*

On the next morning some of the townsmen of Manchester sent a deputation to Lord Strange to disavow the quarrel and to lay the blame upon Sir Thomas Stanley and Captain Holcroft. On examining the signatures to a document presented on this occasion, I conclude that the deputation represented only the Royalists of the town, for of the twenty-five names not one is known as in any way connected with the Parliamentarians. Two weeks afterwards Lord Strange was impeached in parliament for 'levying war against the king, parliament, and kingdom,' and that 'he entered Manchester maliciously and treacherously, with force and arms, and in a hostile and warlike manner, and that he did kill, murder, and destroy, Richard Percival, linen webster.'† The publication of this impeachment was ordered to be made in all the churches of Lancashire and Cheshire by the curates and churchwardens. This ordinance of parliament was as

* 'In a window at Mr. Green's' (the house in which the Royalists were feasting) 'some of them hearing a poor man give out some words in favour of the parliament, one of them discharged at him and killed him.'—*A Discourse on the War in Lancashire*, preserved in the library of Knowsley, and edited by Mr. William Beaumont of Warrington.

There is in the *Civil War Tracts* a paper entitled *The Beginning of the Civil Wars in England, or Terrible News from the North*, in which it is said that on July 5 there was a fight between the Manchester people and the armed bands of Lord Strange, in which twenty-seven persons were killed. Although this account was printed by authority of parliament, it is impossible to reconcile it with the other accounts of the time. The only reference to this pamphlet is in another paper also printed by parliament: 'If fame be true and we may give credit to a pamphlet this day come forth.' I believe fame was not true, and the pamphlet printed 'by order of parliament' not to be credited, as 'parliament' itself seems soon afterwards to have suspected. The author of *Lancashire's Valley of Achor*, undoubtedly John Angier, knew nothing of this fight.

† The mention of Percival as the individual killed, seems as if the parliament did not believe that twenty-seven persons had been killed a few days before by the forces of Lord Strange.

oppressive to the royalist clergy as the 'Book of Sports' had been to the Puritans. It was observed, I doubt not, very generally in the hundreds of Salford and Blackburn, but very little regarded in the other parts of the county.

Reports soon afterwards prevailed that Lord Strange and the commissioners of array were collecting troops in different parts of the county, and concerting measures for taking possession of Manchester, in the name of the king. While Strange was arming and training his forces, the men of Manchester were not idle, nor slow in preparing their defence. Warden Heyricke, resolute, angry, excited, appeared in the emergency to rouse, encourage, and lead his parishioners. He felt, and he made them feel, the danger and the greatness of the occasion. Every Sunday he addressed crowds from the pulpit of the collegiate church on the necessity of immediate, united, and strenuous exertion. Every report, true or false, of the wicked doings of the malignants was announced by the excited preacher on his 'drum ecclesiastic.' 'The papists are arming,' was the cry of the warden, and that cry, reiterated by the inferior clergy, penetrated the hearts of the Manchester people. A venerator of kings and of kingly government, Heyricke persuaded himself, and endeavoured to persuade his hearers, that they were called to resist, not his most sacred Majesty, the Lord's anointed, but the evil counsellors, the papistical malignants, the Jesuitical traitors, the prelatical apostates who had gained possession of the king and treasonably used his sacred name for their wicked purposes. Old Mr. Bourne, the popular preacher of bygone days, the venerated friend of their fathers and teacher of their childhood, oppressed with the infirmities of extreme age, and seldom seen in public, was brought into the church by the warden, and induced with tremulous voice to exhort the people and encourage them to come to the help of the Lord against the mighty. Heyricke cursed Meroz: Bourne blessed Israel. Although the voice which all Manchester once loved to hear had become very feeble, it was enough for Manchester to know, as Heyricke gave the interpretation, that the feeble voice was raised on behalf of the parliament. The testimony of a dying preacher, and such a preacher as William Bourne, did wonders in stimulating and encouraging the people to prepare for their defence. It was believed that he had received unwonted strength in answer to prayer, that he might bear his last testimony for the truth of God. John Angier says: 'God kept up the soldiering spirit by prayers and psalms, and the blast of the silver trumpets.' . . . 'A reverend and grave divine, who had long been a blessing to the town, and had seen its resurrection from the plague nigh forty years before, was lifted up from the gates of death and raised in spirit to promote the work. A spirit of devotion in prayers and singing of psalms rested generally upon persons and families, yea upon taverns and inns where it might not put its head formerly.'* Manchester was roused by

* *Valley of Achor.* 'Manchester was much heartened and encouraged by the prayers and godly exhortations of the grave and reverend divine, old Mr. Bourne, who took small rest all that week, but was still at hand on all occasions to keep up the spirits of the people.'—*Discourse on the War in Lancashire.*

such stimulants to a wild but generous fanaticism in defence of her religion and freedom.

But Heyricke was something else than a fanatic. He could be cool as well as hot, careful as well as impetuous, quiet as well as noisy, and could keep his powder dry as well as trust in God. It was Heyricke's Sunday work to pray to God to defend the town; but it was his work day and night through the week to secure the gunpowder, to provide match for the firelocks, to raise and repair the mud walls, to fortify Salford Bridge, to stretch chains across the streets, to plant the cannon on the high ground near the church, to train the apprentices, to obtain subscriptions for the purchase of ammunition, to open communication with the deputy-lieutenants of the parliament, and to engage a German engineer to superintend the fortification.

At that time several professional soldiers, trained in the long wars of the Low Countries, as if 'smelling the battle afar off,' came to England, willing to fight on either side. Whatever may now be thought of the morality of killing men for money, they were then accounted honourable gentlemen, of whom it is fair to say they faithfully adhered to the party in whose service they were engaged.

One of these foreigners, Lieutenant-Colonel John Rosworm, happened to be in Manchester at the time. Why he went there does not distinctly appear. The author of the 'Valley of Achor' says: 'God, to show us His salvation, sent a skilful and faithful engineer to be ready to concur with our necessity and to take course for our defence.' With this opinion agrees 'the godly minister,' who wrote 'A true and faithful Relation': 'God by His providence sent amongst us a German engineer, to whose skill, industry, faithfulness, and valour we owe under God most of our preservation.' The Papists and malignants, on the contrary, said that the devil had sent him to Manchester. In his own account the engineer makes no reference to spiritual impulse either from above or from below. 'I came into England and particularly to Manchester, where I fastened my stranger's home. I had not lived there three months before the differences of the kingdom were heightened into a war.'*

Heyricke engaged the services of the foreigner for six months at the moderate price of thirty pounds. On the next morning, two gentlemen from Lord Strange offered him one hundred and fifty pounds. Rosworm was faithful, but very angry with himself and with Heyricke. He dismissed the gentlemen with 'thanks to the earl's nobleness,' and comforted himself with the thought that 'honesty is more worth than gold.' A most valuable servant he proved and also a most ill-tempered one. Always bitterly lamenting the great loss he had sustained, and the poor remuneration he received, he worked night and day for his employers, and often engaged in very hazardous enterprises. He reviled Manchester, cursed Manchester, and yet he

* *Good Service hitherto ill Rewarded*, by John Rosworm. This extremely rare tract, of which only two copies were known to be in existence, has been recently twice printed, first from a MS. of Mr. William Yates, edited by Mr. Palmer, author of the *Siege of Manchester*, and, secondly, from a copy belonging to Mr. James Crossley, edited by Dr. Ormerod for the Chetham Society.

carefully fortified it, exposed his life in its defence, and would allow nobody to injure the place which he abhorred. Having once made his engagement, he felt it a point of honour to continue in the same service as long as the same money was paid. He had a laborious life for sixty pounds a year, and although ever grumbling at the pittance and abusing the 'miserly earthworms' who paid it, he refused liberal offers from Lord Strange, Prince Rupert, Lord Byron, and other leaders of the Royalists. As a soldier he was scrupulously faithful to his paymasters, but only as a soldier; for when Heyricke required him to sign the covenant he refused, because the signing of covenants, being no part of a soldier's duty, could not have been included in his contract. He afterwards 'exposed to immortal infamy' (that is the infamy of book worms) the names of thirty-two covenant makers and covenant breakers, men zealous in their national covenant with God, but mean and base in their personal covenant with John Rosworm. The first name on his black list is Richard Heyricke and the last Thomas Mynshull (the father or uncle, as I believe, of John Milton's last wife), who were charged with being 'matchless in their treachery, and setting the devil himself a copy of villainy.' He says, 'I was angry with myself that I ever hazarded my blood for such despicable earthworms.*' With all his anger he served 'the earthworms' to the last bravely and faithfully. In these references I have anticipated the events of some years to exhibit the strange character of a man to whom the great interests of the Puritans were entrusted in some of the most critical emergencies of the civil war.

Manchester had need of the energy of Heyricke, the skill of Rosworm, the assistance of the neighbouring gentry, and the bravery of its train bands, for Lord Strange could not forget the insult he had received in the town, nor the arrogance of its inhabitants in resisting the king's lieutenant, under the pretext of defending the interest of the king and parliament. No town in England had then made so decided a stand in opposition to the royal authority. Hull had shut its gates against the king, but Manchester had expelled his representative, and fought with his troops in the streets. The town stood committed to the cause of the parliament, and parliament ordered prayers and thanksgivings for Manchester to be offered to Almighty God, in all the churches and chapels of Lancashire. Manchester felt the pressure of the emergency, and rose to the greatness of the occasion.

Both parties were arming. Lord Strange convened in Preston the commissioners of array, who assessed the several hundreds of the county in their proportionate expenses for the suppression of the rebellion, appointed treasurers and collectors for every district, and gave orders for arming and training the people in the king's name. On the other hand, commissions were granted by the parliament to its friends to raise troops for their own defence and the public good. The parliamentary commanders were Colonel Assheton of Middleton and Colonel Holland of Denton for the hundred of Salford,

* *Good Service hitherto ill Rewarded.*

Colonel Shuttleworth and Colonel Starkie for that of Blackburn, Colonel Rigby for Leyland and Amounderness, Colonel Moore and Colonel Egerton for West Derby, and Colonel Dodding for Lonsdale. In Manchester, under Colonel Holland, Captain Birch, Captain Bradshaw, Captain Venables, and Captain Radcliffe, undertook the training and exercising of the people. Every day their bands were convened by the sound of the drum and exercised in the use of the musket and the pike. In addition to their mud walls, they erected sconces and forts according to the plans of Rosworm, who was quite as busy as if he were hearty in their cause, which he heartily detested. The old soldier showed them how to make match, and some of them began to make gunpowder, and in gaining experience blew off the roof of their building. It was thought desirable to give them some practice in offensive war, and therefore Captain Birch would occasionally lead out his men against some malignant's farm, let us hope not for the sake of plunder, although they would bring in 'at the least twenty young cattle in one night.'* The only town in their hundred which they reckoned malignant was Bury, where the parson preached in a 'surpysse.' They plundered that town belonging to the Earl of Derby, and 'from the church they took the surpysse, and put it upon the back of a soldier, and caused him to ride in a cart, to be matter of sport and laughter to the beholders.'† The pious author of the 'Discourse on the War in Lancashire,' himself a Parliamentary officer, observed that those 'who first put themselves into arms were men of the best affection to religion, and it may be thought that God pointed them out to effect that reformation in some things that eighty years of the gospel did not, which was the pulling down of crosses in the high ways and in some market towns, taking out of churches the Book of Common Prayer, surpyssees, fonts, and breaking down of organs.'

* *Discourse on the War in Lancashire*

† *Discourse, &c.* Much of this sort of thing was practised on both sides. The soldiers on one side made sport of the Prayer book, on the other of the Bible. Mr. Beaumont suggests with much probability that the author of the *Discourse* was Major Edward Robinson of Kirkham.

CHAPTER XI.

THE CIVIL WAR.

In the beginning of September 1642, Lord Strange, having completed his arrangements with the commissioners of array, appointed Warrington as the place where they should meet, with such forces as they could train, in order that they might make their great assault upon Manchester. He appeared in Warrington at the head of a grand and imposing array of Lancashire men. There met him with their tenantry, armed and trained, Sir John Girlington the high sheriff, Lord Molineux of Sefton, Sir Gilbert Hoghton,* Sir Alexander Radcliffe, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Tyldesley of Myerscough, Townley of Townley, Ashton of Penketh, Downes of Wardley, Byrom of Byrom, Nowell of Read, Standish of Standish, the eldest son of Standish of Duxbury (his father was a Parliamentarian), Charnock of Charnock, Ffarington of Worden, Holt of Ashurst, Rosthern of New-Hall, Torbock of Torbock, with many other members of the principal county families. What could Manchester do against such a host of Lancashire chieftains? We shall see. Puritan Manchester had some good friends, if it had many terrible enemies. Warden Heyricke was a host in himself, and he had the support of many brave men.

Lord Strange had carefully prepared his plans; the commissioners of array were unanimous; their deliberations were very short, and their men ready for action. In order to surprise Manchester, they resolved to march immediately upon the town. The way was open. By marching on the north side of the Mersey, they could advance upon Salford without coming into collision with the puritan gentlemen, whose residences were chiefly on the south, east, and north sides of Manchester, leaving the west accessible to the Royalists. As many of the Salford people were Royalists, Lord Strange expected to find there shelter and hospitality. The number of men who marched under him has been variously estimated, from two to five thousand. The 'Perfect Diurnal' of September 19, 1642, supplies a moderate estimate with which we may be content—'about two thousand foot, three hundred horse, and six pieces of ordnance.' On reaching the Irwell, a division under the command of Tyldesley crossed and marched on the east bank of the river as far as Alport, at the southern extremity of Deansgate, where they found shelter in the house of Sir Edward Mosley. The main division, keeping on the western side of the river, occupied Salford without resistance.

To understand the defence of Manchester, the reader, if he has not

* Printed Laughton in the parliamentary paper. The misprint has been perpetuated in every account I have seen of the siege of Manchester.

a map of the town as it was in the seventeenth century, should remember that the old town was situate at the confluence of two rivers, having the Irk on the north and the Irwell separating it from Salford on the west. On two sides, therefore, it was easily defended. It was also a considerable advantage to its defenders that the ground on the Manchester bank of the Irwell was much higher, especially near the only bridge which at that time crossed it, than that on the Salford bank. The townsmen stationed in the church-yard could fire down upon their assailants in Salford. On the other two sides, the waters of the Medlock and the Tib afforded some protection. The Tib, although an inconsiderable stream—now turned into a drain—at that time often overflowed the low grounds on the east of the present Mosley Street. Almost enclosed by these several streams, the town consisted of a number of narrow streets near the collegiate church, a smaller collection of houses at Alport, and the street called Deansgate, which joined what may be called the two towns. Market Sted Lane opened into the country. South of it and east of Deansgate were a few detached buildings, some farm-houses, barns, and one or two ale-houses. There was water round Pool-fold, beyond which boys and girls sat upon the stiles and gates to see the fighting.

The points of attack and defence were Salford Bridge and the south end of Deansgate, at which points the two divisions of the Royalists were placed. It was also possible that the Royalists at the Alport end of Deansgate might cross the Medlock and the marshes of the Tib, and enter the town by Market Sted Lane. The great mistake in the strategy of Lord Strange seems to have been the bringing of the chief part of his troops to the west side of the Irwell. The friendship of Salford and the freedom of that side from the influence of the puritan gentlemen were probably the fatal inducements.

Rosworm had done his work well. Mud walls and trenches had been quickly made on the sides of the town that needed such protection. Posts and chains had been placed across Salford Bridge, Deansgate, and Market Sted Lane. To obstruct the horse, barricades had been thrown up in several streets. The only piece of ordnance in the town had been put in position upon the high ground near the church. Plans of communication and signals of alarm had been carefully arranged. To call in the country people on an emergency, the bells were to be rung backwards, and scouts on hearing them were to announce the alarm in the neighbouring villages. The townsmen, daily exercised, were ready with their weapons to fall into their proper positions, under the command of Captain Radcliffe. One hundred and fifty tenants of Assheton of Middleton, well armed and well trained, were quartered in the town under the command of Captain Robert Bradshaw.

On Sunday morning, September 25, while the people were in church, about nine o'clock, the bells rang backward. Morning prayer was over. One of the fellows—I know not which—was preaching. We may be sure there was a sudden pause, a dead silence, a momentary shudder. We read of no screaming, no noise, no fainting. Many

a silent prayer went up to heaven. In a few minutes the drums beat in the church porch. The men left their seats, found their weapons, and each took the place previously assigned him under Rosworm at the bridge, or under Bradshaw at Deansgate, or under Radcliffe in Market Sted Lane. Messengers hastened to the neighbouring villages and announced the threatened assault of the town. Many countrymen came in on the Sunday; others followed on Monday morning. Holland of Denton, Hyde of Denton, Egerton of Shaw, Dukenfield of Dukenfield, Master Booth second son of Sir George Booth of Dunham Massey, were among the first who arrived in the town. Eventually they mustered about two thousand rustics armed with guns, pikes, clubs, scythes, pitchforks—weapons which Rosworm had never seen before, in the hands of people whom he looked upon with contempt, and probably with some jealousy of their commanders. The train bands of the town and Assheton's men, who had been exercised under his eye for some weeks, were the only soldiers on whom he could rely. When Lord Strange's troops were seen marching into Salford with their drums beating, their colours flying, and their multitude shouting 'For the king,' good old Mr. Bourne was brought out and 'heartened the people,' who heard exaggerated reports of the numbers of the enemy, by frequently repeating the words, 'God can save by few as well as by many.' Rosworm, looking at the rustics, probably thought the old gentleman might have said 'and a great deal better.' Colonel Holland, who assumed the command of these auxiliaries, was especially the object of the German's dislike, according to whose account Holland would have betrayed or ruined the town if he had been allowed to have his own way.*

Rosworm reserved for himself the defence of Salford Bridge, as being 'the place of manifest danger, greatest action, and least defence.' With fifty trusty men, afterwards reduced to thirty, he engaged to defend that important position against the larger division of Lord Strange's forces. The defence of the Deansgate entrance was entrusted to Assheton's men under the command of Bradshaw. Captain Radcliffe with the train bands occupied Market Sted Lane to prevent an entrance by that thoroughfare. Captain Booth with the Dunham tenantry took up his position in Millgate, prepared to support either Rosworm or Bradshaw, as either might require assistance. Shudehill was defended 'by a company of resolute soldiers, without any commander.†' Of the other auxiliaries Rosworm says nothing, as probably he cared nothing about them, although they fought much better than he was willing to acknowledge. That evening a furious assault was made upon Rosworm's little band of 'muskettiers,' who repulsed and drove back the Royalists on the bridge without the loss of a man.

On that Sunday the old Earl of Derby died at Chester. The intelligence reaching his son the next morning probably induced him to make friendly proposals to the townsmen. Although Lord Strange, now seventh Earl of Derby, was so devoted to the royal cause that

* *Good Service, &c.*

† *Good Service, &c.*

he would not leave the camp even to go to the house of mourning, he became very solicitous to obtain a speedy settlement of the disastrous quarrel.

On Monday morning the great cannons of the Royalists 'made a strange noise and terror to the raw men, and frightened away sixteen of Rosworm's muskettiers.' The German raised his sword, and swore he would kill the first man that dared to leave his place. He insinuates in his narrative that the noise frightened Colonel Holland into listening to the terms of armistice which Lord Strange sent into the town. The author of the 'Valley of Achor' calls them 'roaring, thundering, terrifying cannons, whose wide mouths shot forth great bullets weighing between four and six pounds.' 'We heard the report of them and our hands waxed feeble.'

The most terrible things become familiar by use, and familiarity breeds contempt. The 'feeble hands' of the men, who observed that the 'great bullets' did very little harm, soon waxed strong again. As they killed only one little urchin sitting upon a stile to see the fray, who, as the Puritans said, must have been 'timely prepared by his wickedness for such a stroke,' they began to indulge their witty propensities in making jokes upon the terrible but unfortunate engines of destruction. The great cannons played upon the town. 'Yes,' says the Reverend Nehemiah Barnet, in a sermon preached on the thanksgiving day, 'they did but play, and did no work, having only killed a wicked boy.'* 'It was wonderful,' says another preacher, 'to see when the balls came into a house what haste they made to get out again, as afraid there to stay, amidst the psalm-singing of the soldiers.'† Strange music, a malignant might reply, to frighten cannon balls!

On Monday the Royalists under Tyldesley made a fierce assault upon the Deansgate entrance of the town. They pressed upon Bradshaw so courageously and impetuously that they gained a considerable advantage, set fire to a barn and some thatched houses, and in the confusion rushed on shouting 'The town is our own!' Bradshaw, however, kept his men together until Rosworm sent twenty of his little band to support the captain. The Royalists were then compelled to retreat. Lord Strange, observing the diminution of Rosworm's men, then reduced to twenty-eight, made a desperate assault on the bridge, but was soon compelled to retire, having never before seen such terrible obstinacy of resistance. At neither post was a single Parliamentarian killed, although several Royalists fell in each of the fights.

On Tuesday the fight was renewed by the Royalists with fierce resolution, but with no greater success. Towards evening Lord Strange, disappointed by the stubborn and successful resistance of the townsmen, and probably desiring to return home on account of his father's death, ordered the drum to beat for a parley and sent a

* *God's lift up Hand for Lancashire*, a sermon preached before the Honourable Committee of the county of Lancaster on the solemn day of thanksgiving.

† John Angier, in the *Valley of Achor*.

written message into the town, in which he promised that if the people would surrender, they should be protected from plunder and exonerated from the consequences of their rebellion. The gentlemen of Manchester requested to have until ten o'clock the next morning to consider the proposal. Lord Strange gave them until seven. The gentlemen refused to surrender their arms. Some hours later in the day Lord Strange proposed that a part of their arms should be given up. Rosworm intimates that if they would have surrendered the town, his lordship would have been content with a nominal surrender of arms. Colonel Holland was 'inclined to condescend.' Booth and Egerton supported him. Rosworm and Heyricke determined to resist to the uttermost; Hyde and Bradshaw supported them. Holland urged that their powder and match must be nearly expended. Rosworm knew that very well, for at the time he had only six pounds of powder and eighteen fathoms of match, but he took good care that no one else should know it. Holland grew angry. Rosworm, having confidence in his men, proposed to leave the decision to the soldiers. The old minister, Bourne, hearing how matters stood, went among the soldiers and 'used his best encouragement to prop up their hearts.' They resolved 'not to yield so long as they had an inch of match or a shot of powder.' The proposal of Lord Strange was rejected, but the wearied soldiers obtained a good night's repose during the deliberations, and returned the next morning to their positions with invincible resolution.

Thursday was a sad day for the Royalists. Captain Standish of Duxbury, while 'vehemently urging his men to force their way over Salford Bridge, was shot by one of Rosworm's men stationed on the church tower.'* On his death the Duxbury men, knowing that their old master was on the side of the parliament, left the army, and returned to their own village. On the other side of the town Bradshaw and Radcliffe joined their forces, and fought so fiercely as to leave more than a hundred men dead or dying on the field,† while they lost only four of their own. On Friday night Lord Strange removed his cannon, and on Saturday morning sent a proposal for the exchange of prisoners. When he had obtained the release of his men, he marched with his army, and as soon as his departure was known in the town, there went up to heaven 'such a shout of joy and psalm-singing from the townsmen and hallelujahs of the women as could never be forgotten.' Next day was one of the great sabbaths of Manchester. We may easily imagine the contrast of feeling in the hearts of the townsmen as they left the church the preceding Sunday at the sound of the alarm bells and as they returned that morning with thanksgivings for their great deliverance. 'Thus we leave Manchester,' says the author of the 'Valley of Achor,' 'compassed

* The MS. supposed to be written by Major Robinson says, 'washing his hands in the morning at a door he was slain by a bullet shot from the top of the steeple.'

† This is the parliamentary estimate. A Royalist acknowledges that the Earl of Derby had had success at Manchester and lost about two hundred men.—See *Civil War Tracts*, p. 384.

about with songs of deliverance, keeping a gladsome Sabbath more than of many years before, compassing the throne of grace with high sounding praises, when our drums and muskets, that had formerly sounded terror to our enemies, kept silence in the church while the saints sang the song of Moses. When the time came for them to utter their voice in the open air, with a loud voice and one consent and clapping their hands, they reported God, fearful in praises, doing wonders.

On the intelligence, which travelled rapidly for those times, reaching London on October 6 (only four days after the retreat of Lord Derby), the parliament offered their commendations to the people of Manchester, ordered that the neighbouring gentlemen who had assisted the town should have 'allowance made of all their charges and expenses,' and appointed a day of thanksgiving to be observed in all the churches and chapels of Lancashire.

As it was expected that another attack would soon be made upon Manchester, Rosworm, without the loss of a day, began repairing the breaches and strengthening the mud walls, dug new trenches, erected new fortifications, advanced the outposts, and as he says, 'left nothing unprepared to make the enemy a strong work to attempt.'

During the months of October and November proposals of pacification were made by the Earl of Derby to the inhabitants of Manchester. To these several proposals the townspeople, acting on the advice of their ministers, had but one reply, that they were willing to submit whatever propositions the earl might choose to make to the advice of the parliament. As might be expected from the temper of both parties, all attempts at reconciliation utterly failed.

Rosworm was not pleased with these parleyings about pacification. War, not peace, was his trade. He 'declared his judgment,' that something more decided should be done to prevent the earl from 'getting a head again.' Reports prevailed that the Papists had obtained licence from the king to arm, and were everywhere exercising themselves in the use of their arms, and especially that 'the great Papists' were concerting measures with the earl to make an attack upon Bolton. Heyricke was furious, Bourne prayerful, Rosworm active, the townspeople prepared to march wherever their services might be needed. Again they had recourse to the making of match, the casting of bullets, and the purchase of gunpowder. 'The archpapist' of their neighbourhood, Sir Cecil Trafford, was secured and committed to prison.

The spirit of Manchester rapidly spread through the puritan towns and villages of the county. The troops of the Earl of Derby were reported to be marching near Chowbent on their way to Bolton, as 'the people were going to church on a sabbath morning.' Messengers were sent through the neighbourhood. Before one o'clock, it is said, 'above three thousand young men,' farmers, smiths, wheelwrights, weavers, the nail-makers of Chowbent, and other rustics, attacked the Royalists, and drove them back as far as Leigh. The mounted

farmers, more bold than cautious, outriding their foot, sustained a temporary loss on Lowton Common, until the foot coming up killed or took prisoners about two hundred Royalists, and plundered their village of Leigh. The whole of that country was thoroughly roused. The villagers resolved to disarm all the 'malignant Papists,' and send them into Manchester. The nailers of Chowbent, 'instead of making nails, were busy in making pikes, bills, and battle-axes.' The excitement spread eastward and northward, and 'the sturdy churls of the two forests of Pendle and Rossendale resolved to fight it out, rather than their beef and fat bacon should be eaten by Papists.*'

Hearing of these movements, Sir Gilbert Hoghton kindled his beacon fire on the top of his tower, a signal understood by all 'the Papists and malignants' in Leyland hundred and the Fylde country. The Royalists were at that signal to assemble with him at Preston. The commissioners of array, having collected a considerable force in that town, resolved to surprise puritan Blackburn. Finding the town unprepared, they occupied it with about 'three hundred armed men, besides clubmen, and sent a party to disarm Whalley.'† The two staunch Parliamentarians of that hundred, Shuttleworth of Gawthorp and Starkie of Huntroyd, sent out messengers in all directions, and collected the people from Clitheroe, Burnley, Colne, and the forests. They assembled, a strange army, with all sorts of arms, on Henfield Moor, and immediately marched, or rather ran, singing and shouting, towards Blackburn, where, arriving at night, they were discovered partly by their noise and partly by the moonlight. Suffering severely and thrown into some confusion by the well-directed fire of the Royalists stationed on the church and the higher buildings of the town, they were with difficulty reduced to order by their two captains, and conducted to the less exposed sides of the place. While they were attempting to overcome the formidable resistance of the Royalists and enter the town, the puritan inhabitants, discovering them and their purpose, came out of their houses armed with clubs, axes, hammers, and other destructive tools, and joining their friends drove out the intruders, and recovered the spoils which had been taken from the people of Whalley.

With the early light of the wintry morning the Royalists, strengthened by some fresh men of Sir Gilbert Hoghton, made a stand on the moor, and for a moment faced their enemies, but the townsmen and their rustic auxiliaries rushed upon them with so much desperate force that they broke, and made their escape as best they could in the twilight. Sir Gilbert, with many of his attendants, fled to Preston, pursued by the Blackburn men, who, when stopped by the chains thrown across the bridge of the Ribble, chafed and raged and 'swore they would have him out with all his papistical malignants quick or dead.'

So far the Parliamentarians had succeeded, but their success had

* *True and Full Relation of the Troubles in Lancashire, &c., in Civil War Tracts.*

† *Valley of Achor.*

left them in a position of great perplexity and peril. They had preserved Manchester, but it was the only fortified town they possessed. The Earl of Derby collected a considerable force in Wigan, the strongest military position in the county. While Wigan was the head quarters of the Royalists, the Parliamentarians determined to make Manchester their chief place of stores and defence. General Assheton procured four large pieces of ordnance which, under the direction of Rosworm, were put into position on the high ground near the church. Alport Lodge, which had sheltered Tyldesley's men during the siege, was demolished, and several other buildings of which an enemy might take advantage were destroyed. Although the Long Parliament was engaged in momentous deliberations, the Lancashire members were in the country preparing for war. The two Asshetons, the two Shuttleworths, Moore, Standish, mourning for his son but supporting the men who killed him, and Alexander Rigby, so far as he could be said to be in any one place, were all in the county arming and training their tenantry. Such was the state of Lancashire in the month of December, 1642, when both king and parliament were anxiously waiting the issue of the conflict between the Royalists of Wigan and the patriots of Manchester.

Issuing from Wigan, the foraging parties of the Royalists plundered the villages and farms which, on their eastern side, were inhabited chiefly by Puritans, and carried large quantities of corn and cattle into their own quarters. The villagers, associating and arming in their own defence, solicited the help of their friends in Manchester. They had good reason for doing so. The Cavaliers not only captured their stores, but lost no opportunity of harassing, insulting, and provoking them. 'The carriage,' says the writer of a letter dated Manchester, December 17, 1642,* 'of the Cavaliers about Wigan was most insolent, yea blasphemous, for after they had pulled down the pulpit in Hendon chapel' (it should be Hindley chapel) 'and played at cards in the pews and upon the desk, they surprised the Holy Bible, took it away, and afterwards tore it to pieces, and then stuck the leaves of it upon the posts in several places in Wigan, saying, This is the Roundheads' Bible.'† In retaliation, when some time afterwards the Puritans took Wigan, they made rough music with the sacramental plate, which they called 'popish idols.' The war spirit, I fear, makes blasphemers and barbarians of both Prelatists and Puritans.

In compliance with the urgent entreaty of the people of Hindley and other villages in the neighbourhood, the Captains Bradshaw and Venables marched towards Wigan with about two hundred and fifty well trained men, determined to protect their friends, and—what they thought equally meritorious—to plunder 'the great Papists.'

* Printed in a pamphlet entitled *The latest printed News from Chichester, Windsor, Winchester, Chester, Manchester, and York*. London, printed at the Bible in Wood Street, 1642.

† A companion picture to that of the Puritans dressing a soldier in the surplice of the clergyman of Bury.

Ill informed of the number of the enemy, or too confident in the power of his own men, Bradshaw 'going to plunder a Papist's house'* with about eighty musketeers, was surrounded by 'about a thousand horse and foot' on Houghton common. Although the little company fought bravely for three hours, the few survivors, with their captain, were reduced to the sad necessity of surrendering on the promise of their lives being spared. Angier intimates they would not even then have surrendered, but would have fought to the last man, had not their store of gunpowder exploded and left them helpless. Bradshaw was sent prisoner to Lathom House. This was the first defeat of the Puritans, and Angier calls it 'the foulest blow God gave us in the country, an humbling blow and lasting warning.'† As soon as the sorrowful news reached Manchester, the inhabitants vowed vengeance, and in words not very puritanical swore that malignant and papistical Wigan should be utterly destroyed.

Bolton and Warrington had remained hitherto without any serviceable works of defence, but as they were situated conveniently, the former for Manchester and the latter for Wigan, the parties in possession resolved to make them defensible garrisons, the Parliamentarians occupying Bolton and the Royalists Warrington. With Bolton there was no difficulty. The townspeople were unanimous and hearty in their cause. The indefatigable Rosworm was there directing all that was to be done, until Bolton, in the estimation of its inhabitants, was secure against sudden assaults, and strong enough to sustain a prolonged siege. In Warrington the Royalists met with more difficulty, as there was in it a considerable party opposed to their measures, and watching every opportunity for obstructing them. They, however, raised mud walls around the town, set up strong gates, stretched chains across the roads, constructed 'engines of timber to impede the cavalry,' secured the bridge, and made Warrington their second garrison.

On Christmas eve there was severe fighting in several places. Rosworm, having finished his defensive works in Bolton, 'gathered,' as he says, 'some forces together, went out, and shattered the enemy at Chowbent, and the same day we took Leigh by assault, returning within three days.'‡ The account of this service given in the 'Valley of Achor' is curious: 'The clearing of Chowbent made it high Christmas eve ere our men could fall on (an unfortunate time for us as the Papists would judge), but it quickened resolution and speeded action. The enemy suffered them to come within half musket shot ere they discharged, and then played desperately upon our men in a full body, to the present loss of only one. Our men divided themselves that they might clasp hands at a distance and compass the town (God intending to shut the enemy in their inclosure), which done they parted again, and marching up several places to the call of the drum, met at the market-place to receive from the

* *Valley of Achor.*

† *Valley of Achor. Discourse on the Civil War. True and full Relation of the Troubles. Seacombe's House of Stanley.*

‡ *Good Service, &c.*

bounty of God the repair of their lost arms, and the price of redemption for their captains and soldiers. This victory founded in humiliation was completed in thanksgiving.' The manoeuvre betrays the hand of Rosworm, the description the pen of Angier.

On the same Christmas eve, the Royalists made a second and more formidable attack upon Blackburn, when they brought (as their opponents said) 'five thousand men and three field-pieces against the town.' Blackburn had, besides its inhabitants armed with clubs and other unsoldierly weapons, only four hundred militia men. The Royalists commenced their assault early in the morning with firing their cannon, and shouting as they fired, 'Take heed, you Round-heads.' The cannons did no more harm than the shouts; as the combined noise of both merely frightened the women. The townsfolk shouted in reply to the Royalists, 'Come within musket shot.' In the middle of the day the Royalists beat a parley, and offered, on the surrender of the town, to mediate with the king for the pardon of the inhabitants. Angier says, 'We know not the meaning of a pardon. When we would have no pardon, they laboured to punish us, having set up their idol god' (the great cannon) 'nearer by the counsel of four or five priests and other great Papists, whom they had at hand in a tithe-barn.' The counsel of these priests and great Papists was unavailing; they withdrew, and took their 'idol god' with them.

The year 1643, reckoning according to the new style, opened auspiciously for the Puritans. In the early part of January, Sir Thomas Fairfax arrived in Manchester and conferred with the puritan leaders on the further prosecution of the war. Rosworm, partly to gratify his ceaseless demands for reward, and partly to separate him from Colonel Holland whom he detested, was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel of General Assheton's regiment of infantry, having still the charge of all the engineering works. He, however, soon showed the same detestation of Assheton as he had shown of Holland, and as it is evident he would have shown of any man appointed to command or control him.

The first object proposed by Fairfax was to gain possession of Preston. Sir John Seaton was, on the departure of the general, left to command the troops collected for that enterprise. When the arrangements were completed, two days were appointed for humiliation, fasting, and prayer, and they were days of extraordinary solemnity. The ministers in the collegiate church committed the men who were going on the expedition to the protection and care of Almighty God, and the people crowded the spacious sanctuary to join in their fervent intercessions. On February 8, amidst the prayers of the clergy, the cheers of the townsmen, and the blessings of the women, the troops left Manchester on the road to Preston. Sir John Seaton commanded the horse, Captain Holland and Captain Booth companies of foot collected from their own tenantry and dependents, and Major Birch a troop consisting chiefly of Manchester train bands. From Bolton and Blackburn they received considerable additions of well-trained men, and from the villages and forests about six hundred

rustics armed with clubs, bills, mattocks, and scythes. Arriving at Preston in the night, they easily gained possession of the bridge, and having thus secured the approach across the river, they made a bold attack, in the early morning twilight, upon the walls and gates of the town. All accounts agree that the Manchester companies were the first and bravest in the assault, many of them rushing upon the walls, reaching the loop-holes, and clinging to the protruding muskets while their comrades were preparing to scale the works.

Young Booth was the first to reach the top of the outer wall. Standing a moment, he called to his men to follow him or leave him to the enemy, and then leaped from the wall. His men in the emergency would not leave him. They were soon followed over the wall by the troops of Holland and Birch. But Preston was protected by two walls, and the Royalists with their pikes stoutly defended the interior. In that enclosure the Manchester men must conquer or die, as retreat was perilous if not impossible. They succeeded with great labour in making a breach in the inner wall, and the companies of Booth, Holland, and Birch strove who should be the first to enter the town. The Bolton and the Blackburn men soon followed, and within two hours of sunrise proud Preston was taken, its stores fell into the hands of the assailants, and several Royalists of distinction were made prisoners.

The different accounts of the capture of Preston suggest some very sad reflections to those who venerate the memory of the old Puritans. It is painful to observe the strange, almost barbarous, satisfaction with which they describe the killing of several Papists. John Tilsley, the pious vicar of Dean, usually gentle, kind, and loving, wrote to 'an eminent divine in London': 'As if men must have been singled out for slaughter, we could scarce have picked out better. Sir Gilbert Hoghton's brother, a desperate Papist, Mr. Westby, physician and desperate Papist, a sergeant lately come out of Ireland, a most wicked wretch, were of the number of the slain.'*

The Royalists, stricken with terror, fled from the town. The Parliamentary soldiers were mustered in the market-place. The puritan inhabitants, who had been disarmed, came from their houses to congratulate their deliverers; the vicar of Dean appeared as chaplain of the troops; the sun on that February day shone pleasantly as if smiling upon their assembly, when the psalm of praise rose from the soldiery, and the men, women, and children crowding round them joined in the loud hosannas. As soon as the good news reached Manchester a day of thanksgiving was appointed, and again the aisles of the collegiate church resounded with the voice of Puritan melody and song.

Encouraged by their extraordinary success, the Parliamentary officers in Preston determined to make the most of their unexpected advantage. Without the loss of a day they sent a detachment of Manchester men, under the command of Major Birch, to ascertain

* *The True Relation*, &c. (by an eye-witness), printed for Luke Fawn, February 14, 1642 (1643); in *Civil War Tracts*.

the strength of the Royalist garrison and defences of Lancaster. Finding the Royalists unprepared for the assault, and being encouraged by the puritan inhabitants, Birch resolved to do something more than ascertain the strength of the enemy, for he marched at once into the town, and readily obtained refreshment for his wearied soldiers from the generous hospitality of his friends. The Royalists, having just before heard of the loss of Preston from the fugitives, who brought terrible accounts of the fury of the Manchester men, retreated to the castle, which they were not able to hold against the combined force of the townspeople and the Manchester troops. Birch, amidst the cheers of the people, stormed the grand old castle, and took possession of it in the name of the king and parliament, which meant nominally for the king, but really for the parliament. The Royalists fled to Thurland Castle, and established themselves there under the command of Sir John Girlington, the high sheriff, and Roger Kirby, the member for the county, who, on finding he could trim and temporise no longer without offending both parties, had committed himself to the cause and fortunes of the king.

The officers in Preston, without waiting to hear the result of Birch's adventure, sent the Blackburn men to attack Hoghton Tower, the strongest fortified house in that neighbourhood. On the precipitous hill of his fortress Sir Gilbert Hoghton had mounted 'three great pieces of ordnance,' which his men seem to have been unable to manage. They 'looked very terrible,' apparently to friends as well as to foes, as they were lying at the gates like watch-dogs that would not bark, nor bite either. The invaders demanded the tower and all its stores. The garrison obtained half an hour for consideration, and at its close surrendered everything upon the condition of being allowed quietly to depart. Young Starkie, son of Colonel Starkie of Huntroyd, was the first to enter at the head of his company, and soon afterwards was killed by a terrible explosion which damaged a considerable part of the building. The explosion was attributed to different causes by the party writers of the time. The Parliamentarians charged it upon the treachery of their enemies, who owed their lives to the clemency of Starkie. The Royalists attributed it to accident. A Puritan writer calls it 'the lamentable tragedy of those perfidious creatures whose religion will allow them to make no consequence of dealing treacherously with Protestants.*' The author of the 'Valley of Achor' ascribes it to 'that great soldiers' idol, tobacco,' that is, to a spark from 'the swearing, drunken, smoking' soldiers. Whether the explosion be attributed to treachery, accident, tobacco, or an attempt to fire the cannon, the capture of the tower was a great triumph to the Puritans, gained by a sad loss in the death of so young and promising an officer.

Another considerable advantage, as the Puritan writers reckoned it, was obtained from a Spanish ship of war getting into trouble among the sands of Morecambe Bay. Lancaster Castle, when gained

* *A punctual Relation of Passages in Lancashire, this weeke, February 14, 1642, in Civil War Tracts.*

by the Puritans, was destitute of artillery for its defence. 'Twenty-one great pieces of ordnance' were obtained from the foreign ship, and thus the Castle was 'enriched, honoured, and secured by the God of the sea.' Such cannon had never before been seen in the county. The Puritans of Lancaster, more daring than the Papists of Houghton Tower, bravely fired them off, and made so great a noise as to astonish the neighbourhood. 'Many came from far to hear the sound.'

But amidst these triumphs of the Puritans, Lord Derby was neither idle nor desponding. He resolved to strike some sudden blow which should intimidate his enemies and restore the confidence of his friends. Nothing seemed so likely to accomplish these purposes as a successful attack upon Bolton. To take that puritan town would more than compensate for the loss of Preston and Lancaster. Next to Manchester, which was impregnable by any forces he could obtain, Bolton was the most valuable prize which he could win, and he resolved to win it at whatever peril or cost of money or men.

On Thursday morning, February 18, the soldiers of the earl marched from Wigan, and were first observed by the country people on the ridge of the hills westward of Bolton. The countrymen of that neighbourhood, being Puritans, hastened to give information of their approach, while the earl expected to be at the gates before preparation could be made for their defence. The few townsmen on the walls were stricken with terror as they observed the military array, eleven colours unfurled, three troops of horse, several cannons, and about a thousand well-armed infantry marching in good order. The puritan soldiers of the town were then at prayers in the church. Had the Royalists been as prompt and decisive as were the Puritans at Lancaster, they would have entered the town before its defenders had got into order and secured their ammunition. Not perceiving their opportunity, they spent their time in posting guards to prevent the country people from bringing relief, in surveying the walls in order to determine the most advantageous place of attack, and then in marching to the opposite side of the town, where they eventually resolved to make the assault. While these preparations were causing great loss of valuable time, the alarm spread through the town. The sound of the drum summoned the soldiers from church. Colonel Asheton, who was in command of the garrison, soon collected about five hundred men, posted them in advantageous positions, and placed a brave company, under the command of Captain Ashurst, at the Bradshaw gate, on which the Royalists were evidently advancing. The force and impetuosity of the Royalists soon destroyed some feeble defences without the gate, when Ashurst, with twenty-five musketeers, took up a position within a mud barricade* and a chain stretched across the entrance of the town. This was the critical point. If the chain were forced and the barricade thrown down, the royalist cavalry would occupy the streets. Both parties knew it. The assault was

* The mud or clay barricade was about two yards thick at the top, much wider below, skilfully constructed by Rosworm.

terrible. The defence was desperate. The Royalists, far exceeding the patriots in number, pressed with all their force against the barricade stoutly defended by Ashurst's men, who were compelled to use their muskets as clubs. The assailants, gaining possession of some houses without the barricade, broke their way through the walls from house to house, until they got within the chain. All seemed lost, when Ashurst, seeing the danger, posted his musketeers in the houses opposite to that from which the Royalists were issuing, and ordered them to fire from the windows upon the enemy collecting before them. Every shot told. The Royalists knew not whence the bullets came. While they were considering what to do, a second volley, more deadly than the first, struck the living with terror as their comrades fell by their side. Rushing back upon the barricade, they saw crowds of country people, armed with pitchforks and mattocks, rushing with frightful shouts and yells to the help of the town. Assheton, assured that the attack of the enemy was confined to the Bradshaw gate, led the rest of his troops to that scene of action. The Royalists, intimidated by the fall of their comrades, and seeing enemies on both sides of them, within and without the town, fled through the breaches which they had themselves made, leaving many of their dead and wounded in the works which, for a short time, they had called their own. About a hundred were found dead or dying in the town, and three cart-loads of bodies were, as the puritan writers say, removed by the Royalists to Wigan. This was the most fatal battle which had hitherto been fought. The courage of the Puritans was becoming invincible. Under the excitement of the war, as one of their own writers says, 'they raged and fought like lions.' The hero of that day was Captain Ashurst.

The Earl of Derby, bitterly disappointed by his ignominious failure, resolved upon the recovery of Lancaster. The Spanish cannons were tempting objects to a soldier of his enterprise and audacity. His men were eager to avenge themselves on the Manchester Roundheads in Lancaster Castle, who were not very strong while they were removed from their comrades. Sir John Girlington, who had kept together the fugitive Royalists in Thurland Castle, and Colonel Tyldesley, who had collected a considerable force in the Fylde, were both prepared to join him in the attack.*

On Monday, March 13, the earl left Wigan with some six hundred infantry and four hundred horsemen. Resting the first night at Kirkham, he was joined by a great number of the country people, who in that neighbourhood were almost all Catholics. They were mustered in companies, armed with clubs, placed under responsible officers, threatened with instant death if they disobeyed orders, and promised unrestrained plunder of the puritan towns. They

* Of the attack on Lancaster and recovery of Preston we have accounts from both sides: the Royalist *Account of the burning of Lancaster and storming of Preston from Mercurius Aulicus*, April 2, 1643, and the Puritan *Lancaster's Massacre, or a New Way of advancing the Protestant Religion, related by a Gentleman of great Note in Lancashire*. With these somewhat contradictory accounts we may compare the notices in the *Valley of Achor*, the *Discourse of the War in Lancashire*, and *God's lift up Hand for Lancashire*.

followed the regular army in the march to Lancaster. Within four miles of the town Gírlington and Tyldesley joined the earl with six hundred men, of whom the greater part were well trained and armed with muskets.

On Saturday morning, March 18,* Lord Derby summoned the town with promise of 'fair usage,' and two hours to consider the answer. The commander of the garrison referred the summons to the townspeople, assuring them of his determination, whatever they might do with the town, to defend the castle to the last extremity. In the castle was a puritan minister, Nehemiah Barnet, a great preacher, who exhorted and encouraged both soldiers and townsmen to resist the Papists and to return the answer which they did, that both castle and town would be held 'by God's blessing for the king and parliament.'

On receiving this answer, Lord Derby made a furious assault, and after two hours' hard fighting forced his way over the moat, and set fire to some buildings which were attached to the walls. The conflagration passed rapidly along the lines of thatched houses, and compelled the Parliamentary soldiers to retreat within the castle. In directing the retreat Captain Shuttleworth, son of the patriot, Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorp, was killed by a musket ball on the steps of the castle. For a time the town was at the mercy, or rather at the rage, of the Royalists, who, according to the author of 'Lancaster's Massacre,' killed indiscriminately men, women, and children, 'with all barbarous cruelty, cutting their throats with butchers' knives.' I hope this is not true, although I do not see much more cruelty in the 'barbarous' method of killing with 'butchers' knives' than in the civilized method of killing with swords.

The burning of the town brought not only great distress upon the inhabitants but great disorder among the invaders. The country people, gorged with plunder, resolved to go home with their spoils. The Royalist army, ordered to besiege the castle, could not in the general confusion be kept under good discipline. On the other hand, the Parliamentary soldiers, finding their opportunity in the prevalent disorder, brought into the castle large stores of food and water. Nehemiah Barnet was among them with advice and encouragement, as the author of the 'Valley of Achor' says, 'The mighty God, by the assistance of a minister, doubled the spirit of the hearty soldiers to maintain with utmost hazard so great a trust.'

As soon as intelligence of the attack on Lancaster reached the Parliamentary commanders they collected their forces and hastened to the relief of their friends. General Assheton marched from Manchester and Sir John Seaton from Preston. Lord Derby, troubled by the disorder of his soldiery, and hearing of the powerful force which was advancing against him, suddenly left Lancaster to its fate, avoiding by a circuitous road the notice of the Parliamentary army, came unexpectedly upon Preston, and finding it left with

* Different dates are given by different writers. 'March 18, eight on clock,' is the date on Lord Derby's own paper as given in the *Valley of Achor*.

little protection, cleverly took possession, and made an easy prey of the stores of food, arms, and ammunition. Failing in his attack on Lancaster, he rewarded his wearied soldiers with the spoils of Preston.

Having, with this unexpected good fortune, refreshed and strengthened his troops, the earl resolved to make a second attack on the stubborn Puritans of Bolton. Of this attack the only account preserved is by the author of the 'Valley of Achor.'* The Royalists, according to this writer, were always unfortunate in the time of their sieges and battles. They omitted to take into account the praying times of their enemies. So they marched against Manchester in a week of general fasting, when 'legions of prayers were coming to the help of the town:' and on this occasion they made their attack upon Bolton on March 28, 'the day after the solemn fast and humiliation for the loss of Preston, and the day before the national fast appointed by parliament.' This, says the puritan authority, was 'in an unhappy season' between two such days of prayer. Had the earl been afraid of the puritan prayers, he might have thought that the best day for his attack was that in which there was to be an intermission of these terrible pleadings. Had he succeeded on that day, probably the author of the 'Valley of Achor' would have attributed his success to the intermission of prayer. As it was, the good Puritan had the more agreeable duty of accounting for the earl's failure.

About three o'clock the earl brought his cannon into a croft near the clay walls of the town. After firing until evening and doing no more execution than wounding an idle boy, supposed to be the son of 'a malignant,' the earl sent a messenger to demand the surrender of the town, and received the answer that the town was held for the king and parliament. In the evening twilight the ministers went to the works and strengthened the soldiers by spiritual converse and fervent prayers. 'The end of prayer,' says Angier, 'was the beginning of fight.' The invaders climbed upon the walls, the defenders met them there. Both parties fought desperately, until with considerable loss the assailants were driven from the works. Failing on the east side they attempted the south, and afterwards the west, but with no better success. In the darkness a company of men from Bury, bringing relief to their neighbours, were recognised and hailed from the walls and brought safely into the town. Discouraged by the intelligence of this relief, and hearing that additional assistance was approaching, the Royalists early next morning made a hasty retreat and left twenty-three bodies of their comrades under the walls. Our authority says, 'Bolton lost not a single man,' and as I have no other account of this fierce assault, I cannot contradict him.

The Parliamentary leaders resolved to avenge the injuries done

* Although this attack is mentioned by no other writer, it was certainly made. As Dr. Ormerod, the editor of the tract, observes: 'It is necessary to complete the number of assaults' [mentioned] 'on Okey's grave-stone in Bolton churchyard—"This town, thrice stormed, was taken and plundered."'

to puritan Bolton by an attack upon popish Wigan. The Bolton men were ready and eager to march in front of the army. The Manchester train bands speedily joined them. The militia of the neighbourhood, about two thousand infantry, were mustered in companies and armed with muskets. To them were attached some two hundred horsemen and eight pieces of ordnance. Colonel Holland was the commander.

To his great annoyance the colonel had to take Rosworm with him, for the soldiers, so at least Rosworm says,* would not go without the engineer, who, never very pleasant to his superiors, was just at that time in an unusually bad temper. He had recently engaged by a second contract to serve the parliament for sixty pounds a-year, and immediately after he had made this hard bargain he received most munificent proposals from the Royalists. Faithful to his engagement, he was ready to do any military service for his employers, but he lost no opportunity of relieving his ill-humour by abusing 'the earthliness, meanness, and baseness' of those whom he served. Of letters of approval and thanks, which would have smoothed the rough points of many disagreeable people, he says very truly, 'he could not feed his cat upon them, much less his horse.'

On the eve of Easter Sunday the Parliamentary troops approached the walls of Wigan. The town was generally believed to be impregnable, and any attempt to take it by assault utterly hopeless. But the assault was fearlessly made, and to the surprise of both parties the town was gained in a short time and with little loss of the assailants. As soon as the artillery had made a breach in the walls, the Bolton men, in the bitterness of their revenge, were the first to rush through the breach into the town, overpowering all resistance. The Manchester train bands immediately followed, and the Royalists retreated in disorder. In less than an hour the patriots had possession of all the town, except the church, in which a company of soldiers had found protection and prepared a defence. Mounting the roof and steeple, they fired upon the Parliamentarians and did considerable execution. Before they were dislodged a report prevailed that the Earl of Derby was coming with great force to succour the town. According to Rosworm, Colonel Holland 'was in a shocking agony of fear,' and determined to abandon the town and to return with his troops to Manchester. Rosworm remonstrated in vain, 'almost tearing his flesh with passion,' and obtained nothing more than permission to fight until he could drive the enemy out of the church. As soon as he had made them prisoners, while they were laying down their arms, the colonel marched away, and left the engineer in the malignant town with more prisoners than comrades. Being thus forsaken, he was compelled to save his little company by following his commander, whom he never forgave, and never forgot to criminate when he had an opportunity of doing so.

It is not easy to explain the unexpected retreat of a victorious army. I do not believe that Holland was the coward that Rosworm was pleased to represent him. Angier says, 'The work was under-

* *Good Service, &c.*

taken in unbelief, and so, although we got the day, we lost the honour.' As in the plunder of the town the soldiers obtained 'goods of Papists to the value of 20,000*l.*,' they probably wished to get safe home with their enormous booty, and induced the colonel to allow them to march. Or, as the Puritans were in their enemies' country, where the neighbouring gentry were arming their men, it might have been better policy to abandon the town spoiled of its treasures than to attempt to hold it against the forces which were being collected for its recovery. Or the retreat may be attributed to the devices of a spy in the camp, Peter Heywood, whose father is said to have been the bold man that seized Guy Fawkes, and was afterwards murdered by the Jesuits. This Peter, unworthy son of such a father, being at the time in the confidence of the colonel, may, by some misrepresentations, have been the cause of the inexplicable retreat of the Parliamentary army. However that may have been, the Puritans were sadly discouraged in losing possession of the malignant town, although they must have found some consolation in acquiring 'so great abundance of papistical treasures.'

The Manchester troops, or a considerable part of them, having either recovered their courage or secured their booty, instead of returning directly home, marched to Warrington, 'taking with them,' says Vicars, 'their valued and faithful engineer.'* In connection with some Cheshire troops they made an attack upon the town. The result was unfortunate. The accounts of the two parties are conflicting, but it is certain that the Parliamentary forces left Warrington as they found it, in the possession of the Royalists. According to the contemporary diary of Burghall, the Parliamentarians would have taken the town had not the Royalists threatened to set it on fire. As there were many Puritans residing in it, their friends kindly retired 'to save them from utter desolation.'† In Manchester a day was appointed (April 11) of 'thanksgiving for Wigan mercy,' and another (April 13) of 'humiliation under Warrington displeasure.'‡

The retreat from Wigan excited so much dissatisfaction that a parliamentary committee was appointed to investigate the conduct of Colonel Holland. Rosworm was the chief accuser, and appeared before the committee to tell all he knew, and possibly a great deal more, of 'the ill doings of his commander.' He 'justified to the colonel's face his perfidious dealings at Wigan, his actions touching Peter Heywood, his eagerness in urging me to deliver up Manchester, and divers things more.'§ The colonel was honourably acquitted, but Rosworm wrote, 'If I had been guilty of the like, they would have condemned and executed me for bad service who am now famished for good.'

A day or two after the attack upon Wigan, the Earl of Derby,

* *Parliamentary Chronicle*, vol. i. p. 297.

† Burghall's tract—of which a MS. copy is preserved in the British Museum, Cole's Collections—has the curious title, *Providence Improved*. See the extract in *Civil War Tracts*, p. 95.

‡ *Valley of Achor*.

§ *Good Service, &c.*

having collected an army, said to consist of 'eleven troops of horse, seven hundred foot, and infinite of clubmen,' marched from Preston, crossed the Ribble at Ribchester, and took possession of Whalley abbey and church. As the hundred of Blackburn was unprepared for invasion, the soldiers gained immense plunder. The two Parliamentary colonels of the district, Shuttleworth and Starkie, brave old soldiers, each of whom had recently lost a son in the war, with extraordinary activity collected in a short time about five hundred men, and marched to Whalley against the 'five thousand' Royalists. Being there joined by Colonel Assheton, the men were so eager for an immediate attack upon the forces of the earl, that their commanders had the greatest difficulty to restrain their impetuosity, and prevent them from rushing upon certain destruction. Although restrained, while waiting for reinforcements they were not inactive, for instead of forming in line, they fired upon the enemy from behind hedges and walls, and, concealed in barns and sheds, killed many of the foraging parties which the earl was compelled to send into the villages to obtain necessary supplies. The earl brought out his cannon and fired among the bushes, but missed the Puritans, who seemed to be everywhere except in the way of his shot. Fighting in that fashion was harmless to the dispersed patriots, but destructive to the Royalists, whose compact body was a central mark for the fire of a wide circle of practised musketeers. The lion was raging among hornets. On the arrival of their reinforcements, the patriots formed and closed upon the Royalists, who broke and fled by the way they came, through Samlesbury and Ribchester. The hundred of Blackburn was thus cleared of its enemies, and a joyful day of thanksgiving was observed in Bolton, Manchester, and throughout the two puritan hundreds.*

Assheton determined to make the most of the advantage he had unexpectedly gained, and pursued the Royalists into their own quarters. While his troops, although weary, were hopeful and daring, and the enemy daunted and discouraged, he marched upon Wigan, where Tyldesley had rallied the fugitive Royalists, and persuaded them to form for the defence of the town. But as soon as they saw the Roundheads, who had driven them like sheep from Whalley to Ribchester, from Ribchester to Preston, from Preston to Wigan, they broke their ranks and fled to Lathom. Assheton, having plundered Wigan, burnt its gates and demolished its fortifications, followed the Royalists to Lathom, and occupied Prescott, Ormskirk, and the neighbouring villages. The earl was so surprised by the rapid march of Assheton, and so discouraged by the panic which spread through his own country, that he wheeled round and returned to Preston, where he hoped to find refuge behind the fortifications then in the possession of the Royalists. Assheton followed him, plundering the country inhabited by Papists or Prelatists as he went, until, arriving at Preston, he apparently with very little trouble drove the Royalists out of the town.†

* *A True Relation of a Great and Wonderful Victory.* London, 1643. Extracts from *Diurnals in Civil War Tracts*, p. 98.

† I say 'apparently with very little trouble,' because contemporary writers

Assheton, allowing his army very little rest in Preston, on hearing that Tyldesley and a considerable number of Royalists were quartered about Kirkham, determined at once to march upon them. Before he had proceeded far in that direction, he heard that the Royalists were hastening northward, apparently making for Lancaster. Changing his course, he marched directly for that town, while the Royalists hastened past it towards Hornby castle. Halting upon the ridge of a hill in the neighbourhood, the fugitives saw Assheton's troops still in pursuit, and immediately fled in disorder to Kirkby Lonsdale. The colonel, having driven the Royalists out of the county, left them wandering among the fells of Westmoreland, or finding their way, as well as they could, to the army which was gathering around the queen at York.

Assheton, on his return, rested a few days at Lancaster, where he was able to afford some relief to the distressed inhabitants, whose houses and goods had been destroyed by the late conflagration. Committing to the charge of his troops twelve of the great Spanish cannons which had been secured in the castle, he ordered them to follow him to Preston. The march of his victorious army, no longer under his vigilant eye and strong hand, brought sad scandal and dishonour on the parliamentary cause. The plundering in the Fylde country was excessive and inexcusable. Papists were accounted fair game for the licentious soldiery, but good Protestants suffered severely, and even some Puritans were not spared. One of their own officers says of them: 'It was a sadness to their friends, and will be an infamy to their reputation in future generations, when pretending conscience to be the motive for their taking up arms, they did bring odium upon themselves by their base covetousness, violence, and oppression.' *

On their arrival at Preston, the consequences of their disorderly march appeared in their quarrels about the distribution of the booty, and their disputes with their officers, who attempted to arrange and settle their discordant claims. Some of them insisted upon going home with their spoils, and others proposed to melt down the papistical cannons, as if the metal, refined by the fire, would be free from its papistry. Assheton acted firmly and wisely, dismissed some, punished others, intimidated many, and brought all, by his personal influence and cautious proceedings, under tolerable discipline. He then marched for Manchester and made a sort of triumphant entry into the town. He was welcomed with shouts of applause. The great cannons, such as Manchester had never seen before, were especially the objects of universal admiration. A day of thanksgiving and praise was appointed, and a glorious day it proved. The soldiers marched in military array to church, I would hope with some contrition for their violence and robberies in the Fylde country. The

give no account of the siege, and therefore it could have excited no great interest. In *The Discourse of the Civil War* it is said they 'marched to Preston,' and in the *Valley of Achor*, 'our forces passed safely through Preston, that recovered Preston.'

* *Discourse of the Lancashire War.*

townsfolk joined in the jubilant psalm-singing. The fellows prayed. The warden preached. The bells rang. The officers were feasted. The fountains were made to pour forth wine. The great cannons were fired, and they made such a marvellous noise that in the rhetorical language of Warden Heyricke, 'they drowned the noise of the thundering skies.' Never before had there been such a joyful day in that town, nor has there been since, until that twenty-ninth of May, when Presbyterian Manchester and its warden became even more frantic with delight on the restoration of the king, whose father they drove from his throne.

Assheton, allowing himself or his men little time for repose, determined speedily to complete his work. Within ten days of his return from Lancaster he marched against Warrington, which was then the only fortified town in the county left in possession of the enemy. The twenty-third of May was observed in Manchester as a solemn day of fasting and humiliation on behalf of the soldiers engaged for the siege of Warrington. Their first fighting was at Winwick, where the Royalists had selected an advantageous position in the church and in an adjacent hall, from which they were soon expelled with considerable loss. Some of them who were stationed on the tower and battlements of the church were not disposed to yield, until (to cite the puritan language) 'God sent a deadly messenger out of a fowling-piece to one of them.'* The 'deadly messenger' not only killed 'one of them,' but frightened his companions away from the church. Having taken this outpost, Assheton's troops immediately commenced operations for the reduction of the town. All things proceeded favourably. The men laboured cheerfully at night in the trenches and on the embankments. They had learnt by exercise and practice to work effectually their great artillery. The Royalists were discouraged. Unable to manage their cannon, they spoiled their largest piece on its second discharge. The Puritans within the town, annoyed by ill-treatment, had become unmanageable, and found many opportunities of assisting the besiegers. Besides these human advantages, the Puritans trusted in a divine hand which worked wonders for them. The stars in their courses fought for them, the weather marvellously helped them. As they were required to work under the walls in the stillness of night, there was danger of the noise of their mattocks betraying their presence to the guards in the fortifications. But 'when some went to work, others went to prayer, and God raised a great wind that took away the noise.'† In a few days the church was taken, and soon afterwards the town was surrendered upon the condition of its being exempted from plunder. June

* *Valley of Achor.*

† *Valley of Achor.* The author says: 'This was a providence not unlike what I have heard in Boston. The chancellor gave organs to Boston church. Before they breathe in the new world the godly pray. After their prayer a mighty wind forceth its passage into the church, blows down the organs, and stops their breath.' The sons of the Puritans, if we may judge from the 'Babylonish music' in their meeting houses, have lost their fathers' power of stopping the breath of organs by the breath of prayer.

the first was another thanksgiving day in Manchester, when 'this return of prayers called in our vows.'*

In this conflict we have hitherto heard little of Liverpool. Although its 'castle' belonged to Lord Molineux, and its 'tower' to the Earl of Derby, a considerable part of its inhabitants were decidedly Puritan. Overawed by the castle and the tower, the town had hitherto professed allegiance to the king, but having no walls it was not considered by either party a position of much importance. Assheton, however, who never thought anything done until all was done, resolved to occupy it for 'the king and parliament.' As he was mustering his troops before the town, a ship of war from the parliamentary fleet entered the Mersey. The Royalists were alarmed, the Puritans of the town readily negotiated both with the ship and with the army, and Liverpool without opposition was occupied by the parliamentary troops.

From Liverpool Assheton marched northwards with the determination of attacking the castles of Hornby and Thurland. Suffering a severe and unexpected loss by falling into an ambuscade in the northern part of the county, he hesitated, as doubtful of the issue, and consulted his officers about the propriety of returning to their own district. But a puritan preacher was in the camp (as puritan preachers seem ever to have been in emergencies and dangers), and he encouraged the colonel and stimulated the soldiers to proceed fearlessly in their enterprise.† The attempt on Hornby Castle was perilous, but Assheton resolved to proceed, and his men, excited by the exhortations of the preacher, were ready to dare any perils and to die rather than leave it in possession of the enemy. Having found a deserter, the officers learnt from him the best method of entering the castle with good hope of holding it. The castle rock was precipitous and deemed inaccessible on three sides, while on the fourth strong works protected the ascent. The greater part of the army was ordered to make an attack upon the works, which they did with as much display and noise as possible. Embankments were thrown up, rope ladders were attached to the walls, large quantities of combustible materials were heaped against the gates. The Royalists came to the defence of the fortifications exposed to this extraordinary attack, and for some time the attack and defence were prosecuted with equal activity and resolution. But Assheton's purpose was to engage the attention of the Royalists, while a party of his best men, conducted by the deserter, found a concealed way of climbing the precipice on the opposite side, and entered the castle by some unguarded windows. Their comrades followed them unobserved, until a considerable body of men formed in the castle-yard, and rushed down the sloping side upon the defenders of the lower works. Surprised and terrified on thus unexpectedly finding themselves

* *Valley of Achor. Manchester's Joy for Derby's Overthrow. Vicars's Parliamentary Chronicle*, part i. p. 297.

† *Valley of Achor.* 'Encouraged by a weighty and seasonable word of a present divine.' I do not know who he was, but probably Nehemiah Barnet was the man.

between two assailing forces, and not knowing how many more were coming down upon them from the castle, the Royalists surrendered upon the condition of being allowed to depart uninjured. It was a brave action, and brought immense applause to the men who managed it with so much dexterity and valour.

On the day after this daring exploit, Thurland Castle, the strong house of Sir John Girlington, surrendered on the summons of Colonel Assheton. In it were captured, according to the 'Certain Informations' of the time, 'much money and plate, with many disaffected ladies and gentlemen.'* The war spirit had become so fierce and cruel that on both sides even women were made prisoners, and, I fear, in many instances unkindly treated.

By Midsummer of 1643 all the fortified towns and houses of Lancashire, except Lathom, were in the possession of the Parliamentarians. Their general, Ralph Assheton, had worked wonders in their cause. He was everywhere triumphant. The Royalists in every part of the county were subdued, restrained, and disheartened. Their leaders, Tyldesley, Molineux, Hoghton, Girlington, and others, driven from their homes, were concealed by their friends, or compelled to leave the county. For some time no one could tell what had become of the Earl of Derby. Some said he had taken refuge in Lathom House, others that he had joined the queen's army in Yorkshire, others (and these were right) that he had fled to the Isle of Man. On hearing of the success of Assheton he hastened northward, and sailed from Whitehaven to his hereditary island. Puritan ministers were in almost every town of Lancashire offering praise and thanksgivings to the God of their armies for their wonderful success. Papists were terrified, malignants were silent. But the Royalist leaders had not abandoned all hope of the county. Tyldesley was not the man to be unduly discouraged, or hopelessly defeated. Lord Derby, deprived of his property, separated from his family, ashamed of his soldiery, slighted by the king whom he served, was still scrupulously loyal, and perseveringly devoted to the interests of the throne. In Man he was concerting measures to retrieve the fortunes of his party, and to rally his friends who would work and fight and die with him in defence of what seemed the cause of right, of order, of religion, and of England's stability and glory. The war was not then over. The calm of that summer was treacherous. Lancashire was doomed to see worse calamities than she had yet seen, her fields devastated, her towns ruined, her villages plundered, her churches desecrated, her best men, sometimes near kinsmen, bearing the same honoured names, and even sons of the same mother, arrayed on opposite sides, impelled by deadly hostility, and intent upon mutual slaughter.

With a feeling of relief I turn away for a little while from the horrors of civil war to notice some other events which illustrate the religious history of Lancashire. In the summer of 1643 was convened the Westminster Assembly of divines. It is not my intention

* No 23 of *Certain Informations*, 1643, printed in *Civil War Tracts* of Lancashire.

to take any other notice of that celebrated assembly than may be necessary to understand its connection with the establishment of the presbyterian discipline in Lancashire. In no other county was that discipline so regularly and firmly established, as in no other county were the decisions of the assembly more reverently esteemed or more carefully observed. In a few years presbyterian opinions had made great progress. Although Catholics were numerous, they had ceased to be powerful, and Protestant Episcopalians were diminishing, disunited, and discouraged, some favourable to compromise with the Presbyterians, and others with the Catholics. Of sectaries, Brownists or Baptists, there were none. Throughout the county the calling of the Westminster Assembly was regarded with satisfaction, confidence, and hope.

Much as Scottish Presbyterians abhor Erastianism, there never was convened on the face of the earth an ecclesiastical assembly more thoroughly Erastian in its constitution, whatever may have been the opinions of its constituent parts, than was that which all orthodox Scotchmen regard with so much veneration, and to whose authority they concede so great respect. Although the avowed Erastians in the assembly were very few, the assembly itself was the creature and the servant of the parliament. It was convened by 'an ordinance of the lords and commons in parliament;' its members were nominated by parliament; lay assessors, both lords and commoners, were authorised by parliament to debate and vote with the divines; the prolocutor was appointed by parliament, which reserved to itself the power of appointing his successor; the subordinate officials, assessors and scribes, were selected by parliament; regulations of business were made, and subjects for consideration were prescribed, by parliament; vacancies in its number were supplied by parliament; and its decisions became valid only as they were ratified by parliament. If the members desired a fast day, they humbly petitioned parliament to grant it 'in the name of Jesus Christ, your Lord and ours.' Doing the work of the state, they were paid by parliament four shillings a day for every member in attendance.

The knights of the shire presented lists of qualified persons, from which, with few exceptions, two were selected to represent each county. The representatives of Lancashire were Richard Heyrick, A.M., Warden of Manchester, and Charles Herle, A.M., rector of Winwick.

Richard Heyrick has already appeared distinctly before us as a preacher, a patriot, and a Protestant. As a theologian he was a moderate Presbyterian, that is, moderate in his opinions, although immoderate in his expression of them. He abhorred arbitrary power, whether of Laud, of Charles, or of Cromwell. Puritan he was in doctrine, for he clamorously denounced all 'Arminian quiddities,' but he did not share the puritanic aversion to the English liturgy. He had no objection to read the Book of Common Prayer, and occasionally, to the scandal of his brethren, he would read it in a surplice. He loved to hear the jubilant notes of the organ, especially on the fifth of November; nor did he feel the objection which many of his

friends felt to stained windows or carved oak or chiselled stone. For the Solemn League and Covenant he was very zealous, and in its words he swore to 'endeavour the extirpation of popery and prelacy, that is, the government of the Church by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissioners, deans and chapters, archdeacons, &c.' Whatever he meant by extirpating deans, he certainly spared their relatives the wardens, for he always contended he was, and ought to be, and ever would be the Warden of Manchester. He was for 'the extirpation' of all ecclesiastical officers above wardens, but descending to their level he saw reasons to desist from proceeding any further with the extirpating process. As a member of the assembly he did not occupy the influential position which his friends expected him to attain by his great ability and energy. Too rash to lead others, too impetuous to be led by them, he had no prominent place in the esteem or confidence of his brethren, and seems to have taken very little interest in the detail of business which was under their consideration. But although he had small influence in conference, he was often chosen to preach on special occasions, and he preached before parliament such sermons as few of the assembly could have preached if they would, or would have preached if they could. In preaching he feared no man, neither the criticism of Selden, nor the frown of Cromwell, nor the displeasure of parliament, nor the clamours of the populace, nor the menaces of 'treacherous, assassinating, malignant Papists.'

Unlike him in many particulars, as I have already observed, was his colleague Charles Herle; and nowhere more unlike him than in the management of ecclesiastical business. This soon appeared when they met for the consideration of the grave matters submitted to the convention. In the conferences of the assembly Herle was said to be perfect. Regular in attendance, punctual to the moment, courteous to every man, attentive to his opponents, never negligent but never obtrusive, a good speaker, a better listener, he was with the unanimous and cordial approval of the assembly appointed prolocutor on the death of Dr. Twiss. As a Presbyterian he was more decided and consistent in his opinions than Heyricke, but in the expression of them he was far more cautious and moderate. Heyricke abused the Independents, Herle reasoned with them. Heyricke called them bad names, Herle wrote a book against them, of which the worst thing was the offensive title, 'The Independency upon Scripture of the Independency of Churches.' He could, however, to accomplish a purpose, preach after the manner of Heyricke. Preaching before parliament he said, 'Do justice to the greatest. Saul's sons were not spared, nor Agag, nor Benhadad, though themselves kings. Zimri and Cozbi, though princes of the people, must be pursued to their tents. What a calendar of traitors has God given to the gallows for our preservation!' *

Although in the summer of 1643 the Parliamentary cause had been

* Besides his controversial and practical pieces he published several sermons, preached before parliament, one having the quaint title, *A pair of Compasses for Church and State*.

triumphantly sustained in Lancashire, it had suffered grievous disasters in many other parts of the kingdom. In the midst of these disasters, the parliament resolved upon soliciting help from the Scottish convention of states. The negotiations between these parties resulted in the proposal of the solemn covenant, by which both nations were bound to support 'the true reformed religion according to the practice of the best reformed churches.' The English would have preferred a league binding the two nations in civil matters; the Scotch insisted upon a covenant binding in sacred things. Sir Harry Vane suggested the use of both words, 'league and covenant,' which words were accepted by both parties, although what the Scotch conceded or the English gained by the insertion of the word 'league' does not very distinctly appear. However that may have been, 'the Solemn League and Covenant,' on being submitted to the two houses of parliament, was by them referred to the assembly of divines. After some feeble opposition it passed the assembly, and with slight verbal alteration was accepted by parliament and published by its authority.

The day appointed for the ratification was a great day in London. After public prayer and exhortation, Philip Nye read the covenant in the pulpit of St. Margaret's, Westminster, while the audience stood uncovered, every man raising his right hand, as after the reading of each article all swore to the observance of it. After a solemn prayer, the members of parliament subscribed a roll of parchment on which it was engrossed, and the divines of the assembly another copy. On the next Sunday it was read in all the churches of London, when the inhabitants were requested or required to append their signatures. In Lancashire it was read in most of the churches, and was gladly accepted and largely signed in the puritan hundreds. A few of the clergy suffered for refusing to read or sign it, most of whom were of the prelatical party, although in some instances puritan ministers like Richard Baxter declined to acknowledge it. It must not be hastily concluded that all clergymen who were suspended for not signing the covenant were Royalists or even Episcopalians. There were some who were ejected twice, and even three times, first for not signing the covenant, secondly for not taking the engagement to Cromwell, and thirdly for not professing assent and consent to all and everything in the Book of Common Prayer.*

In Manchester the Solemn League and Covenant was very generally accepted, and signed by the clergy and townspeople. The only soldier who refused to subscribe was Rosworm, the engineer. He had little respect for bishops or deans, but he would not swear to extirpate their authority. The ministers were angry, but the Royalists, successful in Yorkshire, were threatening to march upon Manchester. What could be done? Many of the clergy scarcely thought it safe to intrust the defence of the town to an uncovenanting engineer; many of the laity scarcely thought it safe to attempt the defence of

* The clergymen in Lancashire who lost their livings for refusing the covenant did not amount to more than eight or ten, of whom one was Dr. Fairfax, rector of Ashton under Lyne, and brother of the parliamentary general. The sequestrators certainly acted without respect of persons.

the town without him. Heyricke importuned and threatened. Colonel Holland devised the strange expedient of fining the German for his obstinacy. His pay as a captain was stopped as a punishment, but his salary as an engineer was continued in order to keep him to his engagement. Rosworm, although bitterly resenting the injury, held himself bound by his contract to fight like a lion and work like a slave for the covenant-breaking Covenanters. If it be asked why he did not leave the Covenanters and join the Royalists, the answer may be given in his own angry words: 'I should then have been a Manchester man, for never should a promise-breaker have another name.'

In the summer of 1643 died good old William Bourne, who for forty years had been a fellow of the Manchester college, and had previously served for a considerable time as an assistant minister. From the day that he unexpectedly entered the pulpit of the collegiate church, and with extraordinary facility finished the sermon which Oliver Carter was delivering when the hand of death silenced him, he had been the favourite preacher and beloved pastor of the Manchester Puritans. He had faithfully adhered to them in all their troubles, preached to them through the time of the destructive pestilence, and encouraged them in the fearful conflict in which they were engaged against the royal authority. He scarcely ever left Manchester, even for short journeys in the neighbourhood, and thought of little else than its welfare in all the exciting changes he had known through the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles, down to the fall of Prelacy and the rise of Presbyterianism.

He had served under three wardens, Dee the astrologer, Murray the quiet gentleman, and Heyricke the noisy controversialist, and, under them all, he maintained the character of a peaceable, loving, gentle, but earnest and active preacher of evangelical doctrine. The people heard of his death with inexpressible sorrow, made great lamentations over him, and buried him with extraordinary honours.*

We have seen that in the summer of 1643 the Earl of Derby had been compelled to leave all the strong places of Lancashire, whether castles or walled towns, in the possession of the Parliamentarians, with the exception of his own fortified house of Lathom. In Yorkshire, on the contrary, the Royalists, having been more successful, resolved to march into Lancashire and humble the pride of puritanism in Manchester and Bolton. Their commander, the Earl of Newcastle, summoned the townsmen of Manchester to lay down their arms and submit to the clemency of the king. To this summons the men of Manchester sent a firm and spirited reply, which concluded with these words: 'Sir, we are nothing dismayed at your force, but hope that God, who hath been our protector hitherto, will so direct our just army that we shall be able to return the violence unto their bosoms that shall assay the prosecution of it, which shall be the endeavour of his Majesty's most humble and obedient subjects.'

The men of Manchester did more than send a spirited reply. Within three or four days they placed twelve thousand men in Rochdale on

* Hollingworth's *Mancuniensis*. The preachers at his funeral were Mr. Johnson of Ellenbrook and Mr. Horrocks of Dean.

the Yorkshire road, with orders to accept no terms of submission whatever, but to keep their position, for support if needed would be sent them to the last man that could be armed. Eight hundred more were posted in the passes of Blackstone Edge, the boundary hill of the two counties, to fortify which Rosworm laboured with extraordinary skill and promptitude. According to his own account, he 'quickly helped nature with art, strengthening Blackstone Edge, and manning it with soldiers to prevent the earl's dangerous approach, by which means being diverted, like an angry storm with a gust of wind, the earl went to the siege of Hull.'*

In the summer in which Thurland Castle had surrendered to Colonel Asheton, Sir John Girlington, its owner, 'the great Papist,' on learning that the colonel and his men had retired from that part of the country, resumed possession, contrary, as the puritan writers say, to the conditions of its surrender. Restoring its fortifications and establishing a garrison within its walls, he began, according to one account, 'to draw supplies from the neighbouring villages,' according to another, 'to commit robberies and murders over the country.' This brought the indefatigable member of parliament, Alexander Rigby, into the county, where he spent seven weeks in the siege of the castle. While so engaged, he heard that the Royalists, having collected a large force in Westmoreland, were preparing to surprise the castles of Lancaster and Hornby, and with augmented forces to march upon his army. Resolving to anticipate their movement and prevent the surprise of Lancaster, marching with 'four hundred musketeers, two drakes, and three small troops of horse,' across the sands of Morecambe Bay and over the mountains of Cartmell, he came upon the enemy, amounting to sixteen hundred men, drawn up in array to oppose him. The battle was soon over, if battle it can be called, when the Parliamentarians, without the loss of a man, captured four hundred of the Royalists, their commander, their magazine, and their standards. In one quarter of an hour Rigby gained this great victory. Returning in triumph to Thurland, he found the garrison ready to surrender the castle, which, determining not to be deceived a second time, he ordered his soldiers utterly to destroy, with its magazine and all its stores that could not be removed.

During the winter of 1643-44, both parties were diligently preparing for strenuous and decided action in the ensuing spring. The presbyterian gentry were training their tenants and labourers in the use of firearms. The defences of Manchester, Bolton, Blackburn, and Warrington were carefully repaired and strengthened. Rigby was busy at Preston in securing that important position for his party. The garrison of Lancaster was largely reinforced. Colonel Moore, the puritan member for Liverpool, was engaged in raising walls in front of that town, making barricades and setting up strong gates at the several entrances, placing cannon on commanding positions, and

* Although the Earl of Newcastle, perplexed by Rosworm's obstructions, retired from the borders of Lancashire, there were several skirmishes with his troops on the hills about Colne and Burnley.—See *Curious Informations*, No. 80, August 14, printed in *Civil War Tracts*.

drawing soldiers from the enemy's country, about Sephton, Knowsley, and Lathom. Rosworm was all over the county, superintending the fortifications of Blackstone Edge, inspecting the defences of Liverpool, consulting with Rigby at Preston, going out with the foraging parties to plunder the farms of 'great Papists and malignants,' and withal taking especial care to protect Manchester, where, he says, 'I have, with my utmost skill, nourished a company of vipers, who in recompense will eat my bowels.'* For the garrison abundant supplies were collected from the sequestered estates of 'delinquents and Papists,' whose cattle furnished 'plenty of good beef' for the presbyterian soldiers during the weeks of their winter exercise.†

We are now brought in the course of our narrative to the celebrated siege and more celebrated defence of Lathom House, the fortified mansion of the Earl of Derby, and the only defensible position retained by the Royalists of the county. Of the siege, or rather sieges, we have good information from both parties, and by comparing them we can speak with confidence of the facts, respecting which there is happily very little contradiction. The most complete account of the first siege is found in a manuscript written by one of the defenders, who, although disposed to attribute all good qualities to his friends, and all evil ones to his enemies, betrays no disposition to falsify or even misrepresent the proceedings of either party.‡

The Lathom of the siege had been erected on the site of the ancient house of the Lathoms about the year 1496. Inhabited by the great Earls of Derby before the alienation of their vast estates, it was celebrated for its extravagant hospitality and magnificence. A fortress in war, in time of peace 'the bright bower of Lathom was often the scene of gay festivities and splendid tournaments. The gates were open to all travellers, who found provender and lodging according to their degree.' The gentry of Lancashire regarded it almost as their home in festive seasons, and the poor of the neighbourhood looked to it as an unfailing storehouse of comforts. In its great dining-hall the

* Rosworm's *Good Service hitherto Ill Rewarded*.

† A Presbyterian minister thus spiritualises the vineyard on a fruitful hill:— 'This vineyard you have endeavoured to fence by a settled militia, to gather out malignants as stones, to plant it with choice vines, to build the tower of a powerful ministry, and also to make a wine-press therein for the squeezing of delinquents.'— *Arrowsmith's Sermons*, 1643. The wine-press did its 'squeezing' very effectually upon the estates of the fine old Catholic families of Lancashire.

‡ This manuscript, preserved among the Harl. MSS., has been several times transcribed. Some differences appear in the copies, as well as in two printed editions, one in a Liverpool periodical called *The Kaleidoscope*, the other edited with great care by Dr. Ormerod in the *Civil War Tracts*. Baines, in his *History of Lancashire*, attributes the manuscript to Major Halsall, but as he was only seventeen years old at the time, the author is more probably either the Catholic historian Chisenhale or the Chaplain Brideoake, both of whom were in the house during the siege. The manuscript is attributed to Halsall, on account of a note in the Oxford copy, 'wherein I was wounded, Edward Halsall;' but that note is not in the original manuscript. Halsall, a few years later, was arrested at Madrid on suspicion of being concerned in the murder of Anthony Ascham, Cromwell's minister in that city.

toast was drunk often by scores of guests, 'God save the Earl of Derby and the king.'

The pictorial representation of the building in the 'Popular Traditions of Lancashire' is the creation of the artist's fancy. We know it only from the descriptions of contemporaneous writers, poetical and prosaic. According to its poet, it had nine towers on high, and nine on the outer walls. Other writers make them seven, which, according to the puritan preacher of Wigan, were the seven heads of the beast. Probably the two strong towers of the gate-house* not having been so high as the other seven, may explain the discrepancy. The outer walls enclosed a space sufficiently large for the lodging of several hundred soldiers. Of the castellated building in the centre, one of the towers, called the Eagle, commanded an extensive view of the surrounding country. On that height the beacon-fire of the Stanleys had in the old times been often lighted, and their sentinels stationed to indicate by signals the approach of friend or foe.

The capture of Lathom was an object of considerable importance to the Parliamentary leaders. Its prestige was valuable. It was a fortress from which foraging parties plundered the farms of their friends, a prison in which their men surprised by the predatory bands of Royalists were confined, a safe place of conference and intrigue whence messengers might be sent to the partisans of the king in all parts of the county.

In a conference of Parliamentary officers held in Manchester on February 24, 1643-44, it was resolved to make an immediate attack upon Lathom House. Sir Thomas Fairfax undertook the command, and the three most zealous Parliamentary colonels of the county, Assheton, Rigby, and Moore, speedily found quarters for their several regiments in the houses and farm buildings of Ormskirk and its neighbourhood. Other companies soon joined them, and they arranged to draw their supplies of provender from the districts to which they respectively belonged.

The expedition was at its commencement sanctified by humiliation and fasting, as the siege was prosecuted amidst much preaching and prayer. On Sundays there was usually some intermission of the works, when the besiegers frequented the neighbouring churches, and listened to the encouraging and 'fruitful' discourses of puritan ministers. Wigan church was a favourite sanctuary of the soldiers, as James Bradshaw, then a young preacher, ministered there under the protection of the Parliamentarian officers. He is described by Calamy as 'a man of incomparable abilities, ready elocution, solid learning, a good preacher, a ready disputant, and every way well accomplished for the ministry.' The author of the 'Brief Journal,' on the contrary, calls him 'the dishonour of his college' (Brasenose) 'and the disgrace of his pulpit.' Whether his preaching were good or bad, it was very encouraging to the 'leaguers,' especially in proving to their satisfaction that 'the seven-towered Lathom' was the seven-headed beast of prophecy, and Lady Derby the scarlet-clad woman of the Apocalypse.

* This gate-house is supposed to be represented by the carved work of the stall of James Stanley, Bishop of Ely, in the collegiate church of Manchester.

The account of his famous sermon, or rather series of sermons, founded on Jeremiah xv. 14, is probably caricature made by the Royalists; but the caricature seems to have been suggested by extravagant harangues, into which the best of preachers were often allured by the exciting emergencies of those times.

The army of the besiegers consisted of between two and three thousand men, divided into three parties, of which one was prosecuting the siege while the other two were resting in their lodgings, or foraging in the neighbouring country. By this arrangement, the works of the siege were carried on day and night without intermission. Fairfax, having made these arrangements, as he was urgently required in Yorkshire, entrusted the chief command to Colonel Egerton of Shaw. Rigby, however, a man of much more energy and ability, really directed the proceedings. Their chief engineer was Colonel Morgan, a 'Welsh hireling, a little man short and peremptory.*' He had the management of 'six pieces of artillery, a demi-cannon, a culverine, three sacres, and a great Spanish mortar.' The mortar was regarded as their most potent engine of death, in the management of which, their partisans asserted, they acquired so much dexterity as to fire it off many times in a day.

The Lathom was defended in the absence of her husband by that noble lady, Charlotte de la Tremouille, Countess of Derby. Her father, Claude, Duke of Tremouille, had been a firm Huguenot, and a brave adherent of Henry of Navarre. Her mother was of the illustrious house of Nassau. By all her family associations a true Protestant, and by her loving fealty to her husband a steady adherent of the English Church, she was never thoroughly trusted by the queen, and was probably the cause of the mistrust which was sometimes shown by the court to her loyal husband. In all her personal qualities she well became her illustrious birth, her brave ancestry, and her chivalrous connections. The fine open countenance of her portrait attests the truth of all we are told of her great and noble character. She was a woman whom Vandyke might love to perpetuate in painting and Clarendon in history. As we look upon the picture of the family group and observe the earl, whose portrait has sadly degenerated from the noble effigies of the earls Thomas, Edward, and Henry, his countess, of extraordinary dignity and beauty, seems the woman to recover for the Stanleys forms and countenances worthy of their ancestors. Honoured by her friends, trusted by her adherents, beloved by her dependents, she commanded during the siege more wisely, more discreetly, and more vigilantly than her brave and impetuous husband would have done, had he been present to undertake that service of loyalty.

The countess had within her walls about three hundred soldiers, formed into six companies and commanded by six gentlemen of good

* Rosworm, as he himself tells us, was there, but he seems to have been extinguished by the 'peremptory little Welshman,' who afterwards contrived to gain the confidence of Cromwell, Monk, and Charles II. It must have been amusing to hear these two 'little peremptory' engineers quarrelling about the management of the Spanish mortar.

Lancashire families. Her principal adviser was William Ffarington, Esq., of Worden, whose family had supplied secretaries to the house of Derby from the time of the great earls. Three companies kept guard every night, when their captains drew lots to determine whose company should serve for the sally of the night. Six pieces of ordnance called 'sacres' were put in position upon the walls, and on the towers were pieces called by the expressive name of 'murderers.' The best marksmen were stationed on the towers, and they did good service by shooting many a puritan officer who exposed himself within their range. Mr. Brown, the earl's steward, laid up as large a stock of food as the few days of preparation for the siege allowed him to collect. For ammunition, of which the need was urgent, the officers had to depend upon the bravery and skill with which their sallying parties could plunder the camp of the besiegers.

The countess, like her puritan foes, had chaplains to conduct religious exercises. The author of the 'Journal of the Siege' says: 'Her ladyship's first care was the service of God, which in sermons and solemn prayers she duly saw performed; four times a day was she commonly present in public prayers, attended with two little ladies her children.'

Of her chaplains two, who afterwards became bishops, are noticed in the chronicles of the times.

The Reverend Ralph Brideoake, who attended her ladyship during the siege, is said by Anthony Wood 'to have done good service.' He was a man of versatile powers, and, if we may judge from his use of them, of versatile principles also. Whatever 'good service' he did for the countess, he did better service for himself. When the earl was condemned to death, this chaplain was requested to apply to Lenthall, the Speaker of the Commons, in order to obtain the pardon of his lordship. He persevered, says Wood, 'with so much more than ordinary reason and application,' that he obtained not the pardon of his master, but the appointment of himself to be the speaker's chaplain. Like some other clergymen of those changing times, he had a remarkable gift of 'improving opportunities.' After faithfully serving the Countess of Derby by preaching loyalty to her soldiers, and Speaker Lenthall by preaching puritanism to the Long Parliament, he found after the Restoration another 'opportunity to improve.' Having obtained, I know not by what sort of preaching, the favour of the Duchess of Portsmouth, he became through her influence Bishop of Chichester.

The Reverend Samuel Rutter, another of the earl's chaplains, was, on account of his reputation for wise policy and clever contrivance, considered 'a great addition to the garrison.' At the request of the earl he attended the countess during the siege, that she 'might be guided by his great skill and prudence.' Brideoake, I suppose, took care of her spiritual interests, while his reverend colleague contrived schemes to surprise, annoy, and deceive the enemy. As an instance of his policy, it is said that in the beginning of the siege, when the garrison wanted time to strengthen their defences, Rutter contrived by a wily scheme to have the assault deferred until they were able to

offer more effective resistance. Among Rigby's officers the chaplain discovered an old schoolfellow, with whom, being fertile in resources, he found means of communication. His friend, as he well knew, was one of those people who have an irresistible propensity to tell all persons concerned whatever is confidentially intrusted to them. Rutter told his friend, in the strictest confidence, that the provisions of the house were well nigh exhausted, that the soldiers, reduced to great distress, would soon be compelled to surrender, unless in the threatened assault they could rush out and plunder the camp of the besiegers. As Rutter expected, the secret was soon known to Rigby, who, by delaying the assault, afforded the garrison time to strengthen their works and make adequate preparation for their defence. Afterwards, when the Royalists were really destitute and wished to conceal their destitution from the besiegers, the ingenuity of the parson contrived to make a poor tortured pig utter every evening its piercing cries as if it were in the agony of death, by which contrivance he gained credit for the report that the supplies of the fortress were so abundant as to afford a pig every night for the soldiers' supper. I do not vouch for the truth of these current tales, which, if true, would only show that the worthy chaplain trusted a great deal to the credulity of the Puritans.

There were several other expedients which issued from the fertile brain of the same cunning contriver, and betrayed the same contempt of the enemy's understanding. As they are gravely related in the 'Journal of the Siege,' written by one of the persons present, there can be no doubt of the truth of the relation. The words of the relator should be cited. 'Sometimes in the night we would steal a cord about some tree near the enemy, and bringing the end round would make it terrible with many ranks and files of light matches. Sometimes dogs, and once a forlorn horse, handsomely starred with match, turned out of the gate, appeared in the dark night like young constellations, and the enemy so diseased and beaten both in jest and earnest, many of them quit their charge.' This was an ingenious way of fighting, for which Rutter may have gained some credit with the countess, but I do not believe many of the puritan soldiers 'quitted their charge' in terror of the gyrations of the flaming ropes or the apparitions of the 'young constellations.' Some one—tradition says Rigby himself—shot the 'young constellation' of the fiery horse. Rutter lived to see his ingenuity rewarded by preferment to the Bishopric of Sodor and Man.

After some vain attempts at negotiation, the Parliamentary colonels determined to proceed with resolution and vigour. Morgan soon marked out the lines. The country labourers were impressed, and compelled to dig the trenches and to throw up the embankments. An attempt was made to draw off the water from the moat, but it proved unsuccessful. Musketmen were stationed in the trenches to fire upon the marksmen on the towers, by whom in return they were grievously annoyed. Many were killed on both sides. As the moat rendered an assault impracticable, and as the garrison had obtained considerable supplies, the besiegers relied chiefly on their artillery,

and raised sconces,—mounds of earth protected by strong palisades—on which they planted their great guns.

Although the Royalists affected to laugh at the management of their enemies' artillery, they regarded the great Spanish mortar with much anxiety and fear. 'They played their mortar,' says the taunting journalist, 'to please the women that came to see the spectacle.'

... 'On Easter Monday they must needs show the people some pastime, and therefore they gave us the noise of nine cannon to hear the people shout.' But it was not all 'pastime' within the house. Balls of stone, sent from the mortar 'so high in the air that almost a man could not see them,' fell with crushing weight upon the inner house and disturbed the tranquil dignity of her ladyship. 'One of them brake to pieces a brave clock,' which, we are gravely assured by a Parliamentary officer, 'was not heard to strike afterwards.' Some of the towers were damaged, and Rigby's men boasted they would soon 'knock off the seven heads of the beast.'

The besieged in their distress determined to make a night attack upon the enemy's works, and they bravely accomplished their desperate determination. In the night of April 11, Captain Farmer and Captain Radcliffe issued from the postern gate with about one hundred and forty men, stealthily entered the trenches, got upon the mounds of the besiegers, killed about fifty of their soldiers, fell with hammers upon their great mortar, and 'so beat it about the mouth that they hoped it would never be able to speak to them again.' Before daylight they retired within their own walls. The honour of this brave sally was sadly tarnished by the slaughter of several men who had surrendered to the Royalists, on the pretext that they were not able to feed prisoners.

The great mortar, though sadly bruised about the lips, was still able to speak, and was made to speak louder than it had spoken before. It frightened the ladies. Even 'the stoutest soldiers had no stomach to swallow its grenadoes.' 'Something must be done, and now was the nick and joint of time.' So the soldiers talked, and their talking led to the resolution of making another sally more desperate than the former. Early in the morning of April 26, Captain Chisnall and Captain Foxe with their companies issued from the sally port. Chisnall led his men quietly and quickly before day-break to the sconce on which the great mortar was placed. He soon killed the sentinels and took possession of the mortar. Foxe with equal promptitude and bravery led his men into the trench, fought his way over the guards, and joined Chisnall on the mound. While some of his men remained in the trench to intercept the communications of the enemy's scouts, others obtained a horse and sledge and dragged the great mortar over the drawbridge into the courtyard of Lathom. Great were the rejoicings of the Royalists. 'There,' says their journalist, 'the grand terror of our soldiers, which had frightened 'em from meat and drink, was like a dead lion quietly lying before them; every one had his eye and his foot on it, shouting and rejoicing as merrily as they use to do with their ale and bagpipes.' The countess, 'according to her pious disposition, commands her chaplains to a public thanksgiving.'

The loss was felt by the besiegers as a greater dishonour than misfortune. Assheton and Moore, who had sent 'to all ministers and persons in Lancashire,' requesting public prayer for the success of the enterprise, must have felt discouraged by such an answer to their prayers. Rigby was terribly angry with his men, and charged them sometimes with cowardice, sometimes with treachery. Fearing mutiny or desertion he proposed to the countess more favourable terms of surrender, which she peremptorily and indignantly refused. She had good reason for her refusal. One of her spies had entered the house the previous night and brought intelligence of the march of Prince Rupert to the borders of the county. A day or two after, the parliamentary colonels received the account of the defeat of Colonel Dukensfield at Stockport, and of the triumphant march of the prince towards Bolton, which he threatened utterly to destroy. Immediately they raised the siege. Moore marched to Liverpool, Assheton and Holland to Manchester. Rigby, instead of returning to Preston, resolved like a brave and patriotic man to throw himself into Bolton, and attempt the defence of that almost indefensible town against Rupert's victorious army. Great were the rejoicings of the Royalists for the deliverance of Lathom, and terrible the vengeance which they vowed against the Puritans of Bolton.

According to the 'Perfect Diurnal' of June 3, 1644, the prince crossed the Mersey at Stockport, with eight thousand men, and marched directly upon Bolton, where there was no force able to resist so large an army. On his arrival, he was joined by the Earl of Derby, who had brought a considerable force from the Isle of Man, and who was breathing vengeance for the insults offered to his countess and family at Lathom. The cry was, Bolton must be destroyed, and its destruction will strike terror into the hearts of the Puritans of Manchester and Blackburn.

Rigby was just in time to throw himself into Bolton before the arrival of the enemy. On the morning of May 28 he entered the town, and about two o'clock in the afternoon the army of Rupert appeared on the moors. According to both Royalists and Parliamentarians,* Rigby had about two thousand soldiers, and five hundred townsmen armed chiefly with clubs.

The Parliamentary general had little time to arrange the defence of the town, none to strengthen its dilapidated works. But he made a brave resistance, and his men as bravely stood by him. For half an hour, as their historian tells us, the Bolton men maintained their position, while their enemies 'fell like leaves from a tree on a winter morning.'

Their bravery, however, was unavailing against the masses of cavalry who forced their way upon them, 'before, behind, on the right, and on the left,' and entered the town at every opening, shouting, 'Kill them dead! Kill them dead!' Rigby's men retreated within the town, endeavouring to afford some protection to the helpless inhabitants. They fearlessly did all they could amidst the

* See *Seacombe's House of Stanley*, p. 109. *An Exact Relation of the bloody and barbarous Massacre of Bolton*, published according to order, August 22, 1644.

indiscriminate slaughter of the townspeople, women, children, old men, and maidens, until most of them were killed by enemies who gave no quarter, and who were asked for none.

The Bolton massacre was a horrible affair. The puritan accounts are undoubtedly exaggerated, but even according to the royalist accounts, nothing worse, probably nothing so bad, has ever been perpetrated upon an English town by Englishmen, in any of the civil wars by which England has been distracted. It is certain that Rupert, having an immense superiority of numbers, and sure of victory, issued an order forbidding his soldiers to give quarter to any man found in arms. Under this order, as the Royalists acknowledge, many of Rigby's two thousand men were killed. The general slaughter of unarmed people is undeniable. So far from denying it, recent advocates of the Royalists say. 'It can excite little surprise.' I can only reply, It excites no little surprise that any respectable writer should say so. Be it that Bolton was abhorred by all good Churchmen as a nest of vile Puritans, be it that Rupert was an implacable foreigner, and Lord Derby indignant on account of the injuries he had received, these are miserable extenuations of the indiscriminate slaughter of unarmed people. Women belonging to the best families of the town were wantonly killed.* Helpless men in the open country and neighbouring villages were shot and barbarously mangled. The soldiers boasted of their slaughter of the conquered, let us hope to a greater extent than the murders they actually perpetrated would have justified. With frightful oaths they denounced the ministers, especially the venerable pastor of Dean, enquiring, as they went about the town, 'Where is the old rogue Horrocks, that preaches in a grey cloak?'

Unhappily the Earl of Derby, leading a forlorn hope, was among the first who entered the town, and allowed his troops to engage in the horrible slaughter. He is charged by contemporaneous writers with killing a disarmed officer brought into his presence as a prisoner. I should hope the charge is not true, although it is supported by writers of both sides. Major Edward Robinson says: 'The earl drew upon him and ran him through with his sword, two men holding the prisoner by each arm, a cruel and butcherly act.' The royalist chronicler thus strangely defends the earl: 'The earl did him the honour of too good a death, to die by his lord's hand.' The earl's chaplain offers some extenuation, as he tells us the earl said, 'I will not kill thee, but I cannot save thee from others,' who then killed him. Be this as it may, the guilt of the murder was in Bolton universally attributed to the earl, and the vengeance of the town was not appeased until, on the same spot, his lordship was beheaded. Long afterwards the memory of the Stanleys was execrated in Bolton.

Rigby, seeing in the emergency that all was lost, conducted him-

* Three women of good family are mentioned in the *Exact Relation* as killed or abused: Elizabeth Horrocks, a relative of the puritan minister of Dean; Katharine Seddon, a member of the respectable puritan family of that name; and Alice Gregg, widow of Robert Gregg, minister of Bolton.

self with wonderful coolness and fortitude. When his own men were dispersed or slain, being personally unknown to Rupert's soldiers, he boldly rode among them as if he were a Royalist, discovered their pass-word, fell into their rear under the pretence of rallying their loiterers, and, watching his opportunity, galloped from the town, and was soon beyond the reach of his enemies.

Many brave men fell that day in Bolton. The massacre of the townspeople was frightful, but the distress was not confined to the town or immediate neighbourhood. Rigby's officers were members of the principal puritan families of Amounderness, who bitterly lamented their sad bereavements. The towns of Preston, Kirkham, and Garstang mourned the loss of some of their most valued inhabitants. The sorrow and indignation of the bereaved families were intensified by the tales that were told of the tortures which many endured, the insults which many received, and the brutality with which many were compelled to sing psalms and say prayers for the sport of a drunken soldiery. Much of this talk, I hope, was exaggeration, but much was undoubtedly true, and all was believed throughout the county. Then went up to heaven a cry for vengeance from Bolton in its distress, and from many puritan families of Lancashire who were bereaved of husbands, fathers, brothers, or sons, or who sympathised with their afflicted friends; a cry which found expression in words like those of the author of the 'Exact Relation,' 'O England! O heaven! O earth! bear witness of our calamity. O London! and all ye places yet free from our sorrows, think of the day of your peace with thankfulness, of our trembling and trouble with compassion. And O all ye Christians and people of the Lord, let bleeding, dying Bolton bespeak one thing at your hands. Take heed of security and your own divisions, lay aside your own ends, interests, and distractions, and labour to carry on God's work in the subduing of these cursed Edomites and Amalekites, devoted to destruction by the hand of heaven; or else look with Bolton to taste of the same cup of trembling which may the Lord of Hosts, in His due time, take out of our hands, and fill up with the measure of our bloody enemies' sins, the measure of their plagues, which the just God will in due time return upon them for this and all their cruelty, that king, parliament, and people may once more rejoice in the settlement of truth and peace in our days, and glory may dwell in our land, which God grant for Christ's sake. Amen.'

This was the breathing of revenge; but the revenge of bitter grief, caused by terrible injustice and cruelty. I do not justify it. I turn from it with pleasure, to notice the spirit of charity for suffering Bolton, which appeared in the liberal contributions made to relieve its urgent distress. A day of humiliation and prayer for Bolton was observed in all the puritan parts of the county. Collections were made in many of the churches. An instance of liberality is specified in Vicars's 'Chronicle.*' At the chapel of Salford, then a small place, the sum of 140*l.* was collected, and several additions were afterwards made to the public collection. A much larger collection,

* Part ii. p. 258.

I doubt not, was made in Manchester church, where the multitude went to hear Warden Heyricke. I wish I could recover the sermon he preached on that occasion. It was, I have no doubt, a marvellous specimen of impassioned, angry, indignant, yet tender, pathetic eloquence, as in parts he raved with fierce invective and terrible denunciation of papistical rulers, and in parts he pleaded the cause of poor widows and orphans, who, in the cause dear to him and his congregation, had suffered the loss of all things. The day of humiliation was one of extraordinary solemnity in Preston, where the great church was crowded, as it always was when Isaac Ambrose preached, and where many bereaved and mourning families were lamenting the loss of their members who had served under Rigby in the defence of Bolton, and fallen in the service. Many of them were the personal friends of the gentle, loving, pathetic preacher. In that town and neighbourhood the day was felt to be especially one of affectionate mourning for the dead, sympathy with the bereaved, and relief for the sufferers. I have not been able to ascertain how much was contributed for the relief of Bolton, but as the sympathy was very general in the county, and the contributions very liberal so far as they can be ascertained, the amount of the whole must have been very large.

While the Puritans mourned before the Lord, the Royalists rejoiced with joy very disproportionate to the advantage of their success. Bolton to them was of no use, as they could not make it a defensible position, nor retain it, except at a cost far surpassing its value. But they gloried in humbling the pride and punishing the rebellion of the Puritans' Geneva. I would not say their rejoicing was without any religious emotion, or their glorying without any thought of honouring God. The Cavaliers after their fashion, or at least some of them, were as religious as the Puritans were after theirs. They had thanksgivings for their victories, while the Puritans had humiliations for their defeats. The Earl of Derby sent the puritan flags that were found in Bolton to his countess, that they might be hung in Lathom chapel, 'as a happy remembrance of God's mercy and goodness to her and to her children.' The memorial was received as 'a singular honour,' and dedicated 'in grateful acknowledgment of God's gracious appearance for their deliverance.'* Probably her eloquent chaplain Brideoake preached the dedication sermon. If he did, we may be sure it was appropriate to the occasion, as he possessed an inexhaustible versatility in preaching agreeably to his patrons, prelatical, puritanic, or popish.

The unexpected appearance of Rupert's army in Lancashire, and the extraordinary promptitude of his movements, produced great consternation among the Puritans of the county. The parliamentary officers, not knowing whither he would march from Bolton, knew not where to concentrate their forces. In the news-letters of the time, Manchester, Warrington, Lancaster, and Liverpool, are mentioned as places upon which he would probably make his next assault, and repeat the horrible massacre of Bolton. After a few days' deli-

* *Account of the Siege and Taking of Bolton. Seacombe's Memoirs.*

beration, during which his soldiers with scarcely any restraint were allowed to plunder the country round Bolton, the prince determined to march upon Liverpool. It was desirable to hold that port, by which Welsh and Irish soldiers, or rather savages, could be brought into the county, and of which it would be easy to keep possession as it was situated in the midst of a popish neighbourhood.

Colonel Moore, of Bank Hall, the representative of Liverpool and acknowledged leader of the parliamentary adherents on that side of the county, had, on abandoning the siege of Lathom, led his regiment to his own town and assumed the command of the garrison. With his usual energy and vigour he immediately prepared his measures of defence. He had the old works carefully repaired and greatly strengthened. Dale street was the chief thoroughfare on the land side. At its extremity he erected strong works defended by cannon which he procured from the ships of the harbour. From that barricade a mud wall mounted with artillery was raised northward as far as the Mersey, and faced by a ditch twelve yards wide and three deep. South of Dale street the land was low and covered at high tides with water, which was kept from ebbing away by a strong embankment.* Along the edge of this marsh batteries were erected to obstruct any advance that might be made through the shallow water. The castle was mounted with cannon which commanded both the works and the harbour. A covered way was constructed from the river to the castle, by which ammunition and stores could be brought from the ships. The old fort of the Stanleys was strengthened, and upon it were planted eight cannons which commanded the shore and protected the town from any attack that might be made when the tide was low. The protestant refugees from Ireland had brought with them large stores of wool, packs of which were placed upon the walls to afford protection to the marksmen stationed behind them. The ships were detained in the harbour to provide refuge for the men, should they be compelled to retreat from the town. The women and children were removed to the opposite side of the Mersey. All this was done so speedily that I fear Colonel Moore, Puritan as he was, must have worked on the Sabbath. Well prepared, he calmly waited the approach of a terrible enemy.

In the beginning of June, Prince Rupert established his camp upon the high ground near the beacon hill, rather more than a mile from the town. Looking upon Liverpool from that height, he called it 'a crow's nest which schoolboys might take.' Before he had taken it he acknowledged it was 'a nest of eagles' or 'a den of lions.'† To face the defensive works of the town he erected a line of batteries, and raised embankments for the protection of his soldiers. Day after day he maintained the fire of his batteries, and kept his trenches filled

* A plan of Liverpool may be seen prefixed to *The Moore Rental*. Frog Lane (undoubtedly then an appropriate name), now honoured with the title of Paradise street, was its boundary on the side of the marsh. The extremity of Dale street was no further from the harbour than that boundary. The population could not have exceeded four thousand.

† In Seacombe's *Memoirs of the House of Stanley* these words are reported, not by a Puritan, but by one of Rupert's own party.

with men ready for the assault, whenever a breach might be made in the walls of the town. Several assaults were bravely made, and as bravely repulsed. For three weeks the garrison maintained an obstinate resistance, and if the 'Mercurius Britannicus' is to be credited, destroyed fifteen hundred of their assailants.* Eventually the prince brought his batteries to act so effectively upon the northern end of the wall that it was no longer defensible. The brave defenders were slain or driven from that part of the defence, and the prince, by a vigorous and well-conducted assault, entered the town.

Moore had taken care to convey the greater part of his ammunition and stores on board the ships which were in the harbour. Rupert, as his manner was, or probably provoked by the removal of the property, killed all that came in his way, armed or unarmed, resisting or unresisting, as he advanced to the high cross. One regiment of puritan soldiers having formed to protect the embarkation of the remainder of the stores, and having accomplished their purpose, surrendered as prisoners, and were barbarously plundered, dragged into miserable dungeons, or murdered in the streets. The prince took possession of the old castle of the Molineux, over which for a short time the royal standard waved in the midst of distress, desolation, and ruin.†

Rupert made only a short stay in Liverpool. Having visited Lathom, he urged, almost compelled, it is not easy to say why, the Earl of Derby to return to the Isle of Man. Marching thence to join the Earl of Newcastle at York, he had some sharp encounters with the parliamentary troops in the neighbourhood of Blackburn. But the triumph of the prince was near its close. He left Lancashire exulting in his victories, or his cruelties, and returned within five days humiliated by the terrible defeat of Marston Moor. The terror of his name as 'the wolf,' 'the viper,' 'the butcher of women' spread over the county, and 'the Lancashire lads,' whom he dared not meet again, were in all directions rising to resist him.

Sir John Meldrum had been sent by the parliament with reinforcements to assist their friends in Lancashire. Rupert soon left the county with his broken and dispirited army; but his brave assistant, Colonel Tyldesley, collected a strong body of troops, and determined to make a stand in the Fylde country. Meldrum marched to Preston, where some reinforcements joined him, and among them, says the author of the 'Discourse on the Lancashire War,' who was in the neighbourhood, 'one regiment carried all black colours.'‡ I

* No. 39, June 17, 1644.

† Sir Edward Moore, the son of the colonel, says in the *Moore Rental*: 'Prince Rupert took Liverpool Whitsuntide 1644, putting all to the sword for many hours. Good Lord deliver us from the cruelty of bloodthirsty Papists!' So great was the distress brought upon Lancashire by the devastation of Rupert's army, that collections were made in London for the relief of 'some parts where the people had nothing left to clothe them, nor bread for their children, in consequence of the spoil, rapine, and cruelty committed by the enemy.'—*Perfect Occurrences*, Sept. 11, 1644. The money was distributed under the direction of Mr. Heyrick, Warden of Manchester; Mr. Harper, minister of Bolton; Mr. Ward, minister of Warington; Mr. Lethem, minister of Douglas; Mr. Ambrose, minister of Preston; Mr. Shaw, minister of Adlington, and Mr. Hepworth, minister of Whalley.

‡ *Discourse on the Civil War in Lancashire*, p. 55.

find no other notice of this black-coloured regiment, but I have no doubt they were Bolton men, who raised their ensigns of mourning for a memorial of the terrible massacre of their friends, and proclaimed by their standards victory or death.

The first encounter was on Freckleton Marsh. The Royalists broke and fled on a fierce attack being made upon their lines by a body of Parliamentarians under the command of Colonel Booth. Tyldesley rallied and reformed his men wherever he could find opportunity, but his unwearied efforts were unavailing. Victory followed victory wherever the Parliamentarians encountered the Royalists. One position after another was forced, and one detachment of Tyldesley's men after another was broken and dispersed. More than a thousand prisoners were taken, and among them several officers of consideration. The greater part of the Royalists fled into Yorkshire; many of them found shelter in the farm-houses of the Catholics of the Fylde, among whom Lords Byron and Molineux were concealed. There remained no other forces in the county to support the royal cause than the garrisons of Greenhaigh, Lathom, and Liverpool, which Sir John Meldrum determined speedily to attack.

The garrison of Greenhaigh, under the command of Anderton of Euxton, a staunch Catholic, made a gallant defence, often sallying in the night, killing the sentinels of the besiegers, and obtaining by plunder a sufficient quantity of provisions to support themselves through a long winter. At last, dispirited by the death of the brave old Papist, the garrison surrendered the castle in 1645.*

Sir John marched upon Liverpool in the beginning of September 1644, and occupied the high ground on which Prince Rupert had fixed his camp the preceding year. Colonel Moore, having kept possession of the ships in the harbour, effectually established a blockade on the side of the Mersey, and reduced the garrison to extreme scarcity and distress. On September 22 he gained possession of the fort of Birkenhead, and effectually prevented all communication with the harbour. Unless relief were speedily afforded, the surrender of the town was inevitable. The Earl of Derby, with what force he could hastily collect, made the attempt, but completely failed, as Sir William Brereton, leading against him the parliamentary troops of Cheshire, obtained a decisive victory. Towards the end of October some fifty soldiers, who had the charge of the few cattle left about the walls, deserted, and took their cattle as a peace-offering to the besiegers. The rest of the garrison, mostly Irish, partly in anger and partly in despair, mutinied, and gave up both the town and their officers to the enemy. November the fifth was proclaimed through Lancashire a thanksgiving day for the capture of Liverpool. Warden Heyricke, who never forgot to celebrate that anniversary of the popish plot, had a fine opportunity for his annual display of protestant zeal and indignation. The people 'made bonfires for joy, and sung praises to God.†

* It was demolished by ordinance of parliament, dated March 27, 1649.

† *Discourse on the Civil War in Lancashire*, p. 69.

In this siege of Liverpool, Rosworm, as he himself tells us, 'served as master of the ordnance, and gave directions for divers works.' For these good services, as for many others, he bitterly complained of the miserable scantiness of the remuneration which he received from the 'basilico-proof' people of Manchester, charitably wishing that he might be 'the last fool that their hellish dissimulations would ever abuse,' and that no man after him might 'ever hazard his blood for such despicable earthworms.'*

Lathom, having been thoroughly repaired and strengthened, had become a refuge for the Cavaliers of South Lancashire, who found within its walls safe protection by day, while in the night they committed robberies upon the quiet farmers and villagers who resided within a few miles of the fortress. Avowedly plundering the Roundheads, they were not very discriminating, for they occasionally plundered the neighbouring Catholics of their own party. As the stores of the immediate neighbourhood became scarce, they extended the range of their operations, and visited the fertile country on the north of the Ribble. The plan on which they acted in these distant forays was to travel by night to some remote house of a Royalist, to gather from its neighbourhood whatever could be found, and before any sufficient force could be collected to intercept their return, to carry their booty by night to Lathom. The peace of the county could be secured only by dispersing these desperate fellows.

The garrison of Lathom was distributed in three divisions. The principal division was stationed in Lathom House, a smaller party in a house under the protection of its cannon, and a third in Lathom lodge, converted into a strong fort or barbican. These last were chiefly the Irishmen who had mutinied at Liverpool, and who on receiving their liberty resumed their allegiance to the king.

The second siege of Lathom is without the romantic interest of the first, as the heroic countess was no longer entrusted with the command of the garrison. But the assault was vigorous, the resistance was obstinate, and in a conflict of six months' duration extraordinary feats of valour were done by both parties. Colonel Egerton of Shaw, as in the former siege, nominally commanded the besieging force, but after a short time Alexander Rigby, with his spirit unbroken by his late disasters, and his energy unimpaired by his oppressive labour, arrived, nominally to assist, but really to advise, direct, and command.

For some months little was done. The sallies of the garrison were so vigorous and well conducted that the works of the assailants went on slowly, and suffered almost as much in the night as they advanced in the day. The first serviceable thing done by them was to dig a deep trench round the fortress, and make the crossing of it so difficult as to obstruct the men who issued at night to commit depredations upon the neighbouring country. Strong bodies of guards were placed every night to watch the passages whence egress was practicable.

The first assault was made upon the lodge where the wild Irish

* *Good Service hitherto ill Rewarded.*

were stationed. Short though sharp work was made with them. After making some breaches in the walls with their artillery, the Parliamentarians marched boldly to the fort and encountered the Irish in close combat. The Irish fought like men fighting for their lives, and so did the Puritans. After many had fallen on both sides, the Irish, greatly reduced, surrendered the fort and themselves. The inventory of the spoils is a curious document. It includes 'sixty prisoners, a supposed popish priest, two barrels of gunpowder, some skeans of match, and divers popish books, beads, and crucifixes.'

Having demolished the lodge, the Parliamentarians more closely invested the Lathom, and raised their batteries in positions from which they made frightful breaches in its walls. While Egerton and Rigby were reducing it to extremity, Major Ashurst was pressing closely with his artillery upon the neighbouring house. But the colonels and the major found that they were fighting with enemies whose spirit was very different from that of the wild Irishmen who had surrendered the lodge. The besiegers were ever vigilant, and yet in the dark nights the besieged were often successful in obtaining large supplies. By some means communications were maintained between the two houses, and arrangements were concerted for united action. The besiegers were perplexed in observing how the breaches effected by their cannon in the day were repaired in the night, and how speedily the injury done to the works was followed by additional strength given to the dilapidated parts.* The garrison, although enfeebled and distressed, would listen to no proposal of surrender, and the besiegers had few opportunities afforded them of making any. Even when the Earl of Derby sent two of his gentlemen from the Isle of Man to advise the surrender of the house, and they were permitted to pass the lines of the besiegers with a promise of safety from the parliamentary commanders if the garrison would lay down their arms, the cry of the soldiers was 'No surrender!' not even on the advice of their lord. They would not believe his officers; they hinted treachery. They panted for revenge. They were sure, whatever the earl might advise, his noble countess would not wish them to surrender. They had learned from her example to resist to the utmost extremity. When they could hold the works no longer, they would fight their way through the enemy. They preferred death to dishonour. In that spirit they bade farewell to the earl's messengers, who were permitted by the besiegers to return to the Isle of Man.

For some months the distressed garrison showed no sign of surrender. As winter approached their wants became urgent, and the difficulty of obtaining supplies insuperable. The corn and cattle of the neighbouring farms were removed, and the surrounding country became a desert. Towards Christmas the officers of the garrison perceived that, as the sources of their supplies had failed them, and no opportunity of fighting for plunder was afforded them, they must make some terms of surrender, or die in the fortress. They solicited a parley, which was granted. The terms they proposed were rejected,

* *Perfect Occurrences*, July 4-11, 1645.

while the terms proposed by the besiegers were such as induced them to re-assert their determination to die rather than surrender.

Rigby was determinately opposed to the compromise which Egerton and Ashurst were disposed to allow. His keen eye observed the expression of pining hunger and feverish disease which appeared in the countenances of the officers as well as of the men. Their faces, their hands, their clothes told a tale of extreme want as well as of desperate valour and romantic fidelity. 'They could not hold out long, for the smell and taste of their garments bewrayed them.' Rigby was right. On December 4, 1645, they surrendered Lathom and all that was in it, on condition of being allowed to retire to their homes with their personal property. Many of them were unable to walk to the neighbouring villages. The fall of Lathom was celebrated with great rejoicings and thanksgivings in the puritan towns of Lancashire. The horns of the great beast were all broken. The whole county was reduced to submission, willing or hopeless, to the parliament.*

Although the Royalists were entirely subdued, the peace and good order of the county were far from being established. In many parts armed ruffians lived upon the indiscriminate robbery and plunder of Puritans and Royalists. Large tracts of country were desolated by the trampling of soldiery. Welsh and Irish savages, relics of the defeated armies, wandered over the county in search of food, and were not very scrupulous in the mode of obtaining it. Many of the gentry had been driven from their homes, and many more were reduced to poverty by fines, compositions, and sequestrations. Puritan Bolton, malignant Wigan, Liverpool, Warrington, Preston, Lancaster, most of the principal towns, had been assailed, captured, plundered, by one party or the other; and some, like Liverpool and Preston, by both parties. Although Manchester had not been captured by its enemies, its distress was not less, perhaps it was greater, than that of the captured towns. In the autumn of 1645 a terrible pestilence ravaged that town (to cite the words of Warden Heyricke), 'the only town untouched by the enemy, and the only town stricken of God.' After many had forsaken it, the terror of the neighbouring country was so great that no more were permitted to leave, and none were permitted to enter it. The boundaries were marked by large stones, on which the country people placed provisions for the townsfolk, who took them away, and left money for the payment.

In the distress of Manchester Rosworm did good service—or at least he says so—to 'the adamants,' 'matchless in their treachery,' who 'set the devil himself a copy of ingratitude.' The warden entreated him not to leave the town, as his services were needed to quell the insurrection of a perishing populace. He boldly resolved to remain, and face the pestilence as calmly as he had faced the enemy's cannon. A conspiracy was formed amongst the worst of the people, who obtained arms, elected the German for their com-

* *Discourse on the Civil War in Lancashire. Seacombe's Memoirs. Civil War Tracts*, pp. 211-213.

mander, and proposed, in the general plunder of the town, to reward him for his past services, and to punish his ungrateful employers. Rosworm, when the proposal was made to him, 'was taking physic,' and perhaps had cleared away some of his black bile. He would never be unfaithful to his trust. He was not a Manchester man, and would not dishonour himself by acting like one. Having the command of twelve faithful men, he placed them within the sound of his voice; and having sent for the leaders of the conspiracy, he commanded his armed men to seize them. 'The conspiracy vanished into smoke,' and he saved 'the vipers that devoured him.'

The great distress excited much sympathy and compassion in many parts of the country. On December 14, collections were made in all the churches of London and Westminster for the relief of the sufferers in Manchester. The winter of 1645-1646 was a sad winter throughout Lancashire; but, cheered by the liberal assistance of friends, and assured of tranquillity through the complete triumph of the parliamentary arms, the people diligently applied themselves to their proper occupations, and hopefully looked for better times.

CHAPTER XII.

ECCLESIASTICAL CHANGES.

IN the prosperity of their cause, the puritan ministers of Lancashire were not without their troubles. They could not, as they fondly expected, control the parliament of England, and they were not disposed quietly to be controlled by it. The House of Commons wanted money, and found it more profitable, if not more pleasant, to compound with Catholics for their estates than to drive them out of the country. Against compounding with Antichrist, Heyricke and the preachers of his sort loudly protested, as against trafficking and bargaining with the enemies of God. Worse than this unholy traffic, in some parishes the parliamentary commissioners interfered with the ecclesiastical property, and insisted upon regulating its expenditure. The contention became bitter and exasperating; so much so in Manchester, that all the ministers, except the warden and one assistant, resigned their offices. Heyricke was as indignant as any of them; but his indignation, however fierce, could not induce him to resign the wardenship. He was not eager for Church preferment; he wanted no better; he would accept no other; but he loved Manchester, and, through good report and evil report, wealth and poverty, whatever the commissioners did with the property, he was determined to live and die the Warden of Manchester.

But worse enemies of the presbyterian ministers than parliamentary commissioners were making a noise among the soldiery of the victorious party. While Parliament would wisely control the presbyterian clergy, the officers of the army would subvert their rule. Sectaries of all sorts were clamouring for toleration, equal rights, unrestrained liberty, words never before heard in the Church, where, in the eyes of zealous Presbyterians, toleration of sectaries was as bad as compounding with Papists. Both were contrary to the national covenant and the presbyterian traditions. Heyricke and his friends resolved to make a great demonstration against the toleration of both Papists and sectaries. They were well supported by a strong and united party in the county. John Tilsley, the young and zealous vicar of Dean, drew up a 'humble petition of the clergy, magistrates, gentry, freeholders, and others of Lancashire,' which was signed by twelve thousand persons, and presented to the Houses of Parliament. Anything more intolerant has never been presented to the parliament of England.

In these circumstances, Heyricke was appointed to preach before parliament. It was a great occasion; and everybody knew that Heyricke would take advantage of it to testify against these evil

practices, and deliver his own soul. A more fearless preacher England could not have produced. His friends were alarmed, and endeavoured to dissuade him from preaching. But their remonstrance was vain. Preach he would, and preach he did, without the slightest hesitation or fear, a sermon which no man that heard it ever forgot. It was preached on the monthly fast, May 27, 1646. The congregation was very large. The members of the assembly and many of the London clergy were present. The expectations of his friends and his foes were greatly excited. Amidst profound silence and eager attention, the warden opened his Bible and read his text: 'Go, gather together all the Jews that are present in Shushan, and fast ye for me, and neither eat nor drink three days, night or day; I also and my maidens will fast likewise; and so will I go in unto the king, which is not according to the law: and if I perish, I perish.'*

Mr. Heyricke soon exposed the purpose he had in view when he selected his text. Many a Haman as bad as 'the son of Hammedatha, the Agagite, the enemy of Israel, was plotting the destruction of God's people.' The preacher was resolved not to hold his peace, lest 'enlargement and deliverance should arise from another place.' He would speak 'unto the king,' or unto the parliament, that 'which is not according to the law,' and 'if he perished, he perished.'

Heyricke, allowing extraordinary license to his excited imagination, brought before his audience another parliament, higher than their own, the great council of a greater King than the greatest of the kings of the earth. 'Be pleased to conceive a parliament at this time convened in heaven, and God on His throne asking this question, "Shall I destroy England?" And so some answer after this manner, and some after that: "Great cry of injustice, of oppression, of wrong, of injury." "Blood toucheth blood; courts of justice and committees are courts of robbery and spoil: the poor sheep flies to the bush for shelter and loseth his fleece!" "Papists and malignants compound, and they oppress their poor tenants that have engaged themselves in the public cause for the Lord against their lords." A fourth confirms and concludes with the other three: "England must be destroyed! They have falsified the oath of God: oaths and covenants are like Samson's cords—everyone makes use of them to his own interests!" To these agreed many more, so that there was a great cry heard in the house—"Down with it! Down with it, even to the ground!"

'God looked from His throne, and wondered there was not one found, not one to stand in the gap, to make an atonement, to speak in the behalf of England. After a short silence, one arose from his seat and said: "Lord, wilt Thou destroy England—England for whom Thou hast done so great things? Wilt Thou destroy what Thine hand hath done? What will the Atheists, the Papists, the malignants say? Surely God was not able to save them. Save them then for Thy great name's sake!" A second ariseth and

* Esther, iv. 16.

saith: "England must not be destroyed! Lord, wilt Thou destroy a righteous nation if there be fifty, forty, thirty, twenty, ten righteous there? Shall not the Judge of all the earth do that which is right? There are seven thousand at least that have not bowed their knees to Baal! There are sixty thousand, and more, yea, than sixty hundred thousand, that cannot discern betwixt the right hand and the left! Thou never didst destroy a praying, a reforming people. Wilt Thou now do what was never in Thy thoughts before?" A third ariseth after the second and pleadeth the same cause: "England must not be destroyed! There is a parliament in the midst of them; physicians of great value. God hath been amongst them, and in the midst of them; and they are still acting for God and the kingdom's safety! Did ever parliament perish before?" After all these, the fourth ariseth, that there might not appear fewer to speak for than there were to speak against England: "England must not be destroyed! They cannot die alone; the three kingdoms must die with them! yea, the Protestant Churches throughout the world. Hast Thou not said that hell-gates shall not prevail against Thy people?" To these many more joined in heart and vote, so that there was a considerable party of both sides; nor could it be determined whether had more voices, those that spake for the destruction, or they that spake for the salvation of England. And having said, they were silent.

'And, behold, as we read in the Revelation, there was in heaven great silence for half an hour, both sides waiting for God's determination.

'At last, God in His glorious majesty raised Himself from His throne, and effectually cried out, "How shall I give thee up, England; how shall I give thee up?" And so, without conclusion and final determination, He dissolved the session, to the admiration and astonishment of both parties.*

When the preacher had brought his audience to think of the prosperity and ruin of England as wavering in the balance, he appealed to parliament, as the supreme authority, to save the country by doing those things which would induce God to save it, and by undoing those things which would induce God to destroy it. As yet God's purpose was not declared, and might be influenced for good or for evil. The future was uncertain, ill-boding, threatening, but it might become promising, propitious, glorious. The awful silence of heaven was still unbroken, but the irrevocable word once spoken would for ever determine the destiny of England. To their patriotism as Englishmen, their religion as Protestants, their responsibility as legislators, on this great opportunity, it might be the last, in this crisis of their country, he made an earnest, impassioned, wild appeal. To deep humiliation and earnest prayer he charged them immediately to apply themselves. Reformation of morals and of laws he zealously and boldly enforced. Evil-doers he denounced. There were Hamans

* This sermon was printed with the title, *Queen Esther's Resolve*, London, Fawn, 1646. It is extremely scarce, but the extracts I have given may be found in Hibbert's *History of the College and Collegiate Church of Manchester*, vol. i. pp. 238-241.

to be hanged, Agagites to be destroyed. The audacity of the presbyterian preacher in the presence of parliament impelled him to exclaim: 'Let not malignants rest quiet among you. There can be no safety to our religion while such miscreants lurk in our dwelling. Little know we what gunpowder plots are now hatching, and how near they are to their birth. While the pope remains at Rome, and the devil in hell, and their agents in England, the sons of darkness will be still working in the vault of darkness to ruin the children of light. Show not the least countenance to the detestable neutrality that is practised by many. God writes in His books, write you in yours—All neuters are enemies; all that are not for you are against you!'

The preacher then introduced a comparison which, according to our manner of thinking, must have disturbed such impressions as his wild eloquence had produced; but perhaps it was less offensive to a congregation of that age than it would be to a fashionable assembly of our time. 'The hedgehog, the hieroglyphic of the neuter, hath two holes, the one toward the south, the other toward the north; when the south wind blows she stops up that hole that is toward the north, and when the north wind blows she stops that towards the south: such urchins are all temporizers that halt betwixt two opinions! And as for apostates, that are false to their covenant and to your state, let not your eye pity them; let not your hand spare them! Execute justice to the enemies of the Commonwealth—show mercy with favour to your friends!'

The warden did not forget the sorrows of Manchester. On behalf of that suffering town he made the following earnest and affecting appeal: 'It was a commendable custom in the courts of Persia to have the good acts of their subjects chronicled. Mordecai was found in the history, and the king highly advanced him for it. Would you then be pleased to peruse your own records, you might find some places that now, like Mordecai, lie sad and desolate in the gate, yet did you admirable service, whereof you did rejoice and glory; pardon my zeal if I name the town of Manchester unto you, a town famous for religion ever since the Reformation. Believe me, it hath been a Goshen, a place of light, when most places of the land have been places of darkness. It hath been a hiding-place, a place of refuge and sanctuary against the tyranny of prelacy, and the storms and tempest of persecution. They were with the first that jeopardized themselves in the high places of the earth, that ventured the perishing in the cause of God and the kingdom. They offered themselves willingly among the people, and they laid out themselves and what they had for the public service. Yea, I know there were that, like the widow, threw in all their treasure into the public treasury. God did great things by them and for them. I fear not to say they preserved the north.

'Manchester was the public magazine, the sanctuary to poor exiles, the prison to proud enemies, the bulwark to the county. But now she sits like a widow desolate. The hand of God hath lately gone out against her. The only town untouched by the enemy, and the

only town in all the county stricken of God! The priests, the ministers of the Lord that did bear the ark of God upon their shoulders (there were sixteen of them in that parish), and now I know but one—one alone as Elijah—left to do the service of the Lord, and he, through the wickedness of the times, the great revenues of the Church being unjustly withheld from him, is now upon tiptoe, ready to take flight, scarce having bread to put into his children's mouth. The walls of the garrison they moulder away—time hath made wide breaches in their works—which the enemy could never do—and there is not at this time, that I know of, five soldiers to keep the garrison. These things in a petition they have lately laid at your feet.

'Give me leave, then, in their and others' behalf, to say, let not so great a labour of love be forgotten. Let the blessing of them that are ready to perish be upon you. Comfort them, yea, comfort them according to the time wherein they have been afflicted, yea, give them double for what they have done.'

However deep and solemn may have been the impressions which were produced by this extraordinary sermon, the parliament could not be persuaded by such eloquence to restore the county militia, or to re-establish the garrison of Manchester. It was not their policy, when their cause had triumphed, to maintain a strong military force in the county, nor would they have allowed the regular regiments of the army to continue their service if they had the power to enforce a general disarming of the troops. Neither were they disposed to gratify the wishes of the presbyterian clergy by expelling Catholics from the country, or by losing the pecuniary advantages of compounding for the estates of the malignants. It was a wicked traffic, said the Presbyterians. Probably, in a quiet way, the Papists said so too, as they had better reason to say it. It was, however, a profitable traffic, when parliament was in great want of money.

One favour Heyricke did obtain. They restored the collegiate funds, and reinstated the clergy in the enjoyment of them, upon the condition that they would subscribe the covenant, which the warden and two chaplains, Hollingworth and Walker, had done already, and were quite willing to do over again. Two of the fellows subscribed and resumed their places.* The other fellow, Mr. Johnson, refused, and was arrested on suspicion of adherence to the Royalists. Walker, in his '*Sufferings of the Clergy*,' gives a sad account of the cruelty with which he was treated by the officers who arrested him, and the insults he received from the people in the streets of Manchester. I have no wish to deny the unsupported assertions of Walker, or to excuse the insolence of the Manchester people; but I do not under-

* Dr. Hibbert, in his *History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester*, says Mr. Bourne was associated with the warden and chaplains in resuming his office, but, as appears from the Collegiate Register of Burials, printed in the Appendix, he was buried three years before. '1643, August 26, Mr. William Bourne, Bachelor of Divinity, preacher of the Words of God at Manchester, and one of the fellows of Kste Colledge.'

stand why Mr. Johnson, who had hitherto acted in concert with the Presbyterians, then deserted them, or by what means he who had previously been respected by the ministers and people of the town at that time incurred their displeasure.

But in the day of their prosperity the Lancashire Presbyterians saw the foreboding shadows of coming evils in the movements of a power which, although they contributed to its rise, they could not restrain. The Westminster assembly of divines, deriving its authority from parliament, was, as I have said, constitutionally an Erastian assembly, although its clerical members were, with few exceptions, determined opponents of Erastianism. As its constitution and its constituents were irreconcilably opposed, it could not work otherwise than ill, and its ill working soon became very apparent. The Erastians in the assembly, although few, were very able, as Selden, Lightfoot, Whitelock, and Coleman. The Independents were also few, but very determined, as Nye, Goodwin, Bridge, and Burroughs. These two parties when united formed only a small minority; and when separated could do nothing but reason, although reasoning availed little with the Presbyterians. Both parties, however, were stronger in the parliament than in the assembly, and had there the support of several moderate men, who, while approving of the presbyterian discipline, were not willing to establish an arbitrary and intolerant presbyterianism in the place of an arbitrary and intolerant prelacy.

In the assembly three questions were agitated, which threatened to produce dissension and discord among those who until that time had acted harmoniously for the subversion of the Episcopal Church. These related to the *jus divinum* of a particular form of Church government, the power of the keys or authority to admit to the sacraments and exclude from them, and the toleration of dissidents.

Of these the most important, as on it the other two very much depended, was the *jus divinum*. Was there for any form of Church government divine authority? Or might the particular form be left to the determination of the civil power? On this question the Presbyterians and Independents were unanimous. Goodwin and Nye agreed with Marshall and Calamy in the assertion of divine authority for some form of Church government, greatly as they differed on the question respecting the particular form in favour of which it might be adduced. The Erastians were the only dissentients.

The question, however it might be determined in the assembly, was not so easily settled in parliament. There were among its members several wise and moderate men who were willing to establish the presbyterian form of Church discipline, but not *jure divino*, lest they should establish an authority which they could not control.

As to 'the power of the keys,' the Presbyterians claimed for their ecclesiastical courts authority to prescribe the terms of admission to the communion of their Church and to decide upon the excommunication of offenders. In an established Church such an authority

entrusted to its courts would make the civil power, which could punish only for grave offences on legal evidence, subordinate to the ecclesiastical. It was reasonably asked, what excommunicated man could with authority or even respect discharge the duties of any civil office or trust? The parliament could not concede this claim of the assembly, without restoring in another form the spiritual domination which they had overthrown.

On the question of toleration the resistance to the claims of the presbyterian clergy was made chiefly by the Independents. In the assembly, finding it impossible to obtain such an establishment as they could approve, the Independents were content to require a legal toleration. The Presbyterians, in some perplexity, seemed more willing by some sort of compromise to include the Independents within the establishment than to tolerate them as a separate sect. Besides, if Independents were tolerated in their separation from the Church, all sorts of rising sects, of which there was no small number, would claim equal toleration, and the community would be broken into innumerable schisms. The Independents had no scruples about a religious establishment; but such an establishment as would comprehend them with the Presbyterians seemed utterly hopeless to many of both parties.

The debate on the first question, the divine right of the presbyterian discipline, was conducted in parliament with much earnestness and with some demonstration of temper. The high Presbyterians mustered in great numbers in the early part of the day, in the hope of carrying the vote in their favour. The Erastians and the moderate men, knowing the momentous consequences of the decision, prolonged the discussion until their friends could be summoned. Glyn spoke for an hour (a long speech in those times), and Whitlock enlarged upon the arguments of Glyn. When the house was filled, the proposition of the assembly was amended, and it was resolved that 'It is lawful and agreeable to the word of God that the Church be governed by congregational, classical, and synodical assemblies.'

For all practical purposes this resolution might have been satisfactory to the Presbyterians, as it provided a basis on which their discipline could be established in all parts of the country; but as their ministers claimed to officiate by divine right, no considerations of lawfulness or agreement with God's word would satisfy them. They applied in vain to the lords to help them. With more success they sought the assistance of the city of London. The court of aldermen petitioned parliament for 'a settlement of Church government according to the covenant.' But parliament firmly adhered to its resolution, and recommended the clergy to attend to the charges of their several congregations. It is very clear that if the sectaries of the army had not controlled the Long Parliament, the presbyterian ministers would soon have quarrelled with it, even while it was establishing their own discipline.

On the question of admission to the sacraments and exclusion from them, the presbyterian ministers were equally disappointed and angry.

The assembly was required to define the knowledge which was necessary for admission to the sacrament, and the offences for which they would pronounce a sentence of excommunication. A catalogue of such offences was supplied, and a very curious catalogue it was, as it placed in juxtaposition the keeping of a brothel and the allowing of a daughter to marry a Papist. The Long Parliament was too wise to liberate the religion of these Presbyterians from all state patronage and control. It allowed in all cases an appeal to parliament, and thus made the decision of the spiritual courts subordinate to the judgment of the civil authority.

About toleration nothing was determined. It was resolved that the presbyterian government should be established, and that 'if upon trial it was not found acceptable, it should be reversed or amended.'

This pleased no party, least of all the assembly. The Scotch commissioners remonstrated; the citizens of London threatened; the clergy petitioned: but parliament would not yield. The wisdom with which parliament resisted the dominancy of presbyterianism is a worthy counterpart to the wisdom with which it resisted the dominancy of prelacy. The Long Parliament has had scanty praise from all parties, because, as long as it had the power, it would not allow the English people to be subject to the unlimited authority of any.

So much it is necessary to say of the movements of several parties in London, in order to explain the proceedings of the ministers who organised and established the presbyterian discipline in Lancashire more completely and firmly than it was established in any other county of England.

The facilities, in 1646, for establishing presbyterianism in Lancashire were many, and the difficulties less than in other parts of England. The Presbyterians were numerous and powerful; the Prelatists feeble and dispirited; the Catholics restrained and proscribed; the sectaries previously to that time scarcely known.* The ministers were united and active; their people, who had fought hard and suffered much for puritanism, were very willing to submit to a yoke which then seemed easy, although by some of them it was afterwards felt to be insufferably grievous. In doing this work the hand of no man was so strong and vigorous as that of Richard Heyrick, trusted and strengthened as he was by Hollingworth, Tilsley of Dean, Angier of Denton, Harrison of Ashton, and other ministers of his neighbourhood.

Heyrick shared the dissatisfaction of the London clergy with the measures of the parliament. Naturally lofty and imperious, he felt the rebuke of his order as an indignity done to himself. His sympathies were all clerical. To whatever Church he might have belonged, he would certainly have been a High Churchman, so far as clerical privilege and dignity were concerned.

But as he was not patient in debate, nor much interested in theo-

* Hollingworth speaks of 'a gathered church' meeting in a room of Manchester College, but it must have been very small and inconsiderable.

logical discussions, he thought he could better serve the presbyterian cause by working in Lancashire than by sitting in Westminster. Undistinguished among his equals in London, he would be chief among his brethren in Manchester. He returned to Lancashire resolved to promote in that county the regular and uniform establishment of the presbyterian discipline.

Although, as I have observed, previously to 1646 the sectaries, whom Heyricke detested almost as much as he did the Papists and Prelatists, were scarcely known in Lancashire, in that year the Independents began to excite some attention in the neighbourhood of Manchester. Samuel Eaton, a young clergyman, whose father had been vicar of Great Budworth in Cheshire, had left his native country, persecuted for nonconformity, and found a home in New England. A puritan minister, on his arrival he accepted and soon cordially liked the congregational discipline which he found established in the colonies. On the breaking out of the civil war, he returned to England with the persuasion that God had a work for him to do in promulgating the principles which he had learned to love in a strange land. A pamphlet, written by 'Master Samuel Eaton and Master Timothy Taylor,' in defence of congregational discipline, appeared in Manchester, and excited 'no small stir' among the presbyterian clergy. To this pamphlet Hollingworth published a reply, entitled, 'Certain Questions, modestly though plainly propounded to such as affect the congregational way, and especially to Master Samuel Eaton.' I have not seen this reply, but if its questions are 'modestly propounded,' they deserve notice as the only questions which the Manchester Presbyterians ever 'modestly propounded to such as affect the congregational way.' Heyricke, not disposed to trust to the 'modest propounding of questions,' found a more effectual way of opposing the new principles, and in connection with John Tilsley, the vicar of Dean, prepared a petition, or rather as it has been sometimes called a remonstrance, to parliament against these terrible sectaries. The petition showed that 'in consequence of the unsettled condition of Church government, all sorts of errors, schisms, heresies, blasphemies prevailed in the country, that separate and unauthorised congregations had been formed, and that, to the astonishment of the orthodox nobility, gentry, and ministers, a toleration was demanded for these strange and sectarian proceedings.' The prayer of the document was that 'a uniform discipline and government might be established with all possible speed, and that the frequenters of separate conventicles might be discountenanced and punished.'

Presbyterian gentlemen in several parts of the county undertook the charge of obtaining signatures to this petition. Heyricke, to his great surprise, found that his old enemies the Prelatists and malignants, observing in the petition no recognition of any particular form of Church government, had in several places subscribed their names to its prayer in favour of 'a uniform discipline.' To find the names of Prelatists subscribed in juxtaposition with the names of such Presbyterians as Assheton, Booth, Rigby, Hyde, Holland, was intoler-

able to their pastors, if not to themselves. 'Avouchers' were therefore entrusted with the care of the rolls, and directed to prevent the Prelatists from appending their names. Eventually eight thousand five hundred and seventy-eight names were subscribed to this 'humble petition of the well-affected gentlemen, ministers, freeholders, and other inhabitants of the county palatine of Lancaster.' Of these signatures no less than six thousand represented residents in the hundred of Salford.

Published under the care of John Tilsley, minister of Dean, accompanied with 'a Parennetick to Lancashire,' it excited great interest among various parties. The Independents were greatly alarmed. In a pamphlet entitled, 'A New Birth of the City Remonstrance,' they severely criticised the petition, and the claims of its promoters. Hollingworth preached, and Tilsley wrote, in its defence, the former declaring in the pulpit that only malignants and covenant-breakers had refused to subscribe it. Heyricke left his friends to preach and write, while he worked incessantly in exhorting, entreating, promising, threatening, and inducing by all sorts of influence the parliament to establish the presbyterian discipline, at least within the limits of the county of Lancaster.

To a great extent he was successful. Although he could not procure a public acknowledgment of the divine right of presbyterianism, nor liberate the Church from the control of the civil power, nor persecute the sectaries, he obtained an ordinance of parliament by which Lancashire was constituted an ecclesiastical province governed by a synod, and divided into nine classical districts, each subject to its own classis, consisting of delegates from the elders of every congregation within its boundaries.

As this change was the most important which has been made in the religious institutions of Lancashire since the Reformation, it may be desirable to explain it more carefully and minutely.

CHAPTER XIII.

PRESBYTERIANISM ESTABLISHED.

ACCORDING to the ordinance of parliament passed in 1646, every congregation in Lancashire was governed primarily and immediately by its congregational assembly, consisting of its minister and lay elders. The lay elders, or, as they were often called to distinguish them from the teachers, the ruling elders, were appointed with some formality to their office, on election by the members of the congregation convened expressly for that purpose. It was customary on such occasions for the ministers to preach on the duties of the elders and the qualifications for their office. The number of the elders varied according to the magnitude and wants of the congregation. In the first instance four ruling elders were elected by the congregation of Manchester, but the number was soon afterwards considerably enlarged.

Several neighbouring congregations were united in a classical division, which was subject to the government of its *classis* or presbytery, consisting of the ministers of the several congregations, and a part of their lay elders, representing the whole number. The proportion was usually two lay members to one minister. The county was divided into nine classical districts.

Class 1. Including the parishes of Manchester, Prestwich, Oldham, Flixton, Eccles, and Ashton under Lyne.

Class 2. Bolton, Middleton, Bury, Rochdale, Dean, and Radcliffe.

Class 3. Blackburn, Whalley, Chipping, and Ribchester.

Class 4. Warrington, Leigh, Winwick, Wigan, Holland, and Prescott.

Class 5. Walton (including Liverpool), Huyton, Childwell, Sefhton, Altcar, North-Meols, Halsall, Ormskirk, and Aughton.

Class 6. Croston, Leyland, Standish, Eccleston, Penwortham, Hoole, and Brindle.

Class 7. Preston, Kirkham, Garstang, and Poulton.

Class 8. Lancaster, Cockerham, Cloughton, Melling, Tatham, Tunstall, Whittington, Warton, Bolton, Halton, and Husom.

Class 9. Aldingham, Urswick, Ulverston, Hawkshead, Coulton, Dalton, Cartmell, Kirkby, and Wennington.

The list of classes, with the names of their ministers and elders, was submitted to 'the lords and commons assembled in parliament,' and approved on October 2, 1646.*

* The members of the first and second classes were—

MANCHESTER CLASSIS.

MINISTERS.

Mr. Richard Heyrick, and
Mr. Richard Hollingworth, of Manchester
Mr. John Angier, of Denton
Mr. William Walker, of Newton

Mr. Toby Furnes, of Prestwich
Mr. Humph. Barnet, of Oldham
Mr. John Jones, of Eccles
Mr. John Harrison, of Ashton

As many of the parishes in the preceding list included several chapelries, the congregations represented in the several classes considerably exceeded in number the parishes enumerated.

The highest ecclesiastical court of the county was the provincial assembly, consisting of clerical and lay delegates from the nine classes. The members were appointed with great care by each classis, at a meeting specially convened for the purpose. Notices of the special meeting were given in all the churches of the district, and a day of fasting and prayer was appointed previously to the election. The provincial assembly held its meetings twice every year, usually in the great church of Preston.* Every meeting was opened with solemn prayers, and a sermon was preached by one of the principal ministers of the county.

On comparing this presbyterian establishment in Lancashire with the kirk of Scotland, the general agreement is obvious. The congregational assembly corresponds with the kirk session, the classis with the presbytery, and the provincial assembly with the synod. Had the system been established in the other counties of England,

LAYMEN.

Robert Hyde, of Denton, esq.
Rich. Howarth, of Manchester, esq.
Robert Ashton, of Shipley, esq.
Thos. Strangways, of Gorton, esq.
William Booth, of Reddish, gent.
John Gaakel, of Manchester, gent.
Edw. Sandiforth, of Oldham, gent.
John Birch, of Openshaw, gent.
Thos. Smith, of Manchester, gent.
Peter Serjeant, of Pilkington, gent.

Rob. Leech, of Ashton parish, gent.
John Wright, of Bradford, yeoman
Wm. Peak, of Worsley, yeoman
Thomas Taylor, of Flixton parish,
yeoman
Thomas Barlow, of Eccles parish,
yeoman
Peter Seddon, of Pilkington, yeoman
James Jollie, of Droiladen, gent.

BOLTON CLASSIS.

MINISTERS.

Mr. John Harpur, of Bolton
Mr. William Ashton, of Middleton
Mr. William Alte
Mr. Andrew Latham
Mr. Jonathan Scolfield, of Bury

Mr. Robert Bathe, of Rochdale
Mr. Alexander Horrocks
Mr. John Tildealey
Mr. James Walton, of Dean
Mr. Thomas Pyke, of Radcliffe

LAYMEN.

Ralph Ashton, of Middleton, esq.
John Bradshaw, of Bradshaw, esq.
Edm. Hopwood, of Hopwood, esq.
Robert Lever, of Darcy Lever, esq.
John Andrews, of Little Lever, gent.
Rob. Heywood, of Heywood, gent.
Peter Holt, of Heap, gent.
Arthur Smethurst, of Heap, gent.
Thomas Eccarsal, of Bury, gent.
Edward Butterworth, of Belfield, esq.
John Scolfield, of Castleton, yeoman
Emanuel Thompson, of Rochdale,
clothier

Sam. Wylde, of Rochdale, mercer
James Stot, of Healey, gent.
Robert Pares, of Rochdale, gent.
Rob. Worthington, of Smithel, esq.
Giles Green, of West Houghton, yeo-
man
Henry Molyneux, of West Houghton,
gent.
Hen. Seddon, of Heaton, yeoman
Robert Hardman, of Radcliffe, yeoman
John Bradshaw, of Darcy Lever, gent.
Richard Dickenson, of Aynsworth, yeo-
man

* The meetings of the Provincial Assembly were held seventeen times in Preston, twice in Wigan, twice in Bolton, and once in Blackburn. The first meeting was held in Preston in August 1648, when Isaac Ambrose preached and Mr. James Hyett was appointed moderator.—*Minutes of the Manchester Classis.*

the provincial assembly of Lancashire would have been represented in a general assembly of the kingdom.

The most remarkable difference between the Lancashire and the Scottish establishment of presbyterianism was in the preponderance of lay elders in the Lancashire courts. In every classis two-thirds of the members were laymen. The same arrangement was made in the less complete establishment of presbyterianism in London, where in every Church court, and indeed in every committee, the lay elders were twice as many as the ministers. This provision shows the wisdom and vigilance of the Long Parliament in restraining by their new arrangements the growth of clerical domination.

The lowest Church court, consisting of the minister and elders, took charge of the spiritual interests of a single parish or chapelry. No person resident within its boundaries was exempt from its jurisdiction. This court certified after due examination that candidates for holy communion were qualified by competent knowledge and moral character. To it was entrusted the authority of suspending or excluding offenders from religious ordinances, so that they could obtain neither baptism for their children nor the Eucharist for themselves. In this matter, however, the excluded persons were allowed, sorely to the annoyance of their ministers, an appeal to the civil courts.

To prepare the young for their first communion and to enforce a godly discipline upon the communicants were important duties of the elders. For scandalous immoralities, satisfaction was required to be made to the Church by professions of repentance, and sometimes by a public penance imposed upon such as had dishonoured their religious profession. The scandal brought upon the Church was condoned when the penance enforced by the elders was pronounced satisfactory. The offenders were then restored to communion. In no other way did the congregational assembly claim any power of absolution.

Offenders who refused to give satisfaction to the Church, when other means of bringing them to penitence had failed, were publicly suspended and eventually excluded from the communion. The manner of proceeding in such instances appears in a formulary which was drawn up by Mr. Hollingworth, and used to notify the exclusion of an impenitent sinner from the sacrament.

‘Forasmuch as A. B. hath been convicted, before the eldership of this congregation, to stand guilty of (adultery, fornication, or the like), they having considered the heinousness and scandalousness of the sin in itself (here let some pertinent scriptures be produced), and the several aggravating circumstances (here let the aggravations be mentioned), and having used all Christian and loving means to bring him to the sight of, and godly sorrow for, his grievous sin (here let the means used by the eldership be stated), by which God is greatly dishonoured, his soul endangered, the Church grieved and offended, and occasion given to others to speak evil of the ways of God; yet not perceiving that godly sorrow which worketh repentance, and a readiness and willingness to give public satisfaction, have in the

name and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, according to their duty and the merit of his sin and carriage, judicially suspended him from the high ordinance of the Lord's Supper. Waiting, moreover, and praying that God would open his eyes, teach his heart, mightily convince and humble him, and renew repentance in him, we earnestly desire you, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, to help forward the work of God, to pity him, and pray for him, that if it be possible there be no necessity of proceeding to a further and heavier censure against him.'

If this sentence failed to procure satisfaction, after some considerable time had been granted to observe its effects, the sentence of excommunication was pronounced by the elders and publicly notified by the minister. The impenitent sinner was then regarded 'as a heathen man and publican,' and his salvation, while he continued in that state, was considered as utterly hopeless.

In all cases of discipline an appeal might be made from the censure of the congregational eldership to the judgment of the classical meeting.

The classical meetings were held once in every month, usually in the principal town of the classical district. A moderator was appointed for each meeting, and a scribe who retained his office so long as he was competent and willing to discharge its duties. Every meeting was opened with devotional exercises. Its business consisted partly of appeals from the congregational courts, and partly of matters affecting the whole district.

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered much more frequently, though with less formality, than was customary in the Scottish Church. It was usually celebrated on one Sunday in every month. On a preceding fast day, a public exercise was observed, and the communicants were earnestly exhorted to make careful preparation for the approaching solemnities. Any who were conscious of living in sin were solemnly warned not to desecrate the holy service; and all who knew of immoralities practised by communicants were earnestly charged to give information to the elders.

The minutes of the Manchester classis, preserved in the Chetham Library,* may illustrate the action and influence of the classical assemblies, which, as the provincial assembly met only once a quarter, were probably the most important, although not the highest, ecclesiastical courts of the Lancashire Presbyterians.†

* This seems to be only a copy, of which the original is in the possession of the Trustees of Cross Street Meeting House, Manchester. Of the accuracy of the copy I am assured by a gentleman who has been favoured with an opportunity of consulting the original.

† There is also in the Bodleian Library, among the Walker MSS., *A copy of the Minutes of the Second Classis usually meeting in Bolton*. This belonged to John Walker, and is cited by him as an authority in his *Sufferings of the Clergy*, part i. p. 39. He received it from the Rev. Mr. Gipps, a Rector of Bury. How perfectly or correctly it has been described I cannot tell, but I suspect its accuracy, chiefly because it contains accounts of some proceedings which must have belonged to other classes. As, however, I have little doubt of its general correctness in what properly belonged to the Bolton classis, I have adduced from it some of these particulars.

The first meeting of the Manchester classis was convened on Tuesday, February 16, 1646-7, and was held, as is generally said (I know not on whose authority), in the refectory of the college. Mr. Heyricke was chosen moderator, Mr. Gee scribe. The roll was carefully settled, and notice taken of the absent members. The orders agreed upon for future meetings were: '1. That a moderator be chosen for the next meeting. 2. That he begin and end with prayer. 3. That none shall speak but to the moderator, with his hat off. 4. That none shall begin to speak till he who spoke before be set down. 5. That he who first stands up to speak shall first speak. 6. That he who hath not spoken shall speak, if he desire it, before any that hath formerly spoken. 7. That the present business be fully determined before the following be begun.'

It was the duty of the classical assembly to hear any complaints that might be made affecting the character or competency of the elders of the several congregations belonging to its jurisdiction. The Manchester classis at its first meeting was engaged in considering some grave charges alleged against an elder of the congregation of Chorlton-cum-Hardy. He was accused of slander, of throwing a flagon in the face of an honest neighbour, of swearing by his faith, of scandalously indecent conduct towards a widow, of having a daughter before his marriage, and a son born twenty-seven weeks after it. The classis pronounced him unfit to be a ruling elder. It is strange that a man suspected of such scandals should have been elected to this responsible office.

The Manchester classis seems to have had a great deal of trouble with the Chorlton people. The minister in possession when the presbytery was established, 'one Pollets,' refused to conform to the new order of discipline. After causing the classis much annoyance, he was ejected in 1647. His successor, a Mr. Benson, summoned his elders to appear before the classis, and answer for 'railing words' addressed to himself. One of them, James Charlton, called the minister 'a liar, while he was in the pulpit.' The classis required Charlton to make an apology, and on his doing so proceeded no further in the matter. The next minister, John Adcroft, was quite as troublesome as his predecessors. He was charged with celebrating clandestine marriages, and with irregularly baptising children. As he treated the classis with contempt, its members, contrary to their own expressed opinions, appealed to the civil power for assistance. It was resolved at the meeting held July 8, 1651, that 'Mr. Warden be desired to request the assistance of a justice of the peace, concerning Mr. Adcroft's contempt of the classis.'

The classis had some trouble through the negligent and irregular attendance of its own members. The elders elected to represent the congregation of Didsbury refused to attend, and a deputation was appointed to confer with them, but apparently without success. Soon afterwards 'Mr. Clayton, the minister of Didsbury, did withdraw from the classis, and departed out of the classis without any order from the classis.' The presbyterian rule certainly did not work well in these petty disputes, which continually occupied the time of the Church courts.

A very commendable service was rendered to some worthy men by the classical assemblies in obtaining comfortable provision for the ministers of village congregations.

When Mr. Clayton, who afterwards behaved so badly to his classis, was ordained minister of Didsbury, arrangements were made to secure for him a more comfortable stipend than the curates of the chapelry had previously enjoyed. To accomplish this laudable object, a meeting of the congregation was convened, when it was represented to them that the money collected for the minister 'was not competent for the maintenance of so deserving a man.' The meeting resolved that the stipend should be augmented to forty pounds *per annum*. One reason assigned for the augmentation is curious, as showing that ministers' wives were then less costly or more managing than they are in our time: 'considering that Mr. Clayton is a single man, and so cannot husband it to advantage.'

The stipend of the curate of Chorlton had been lamentably insufficient for his support, and consequently the chapelry had been left for long intervals without a minister. In 1655, the Manchester classis ordained Mr. James Jackson minister of the chapel, and discovered that the miserable pittance known as 'the chapel wage' was insufficient for his decent maintenance. A deputation of the classis was appointed to confer with the people of Chorlton, and a meeting for that purpose was convened in the chapel. Mr. Harrison preached on ministerial support. Mr. Heyrick, Mr. Angier, and Mr. Newcome addressed the people. They resolved to secure for Mr. Jackson a stipend of 50*l.* instead of 35*l.*, and to 'do what they could to obtain five pounds more.' In these and in other instances, after the restoration of prelacy, the incomes of the clergy were reduced to the old standard, and even below it. For several years after the restoration, Chorlton had no curate 'for want of an endowment.' As late as 1717, the curate of that chapelry had only ten pounds a year for his maintenance.

In the minutes of the classis, references are made to cases in which the congregational elderships were directed to excommunicate offenders, as well as to instances in which their sentences of exclusion were revoked. At Ashton under Lyne, a man and woman, having been guilty of fornication, attempted to evade censure by obtaining the solemnisation of matrimony. The congregational assembly, not knowing what to do, referred the matter to the classical meeting. The classis, considering the marriage before satisfaction had been made to the Church a grievous aggravation of the sin, ordered the eldership 'to excommunicate George Morland, and Ann his wife, and to hold an exercise on Wednesday, February 23, to proceed with the business.' Several months afterwards, the parties, manifesting much sorrow, expressed publicly their penitence for their great wickedness. As their sentence had been pronounced by order of the classis, it could be revoked only by the same authority. It was therefore ordered by the classis, on the report of the congregational assembly that the offenders had made public satisfaction for 'their foul and scandalous sin,' that the sentence of excommunication be revoked, 'and that pub-

lication thereof be made by the elders.' It was a strange spectacle, that of a man and his wife standing before the congregation and confessing their sin, committed many months before their marriage. The exhibition of such scandals must have weakened rather than strengthened a proper sense of decency and moral obligation.

Appeals were frequently made to the classis respecting the tokens, or tickets of admission, given by the elders to persons applying for communion. Any person refused his token by the elders' court might appeal to the classis. A curious instance is mentioned in the minutes of the Bolton classis. The elders of Bolton had refused the token to Mr. Bradshaw, because he had admitted 'a scandalous minister,' probably an Episcopalian, to preach in his private chapel. The classis was perplexed: although its members did not like to encourage 'scandalous ministers,' they respected Mr. Bradshaw as a thoroughly good Presbyterian. They therefore compromised the matter. The elders ought, they said, to have admonished Mr. Bradshaw, and then, if he had not given satisfaction by penitential acknowledgment of sin, to have suspended him from the communion. As they had not given him an opportunity to make confession of his sin and satisfaction for it, the classis reversed the decision of the elders' court. Bradshaw thus escaped without receiving admonition, making confession, giving satisfaction, or suffering suspension.

No proceedings of the classical assemblies were regarded as more important or arranged with greater care than the ordinations of candidates for the ministry. In this respect there was a remarkable difference between the practice of the Lancashire and the London classes. As the presbyterian discipline was regularly established only in these two districts, the ordinations in them were very numerous. In London, the Westminster assembly as well as the classical assemblies conferred ordination, and in Lancashire every classis was authorised by parliament to ordain ministers for the counties in which the presbyterian discipline was not organised.* From all parts of the north of England candidates for the ministry resorted for ordination to the Lancashire classical assemblies.

When an 'expectant,' as he was called, or in Scottish phraseology a 'licentiate,' obtained 'a call' to a vacant church, he had generally to obtain the approval of the patron, especially in Lancashire, where, as is evident from the minutes of proceedings, the rights of patronage were more respected than they were in London. Thus in the minutes of the Manchester classis it is stated: 'Mr. Anthony Allen desired ordination; he showed a request and desire from the people of Ouston in Lincolnshire that he might be their minister. It is enjoined on him that he bring to the next classis a certificate that he hath the consent of the patron.' Expectants were also required to produce testimonials from the associate ministers of the counties to which they belonged, or in which they were called to officiate. Thus 'Henry

* Previously to this arrangement the Parliament passed an ordinance authorising the Rev. Charles Herle, Mr. Richard Heyricke, Mr. Hyett, Mr. Bradshaw, Mr. Isaac Ambrose and others, to the number of twenty-one, *pro tempore*, to ordain in the county of Lancaster. *Neal*, vol. ii. p. 165.

Vaughan brought a full certificate from the committee of Salop, another full certificate from the ministers of Salop, desired and freely elected by the people of Morton Sey, in the said county.' 'Mr. John Bridge brought a testimonial of his holiness of life from the Yorkshire ministers.' 'Mr. Thomas Clayton, aged about twenty-four, brought a certificate of his good conversation from Blackburn, where he was born.'

An 'expectant' could not receive ordination, until he had completed the twenty-third year of his age.* Proof of competent learning was required, and obtained partly from testimonials and partly from personal examination. 'Mr. Hugh Taylor, aged about twenty-eight, brought certificates of his being M.A. of Edinburgh, and of his large progress and ability in divinity from St. Andrews in Scotland. He hath been examined according to the rules for examination, according to the ordinances of parliament, and thereupon approved.' 'Mr. Ralph Worsley presented himself for ordination, being B.A. of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge; hath been examined in the languages, in Hebrew, Greek, logic, philosophy, ethics, physics, metaphysics, divinity, ecclesiastical history, and chronology, and was approved.'

The 'expectant' had to show that he had subscribed the national covenant, by which he was solemnly engaged to labour for the extirpation of popery, prelacy, heresy, and profaneness. He was directed to write a Latin thesis on some theological question proposed at the time, which thesis was to be produced at a future meeting of the classis. The questions usually referred to subjects of passing controversy with Papists, Prelatists, Arminians, or Anabaptists. The following are specimens: '*An detur peccatum originale inhærens?*' '*An detur liberum arbitrium in spiritualibus?*' '*An fides sola justificet?*' '*An infantes sint baptizandi?*'

The 'expectant' was required to preach before the classis, on a text previously selected for him. On giving satisfaction in these particulars, he received his '*si quis*,' as it was called, that is a notice to be appended to the door of the church of which he was invited to become the minister, announcing the proposed ordination, and requiring that if any one (*si quis*) had any objections, he should state them before the next meeting of the classis. 'Mr. Drury returned his *si quis*, testifying that the instrument had been published in the church of Gorton, and that nothing at all was objected against his proceeding to ordination.'

These preliminaries having been completed, a day of religious exercises was appointed, and the expectant was ordained with fasting, prayers, imposition of hands, and other solemnities. 'Just satisfaction being given to the classis of the age of Mr. Baxter, his degree in the university, good life, and call to the ministry of the Gospel in the congregation of Michael's upon Wyre' (not St. Michael's, no saints

* 'I was then advanced into my twenty-third year about five months, and so within view of my ordination age; for a day above twenty-three was then called twenty-four current, and allowed sufficient for matter of age, if other things concurred for the admission of young scholars to ordination.'—*Life of Adam Martindale*, ch. iv. § 6.

being then acknowledged in Lancashire), 'as also he being upon due examination for his abilities and fitness for the work approved, upon the thirtieth day of March (it being a day of solemn fasting appointed for the business), at Manchester, Mr. Constantine began with prayer, Mr. Walker preached, Mr. Leigh continued the duty of prayer after sermon, Mr. Angier propounded the questions to the said Mr. Baxter, who did before the congregation make public confession of his faith, and such declaration as was requisite according to the ordinance aforesaid, with earnest prayer by Mr. Angier, he was solemnly set apart to the work of the ministry by the imposition of the hands of the presbytery; exhortation was also given to him touching his duty by Mr. Angier, and the action ended with prayer. The congregation was then dismissed.'

Frequently several 'expectants' were ordained at the same time.

It was not unusual for young men, after completing their academical course, to spend one or two years previously to ordination with an approved minister, rendering such assistance as 'expectants' could render, and receiving instruction in the duties of the pastoral office. They frequently took some part of the public service, as reading the scriptures and offering prayer, and occasionally preached on one part of the Sunday. Mr. Angier was in great repute as a loving instructor with whom 'expectants' resided that they 'might have the benefit of his grave example, pious instruction, and useful conversation.' John Worthington, B.A. of Katharine Hall, Cambridge, having been with him about a year, and obtained a call from Oldham, presented his testimonials, signed the covenant, defended his thesis on the question, '*An sola fides justificet*,' and was ordained by the Manchester classis. Ralph Seddon, B.A. of Christ's College, Cambridge, after assisting Mr. Angier two years, was ordained on a call from the chapelry of Gorton.

Ordination was on some occasions deferred, and on some refused, on account of the inability of the expectants to satisfy the classis with respect to their examinations. 'Mr. Scoales was examined in logic, philosophy, ethics, metaphysics, and Greek, but not approved.' A son of good John Angier applied for ordination, when it appeared that he had led an irregular course of life, and he was ordered to give satisfaction by making a public confession of his sins at the time of morning service. This exposure must have been a strange preparation for his ordination, but after it had been made, 'he was appointed to be ordained.'

I have noticed the contrast between the difficulty of obtaining ordination in Lancashire, and the facility of obtaining it in London. The life of Adam Martindale supplies a remarkable illustration.

Adam was a good, but a self-taught scholar. With exemplary diligence he had made considerable progress in languages, logic, philosophy, and especially mathematics. 'Within view of ordination age,' he worked hard and anxiously to supply the deficiencies of his early education, and to satisfy the demands of the presbyterian examiners. Having obtained a call to the chapelry of Gorton, he seems to have had some fear of his examination, for he delayed in

applying for ordination, while as 'an expectant' he could preach in the chapel, and the communicants might receive the communion at Didsbury, Denton, or some other chapel in the neighbourhood. As to the few children for whom baptism might be required, he could secure the services of an ordained minister. Some of the elders insisted upon immediate trial for ordination; but kind John Angier pleaded for some longer time to be allowed to a modest young man, working hard with his preparations. Heyricke, to whom the matter was referred, said 'Let the boy tarry at Jericho until his beard be grown.'

Adam resolved to make the most of his opportunity, but he prolonged it beyond the expectation of the classis. Nearly a year and a half after his application, 'July 8, 1647. Mr. Angier is desired to speak to Mr. Martindale to know the reason of his not coming.' 'September 1, 1647. Mr. Martindale to be warned to appear at the next meeting.' He had in the meanwhile excited some prejudice in the minds of the ministers, by expressing a favourable opinion of the 'new-fangled notions of the Independents.'

With this delay of his ordination, Adam saw no reason to connect a simultaneous delay of his marriage. It was easier for a young man to please a young woman than a class of elderly ministers. Soon after his marriage he received 'a brisk call' to Rosthern in Cheshire, and renewed his application to be ordained by the Manchester classis. He passed his examinations creditably. His thesis was '*An liceat merè privatis in ecclesiâ constitutâ concionari?*' The question was probably suggested by the favourable opinion which the 'expectant' was supposed to have expressed of some practices of the Independents. Adam, however, having like most self-taught men a great contempt for ignorance, defended the negative, and obtained his '*si quis*,' which was affixed to the door of Rosthern church. But new difficulties troubled him. The '*si quis*' was returned with several objections signed by eleven parishioners, of whom, however, two were 'wicked,' three 'addicted to vicious courses,' one 'miserably poor through debauchery,' two 'unfit for any business that required reason,' and one 'had fallen off from all public worship.' Further, the patron would not give his consent. It was resolved, 'Nov. 21, 1648. Not to proceed to ordain the said Martindale to Rosthern, until the title he had to the place were created.'

In these new difficulties, and after his long delay, Adam went to London, and the day after his arrival waited on 'Mr. Caryl of Magnus at the bridge foot, and Dr. Younge of Blackfriars,' who told him to 'make haste to Andrew Undershaft, in which church the classis was sitting, and soon about to adjourn. The clerk, on hearing of the distance the young man had come, persuaded the ministers to stay a little longer. Although 'Dr. Spurstow the moderator was somewhat discontented,' the examinations were allowed and soon finished, and the next day Martindale was ordained, when 'Dr. Manton preached an excellent sermon.' Adam returned the ordained and legal minister of Rosthern, caring

little for the patron, the signers of the '*si quis*,' or the Manchester classis.*

The rule of worship in the Presbyterian Church was 'The Directory for Public Prayer, Reading the Holy Scripture, Singing of Psalms, Preaching of the Word, Administering of the Sacraments, and other parts of the public worship of God, ordinary and extraordinary.' It was composed by the Westminster Assembly, and enjoined by an ordinance of parliament.†

According to the Directory the people were to enter the assembly 'not irreverently, but in a grave and seemly manner, taking their places without adoration, or bowing themselves towards one place or another.' This direction is worthy of notice, as opposed to the scandalous indecency with which Scotch Presbyterians are accustomed to enter and leave their churches. The minister 'after solemn calling upon the great name of God,' was to begin with prayer, 'in all reverence and humility acknowledging the incomparable greatness and majesty of the Lord, in whose presence they do then in a spiritual sense appear.' The prayer, including 'confession of sin, and supplication for pardon, assistance, and acceptance of the whole service,' was to be followed by 'the reading of the scriptures in an orderly manner, to the exclusion of the apocrypha.' An excellent direction is appended, which it would be desirable for ministers in our time to observe: 'When the minister shall judge it necessary to expound any part of what is read, let it not be done until the whole chapter or psalm be ended.' After reading the scripture and singing a psalm, the minister was to endeavour to excite devout feeling in his own heart and in the hearts of the people, by 'calling upon the Lord to this effect.' A form is given, but only as a guide, and an excellent form it is, unequalled, I think, by any formulary in the Book of Common Prayer. The sermon was followed by an appropriate prayer, for which the Directory contains an excellent 'method,' not prescribed, but only recommended. After singing another psalm, 'let the minister dismiss the congregation with a solemn blessing.' I cannot imagine any religious service more solemn, more appropriate, or more edifying than one conducted by an able, judicious, and devout minister, according to the rules and in the spirit of the Directory.

Among the many foolish things which have been said of the Presbyterians, one is that they neglected the Lord's Prayer in their public services. Their Directory instructed them, 'Because the prayer which Christ taught His disciples is not only a pattern of prayer, but in itself a most comprehensive prayer, we recommend it to be also used in the prayers of the Church.'

The directions for the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper would be in almost every particular appropriate to those sacraments as they are now generally administered by Protestant dissenters. In baptism the sign of the cross was prohibited, not expressly but by implication, in the words, 'by pouring or sprinkling

* *Life of Martindale*, ch. iv. § 20.

† Dated, Die Veneris, 8 Januarii, 1644.

of water on the face of the child, without adding any other ceremony.'

The directory for solemnising matrimony is, I think, quite as good as any, and much better than many, which have been published since that time. The use of the ring is not mentioned, although many of the Puritans objected to it as a relic of superstition. It has been often said that marriage was celebrated by the English Presbyterians with little solemnity or impressiveness, but said only by those who do not understand them. In this respect, as in some others, the Presbyterian Church established in Lancashire contrasted favourably with its sister church in Scotland. The contracting and the ratifying of marriage were two great solemnities in the puritan families of Lancashire. No sooner were young people 'engaged,' as we call it, than the engagement was notified with religious formality. A domestic service was observed, friends were invited, prayers were offered by a minister, and a sermon appropriate to the occasion was often preached. This service was called 'the handfasting.' 'We were married,' says Adam Martindale, 'very solemnly (about a month after Mr. Angier had contracted us) by Mr. Heyricke in Manchester church.*' Similar notices often occur in the puritan biographies of the time.†

Such was the presbyterian polity established in Lancashire in 1646. Its administration was conducted by very able men, as Heyricke, Hollingworth, Herle, Harrison, Angier, Tilsley, Gee, and Isaac Ambrose. On its completion, these and other ministers of the county 'congratulated the eldership that Christ, the Head of the Church, had stirred up and stood by the honourable and pious parliament in its endeavours to wrest the government of the Church from the hands of usurpers, and to deliver it purged from its former depravements unto His servants, unto whom by His will He had assigned it, and though the reformation had proceeded with slow steps, yet that eventually the hand of God had been exalted in the redemption of their lives, their liberties, and their estates, from the common enemy, and in the establishment of their ecclesiastical government, the progress of which in Lancashire they had so much cause to admire.' †

* *Life of Martindale*, ch. iv. § 11.

† During the Commonwealth, marriages were frequently contracted before magistrates authorised to ratify and register the contract, but these civil contracts were looked upon with no more favour by the Presbyterian ministers than they were by the Episcopalians. Magistrates appointed for the purpose proclaimed the banns of marriage in markets and other places of public resort. Edward Hopwood, Esq., a puritan magistrate, seems to have been especially engaged in this service. Baines, vol. iii. p. 65, calls him 'the general Parliamentary High Priest of these parts.' According to the parish register, he proclaimed the banns of marriage in 1659 at the market cross of Bolton; in 1655 he had done the same service at Radcliffe. According to the register of Whalley 'the agreement of marriage between Roger Kenyon, Gent. and Mrs. Alice Rigby was duly published at the market town of Clitheroe on three market days.'

‡ *The deliberate Resolution of the Ministers of the Gospel within the county palatine of Lancaster with the Grounds and Cautions according to which they put into*

Presbyterianism thus established in Lancashire did not work so smoothly or pleasantly as its zealous friends had expected. Although Prelatists were silenced and Papists subdued, new enemies, armed with strange weapons, appeared to trouble them. Instead of Land and his suffragans in their canonicals of silk and fine linen, claiming authority over the consciences of Christians, were George Fox and his quaking men in their leathern coats, denying the authority of presbyteries and synods and all ecclesiastical officers. The Independents, although not numerous in Lancashire, were becoming formidable from the ability and energy of two or three of their preachers, and from the encouragement they received from Colonel Thomas Birch, Sir Robert Dukenfield, and other officers of the Republican army, who, having retired from the service, were in their several villages ready to protect the principles they had learnt and professed in the camp. With them came a strange people whose name was legion, Anabaptists, Arians, Arminians, Antiuomians, Brownists, and so on through all the letters of the alphabet. Having formed a religious establishment, the Presbyterians became an object of envy to many, and attracted to their Church many more, who, having no respect for their discipline, yet desired to obtain some share of its social advantages. In excluding such men the ministers came into collision with the magistrates; in admitting them, they admitted some who in their self-sufficiency and obstinacy became very troublesome to the ecclesiastical courts. Presbyterianism, somewhat proud of its newly-acquired position, and haughty in the use of its privileges, had no small share of the troubles and inconveniences which the officials of every religious establishment must feel, unless it be like the papacy in its strength, able to control the civil power, or like prelacy in state livery willing to obey its commands. Presbyterianism was like neither. It assumed an authority which it could not regulate, and was therefore compelled to submit to the control of the state to prevent the abuse of that assumed authority. Its assumption was arrogant, and its submission humiliating. While in other respects it worked exceedingly well, in its connection and collisions with the civil power it worked exceedingly ill.

A few instances, and they are few selected from many, will expose the evils of the relations which were established between presbyterianism and the civil power in Lancashire.

One of the earliest sources of embarrassment to the presbyterian authorities was found in the official position of such ministers as, retaining their preference for the older forms of worship, were yet willing to observe the formularies of the new establishment, so far as they were required by the laws and ordinances of parliament. A worthy minister belonging to the classical division of Bolton was cited before the classis for kneeling in private prayer, when he entered the pulpit, before the commencement of the public service. Although the performance of private devotion in public was contrary to presbyterian custom, it was not a violation of any established rule. As

execution the Presbyterian Government. London, 1647. A very scarce tract, quoted in Hibbert's *History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester.*

the good man might quite as well have prayed in the privacy of his vestry, it may not be easy to say why he should have chosen for his private devotion the precise moment when it would become apparent to all the congregation; just as it is not easy to divine the motive of some good ministers who in these times make an ostentatious performance of their private prayers in their pulpits. But the accused minister conducted the public worship in exact conformity with the authorised directory. The classis, therefore, unwilling to allow the practice, but unable to condemn it, prolonged the proceedings, and eventually left the matter undetermined, very much to their own humiliation and the annoyance of the people. Another minister in the same district continued to wear the surplice, which, even under the rule of prelacy, had been generally disused in that part of Lancashire. The ministers had so often pleaded for liberty in the use of vestments that they could not gracefully refuse to others what they had demanded for themselves. Refuse it, however, they did, and the offending minister silently or sullenly submitted to their decision. But the poor man was not so easily delivered from his enemies. He was accused of having 'frequented malignants' company,' of 'not publicly manifesting any sorrow for his malignancy,' of 'alleging scripture for the king,' of 'going to an ale-feast when the parliament forces were fighting against Warrington,' of 'not singing psalms,' of 'going to a horse-race on Barlow Moor,' and of some other naughty things. As the result of these proceedings does not appear in the minutes, either they were prolonged beyond the time there specified, or the good man, Mr. Pollit, satisfied the classis without any further investigation.

In another instance, however, Mr. Gilbody, minister of Holcombe chapel, who had been moderator of the classis, was suspended because he 'did go to a horse race,' because he 'did sit tipling in an ale house, where was fiddling,' and because 'he was present at a bowling on a common ale-house bowling-green.'* Had the Manchester classis been as strict as the Bolton, both Heyricke and Newcoome would have been suspended for bowling.

A curious case came before the Bolton classis. At the examination of two candidates for ordination, it appeared that one 'had married the other,' that is, had solemnised the marriage. As the former had not been ordained, he had done very wrong, and both candidates had to 'give satisfaction' for being concerned in 'a clandestine marriage.'†

The new method of solemnising matrimony was offensive to many people who were compelled to submit to the presbyterial rule as obligatory upon the authorised clergy. In some instances, the people who preferred the old formulary were married by ejected clergymen, or by unauthorised persons, as clerks and schoolmasters. Not content with leaving the legitimacy of such marriages to the judgment of the civil courts, the presbyteries prematurely declared them to be unlawful, and required all persons who had been so married since the passing of the ordinance of parliament to be re-married in the regular

* *Minutes of the Second Classis*, cited by Walker.

† *Minutes of the Second Classis*, Walker, i. p. 40.

manner, or to be excluded from the communion of the Church. As their own ministers were prohibited from solemnising matrimony in the prelatial manner, Mr. Jones, minister of Eccles, had to make a very humble submission before the Manchester classis, for having, before the prohibition was published, made use of the old formulary. After prohibiting such marriages, the classis required all persons who had been married by any other than their own ministers to inform the elders how, where, and by whom they had been married, in order to 'free themselves from the suspicion of living in fornication.' Several couples were cited to appear before the classis, by whom they were reprov'd for their immorality, and ordered to have their marriage solemnised in the regular manner. One woman of Ashton under Lyne boldly refused to abnegate her marriage. To submit to a repetition of the marriage solemnity would be to confess that she, a chaste and honourable woman, had lived in dishonour and sin. She refused to submit as positively as any of the presbyterian ministers afterwards refused to submit to reordination. Her husband was more pliable, or more timid. The minute of the classis is, 'Agreed that William Hardy and his reputed wife are bound to consummate their marriage. She absolutely refuseth ever to marry him. Noted, that they are guilty of fornication. He acknowledgeth that it is a great sin, but asserts that she is his wife before God.'

In many instances parents refused to have their children baptised in the presbyterian manner. Had the ministers allowed to others the liberty which they had in earlier times claimed for themselves, they would have avoided much perplexity, division, and ill-feeling. Some of them, if liberty had been allowed, would have baptised according to the old formulary, but the use of it was prohibited in the churches. Many parents, therefore, resorted for the baptism of their children to ejected ministers, or to unauthorised persons. The schoolmaster of Prestwich was in great request to baptise children in the manner formerly used. To escape observation or punishment, he usually performed the service after sunset, when in those times very few people went abroad.

But the most prolific source of presbyterian difficulties was the authority of the eldership in admitting to the communion of the Church, and especially in excluding from it. In voluntary societies this power, if wisely used, is very seldom the cause of perplexity or trouble to either ministers or people. But in an established Church, exclusion from its communion is exclusion from a position of credit and respectability, to which all subjects of the realm have equal claim, unless they incur its forfeiture by some offence, proved by legal evidence, and punished by magisterial authority.

The elders of every congregation had the authority of a parliamentary ordinance to exclude from their communion the 'ignorant' and the 'scandalous.' Both these words could be construed with much latitude of interpretation. It was not easy to say what degree of ignorance disqualified a man as 'ignorant,' or what amount of scandal disqualified him as 'scandalous.' As an appeal was allowed from one Church court to another, through three gradations, and

eventually to the civil magistrate, these two words supplied material for interminable litigation.

So far as 'ignorance' was concerned, the elders were armed with inquisitorial power to ascertain the degree of religious knowledge which was possessed by candidates for the communion of the Church. Even acknowledged communicants might at any time be challenged for 'ignorance,' and compelled to prove their competent knowledge before the court of elders. By a liberal construction of the term 'ignorance,' it was made to include heresy and opposition to the discipline of the Church. If a man did not approve of the doctrine of the Westminster confession, it was charitable to attribute his disapproval to his ignorance, and thus charity was made to do the work of persecution by excluding him, not from a voluntary society, but from a national Church.

Still more comprehensive in the judgment of the presbyterian courts was the word 'scandalous.' It would excite no surprise to find drunkards, gamblers, and adulterers branded as 'scandalous,' but the Lancashire elders discovered a much wider interpretation for the word. All who had fought in defence of the king, although they were able to plead the amnesty of parliament, were declared to be 'scandalous,' unless they had given satisfaction to the Church by publicly acknowledging their great sin in defending prelacy and false religion. 'Cavalierism' was a charge sometimes brought against ministers, elders, and even private members of the Church. Householders were declared 'scandalous' for hiring papistical servants, or employing papistical tailors.* An elder was charged with scandal for neglecting to sing in his family (probably the good man had no musical ability); another for 'swearing by his faith'; another for 'going to an ale feast'; another for saying the 'parliament was a body without a head.' Parliamentarians brought charges of 'scandal' against Royalists, Royalists against Parliamentarians, and retired soldiers against men of both parties. The disputes of families, and idle tales of villages, were often brought before the Church courts, which, embarrassed with endless complaints and appeals, found great difficulty in making their discipline produce anything better than suspicions, jealousies, quarrels, and lawsuits.†

* Tailors, in those times, like the 'dirzies' in India, commonly went from one house to another to work for families.

† Oliver Heywood gives an account of a curious dispute between his father Richard Heywood and the ministers and elders of the congregation of Bolton. Richard, a shrewd, clever man of business, liked to have his own way in his religion as well as in his trade, while he wisely left his good wife to rule his family. The ministers and elders gave 'little tickets,' as they called them, made of lead, to the approved candidates for the communion, and expected them to be produced on admission to the sacrament. Richard did not approve of these 'little tickets,' partly because he looked upon them as an innovation and a snare, partly because it was cumbersome to the communicants, partly because no other church in the county had any such practice. So he refused to take and shew his 'ticket.' As after admonition 'he was still resolute, persisting in his schism, they suspended him from the Lord's Supper.' Still worse, 'they did also excommunicate him for contempt, because, as they said, he laughed them to scorn; for having naturally a smiling countenance, he might sometimes smile in his discourse with them.' This

There was, however, a better side of Presbyterianism, which, had it not been connected with the civil power, would have secured the confidence and respect of all Protestant Englishmen. Public worship was observed with more order and solemnity than had been previously known in the county. The salutary influence of religious principles was observed diffusing itself among all grades of social life, and elevating the morals of the people. Although the rules of ecclesiastical discipline were in many instances too rigorously and inquisitorially enforced, the presbyterian government of the Church in Lancashire never assumed, or never was able to maintain, the harsh and oppressive rule which, justly or unjustly, has been attributed to it in Scotland. Subject to the lenient but effectual restraint of the civil power, it secured a general respect for the clerical character, a becoming regard for the solemnities of religion, and a regular administration of its ordinances, such as had never been enforced in the county under episcopal authority.

Of the troublers of the Presbyterian Israel, not the least annoying were the wild and fanatical sects brought into life by the intense excitement of the civil war. Discussions upon all sorts of religious subjects prevailed in markets, fairs, public houses, wherever men and women came together. These discussions, conducted by persons previously unaccustomed to think about religion, brought suddenly as to the light of a new day, or the use of a new faculty, and disturbed by strange apprehensions of mystic communings with spiritual powers, produced a countless variety of conflicting opinions among enthusiastic people, all of whom believed they had a mission to promulgate their opinions, wherever they could find or make an opportunity. Having little respect for Church order, ministerial authority, or ecclesiastical sanctities, they gave endless trouble and annoyance to the grave, formal, reverend ministers of the established order.

Many of these sects were short-lived. The most remarkable of them still remains, and although gradually declining, it retains all that was good in its founders, while it has outgrown almost all that was evil. I am not disposed to chronicle the doings or the sufferings of the early Quakers, although they may almost be called a Lancashire sect, as the earliest and most successful labours of their founder were in that county and its neighbourhood. Their sufferings were cruelly severe, although it must be acknowledged by those who respect their

seems to have been just what smiling Richard wished. Notwithstanding the entreaties of his wife he would not yield and conform, but appealed to the 'Classis' which met at that time, as it did occasionally, at Bury. The Classis disapproving of the severity of 'the eldership' attempted to mediate and induce the elders peaceably to admit the offender to the sacrament. But Richard did not approve of mediation nor desire peace. He was determined to have a triumph over the elders. He, therefore, appealed to the Provincial Assembly at Preston, who decided that the elders should revoke their sentence and receive the offender again to their fellowship. Unwilling as they were to restore him without some expressions of contrition, they were compelled to obey the order of the Assembly. In doing so they 'made some hints as though he had submitted.' Displeased with this attempt to disguise their defeat, he would not 'join with them in the Lord's Supper afterwards, but was entertained at Cockey and all places about.' Hunter's *Life of Oliver Heywood*, pp. 65-67.

principles and admire their honesty and fortitude, that they provoked much of the persecution which they so patiently endured, and repelled the assistance which good men of other parties would have been ready to afford them. A modern 'friend,' mild, pleasant, neatly dressed, carefully educated, perfected in proprieties, is as unlike as possible, except in a few 'principles,' to the obtrusive, intolerant, rude, coarse, disputatious Quaker of the early days of their sect. While I honour those rude men for the testimony which they faithfully bore to great principles, I do not wonder at the bad treatment they often received from the presbyterian clergy. Their chief feuds, however, in the days of the Commonwealth, were not with the Presbyterians, but with the Independents and Baptists, who were more ready to accept their challenges, and engage in their protracted disputes. As I proceed, they may occasionally cross my path, and if they do I shall endeavour to speak of them with the esteem which they deserve for their unfaltering testimony to important truths, but I shall not go out of my way either to praise or to censure their doings.

No sooner were the Presbyterians established in Lancashire than they began to be troubled by the Independents and to trouble them in return. The Independent sect was not at that time so young as some writers have represented it. It was not, as is often said, born in the camp of Fairfax or of Cromwell. Its adherents, of a better sort than the republican soldiers, previously existed in Norfolk, in Lincolnshire, in London, in Holland, in New England, in both universities, in many parts of the kingdom, although scarcely in Lancashire. Even when their principles, or some of them, prevailed in the republican camp, the Independent soldiers, or most of them, were very different religionists from the friends of John Robinson or the dissenting brethren of the Westminster assembly. Such Independent ministers as Dr. Goodwin and Mr. Burroughs, grave, orderly, scholarly men, had little in common with the preaching colonels of the republican army. The best of the Independent soldiers would have been ill at ease under the discipline of the pastor and deacons of a congregational church, or of a congregational consociation of New England.

In one particular the Independents were generally agreed, and in that particular the Presbyterians, with even more unanimity, were directly and violently opposed to them. The Independents were for toleration, their regular pastors with some limitations, their preaching soldiers to an unlimited extent. Their best educated and orderly ministers, like Samuel Eaton, however intolerant they may have been in controversy, contended for a legal toleration of opinions which were not practically injurious to society, or not opposed to the great verities of Christian doctrine. The Independents of the army claimed toleration for all sorts of people, except perhaps the prelatical and presbyterian clergy.

The Presbyterians with one voice denounced toleration, both in its modified and in its unmitigated form. When toleration was a new thing upon the earth, a firm opposition to it may excite no surprise, but we may well wonder at the fierce and unrelenting opposition which prevailed among the Lancashire clergy. Their fiery denuncia-

tions of the new opinions were more like the cries of maniacs than the remonstrances of clergymen. Their brethren in London could say hard things of sectaries, but I cannot believe that even the London clergy, under the guidance of such men as Dr. Manton, would have approved of 'The Harmonious Consent of the Ministers of the Province within the County Palatine of Lancaster, with their Reverend Brethren the Ministers of the Province of London, in their late Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to our Solemn League and Covenant, as also against the Errors, Heresies, and Blasphemies of the time, and the Toleration thereof.' This fierce remonstrance, drawn up by Heyricke with the assistance of Tilsley, is the appropriate expression of the frantic spirit which prevailed among the consenting ministers of the county. While Heyricke and Tilsley thus furiously denounced toleration, Hollingworth reasoned against it, Angier warned his friends of its evil, Harrison preached it down, even Charles Herle forgot his moderation, and Isaac Ambrose his charity.

'The Harmonious Consent' of the ministers of Lancashire 'with their reverend brethren the ministers of the Province of London' suggests the enquiry, How far did 'the Harmonious Consent' correctly represent the agreement of the Lancashire and the London clergy? Among the Presbyterians of London much alarm had been excited by the rise of strange sects in the army, by the growing influence of the Independents, by the vigorous, not to say unconstitutional, measures of the republican leaders, and by the scarcely-concealed determination to abolish the regal government. Hugh Peters had been employed to conciliate the ministers and gain their countenance to the violent proceedings of the extreme party; but he had no success with the Presbyterians and very little with the Independents. From a meeting of the London clergy, convened in Sion College, a paper issued, 'A Serious and Faithful Representation of the Judgment of the Ministers of the Gospel within the Province of London whose Names are subscribed, contained in a Letter to the General and his Council of War, delivered to his Excellency by some of the Subscribers, January 18, 1648.' This representation, calm, earnest, respectful, but very firm, was creditable to the understandings and the hearts of the London clergy.*

'The Harmonious Consent,' published soon afterwards, of the Lancashire ministers, was very unlike the 'Representation' of the London clergy. It was in temper and spirit less firm but more violent, less directly opposed to the measures of the republicans, but far more vehement in its denunciations of all kinds of sectaries. On the subject of toleration, then slowly making way among some of the London clergy, nothing more horrible was ever put upon paper by religionists of any sort. Heyricke and his brethren say: 'We are here led to express with what astonishment and horror we are struck, when we seriously weigh what endeavours are used for the establishing of an universal toleration of all the pernicious errors,

* London. Printed by J. Meacock for Luke Fawne, at the sign of the Parrot, in St. Paul's Churchyard. 1648.

blasphemous and heretical doctrines broached in these times, as if men would not sin fast enough except they were bidden; or as if God were not already enough dishonoured except the throne of iniquity were set up, framing mischief by a law; or as if men were afraid that error (a goodly plant to be cherished) would not grow fast enough except it were made much of; or as if it might as justly lay claim to the privilege of being defended as truth itself; or as if there were any danger that Satan would not destroy souls enough, except he might do the same without all restraint. For our own parts, as we can never sufficiently admire and wonder that any who have taken the Solemn League and Covenant should either have so quickly forgotten it, or else imagine that the establishing a toleration of heresy and schism by a law should be the way to extirpate them; so also here we shall take occasion to declare what our apprehensions are concerning such a toleration.

'Besides, what else would this be but a setting up the image of jealousy that provokes to jealousy, and a putting upon God (who knows how many) co-rivals? It would be a giving Satan free liberty to set up his thresholds by God's thresholds, and his posts by God's posts, his Dagon by God's ark, which how dishonourable it would be to God and Jesus Christ His only Son we leave all men to judge. They that search diligently cannot find in it love to God, or love to His truth, or love to men's precious souls. Nay, it strongly savours of leaving of first love, which Christ hates; of lukewarmness and want of zeal, for which Christ threatens to spue out of His mouth; of love to error, and an apprehension of some amiableness and worth therein for which it were to be desired, or else why should there be a special pleading to have it tenderly dealt with and indulged? Even as it argued a love to Baal in them that pleaded for him against Gideon, because he had cast down his altar and cut down the grove that was by it. It would be no part of England's thankfulness unto God, after so many deliverances and mercies received from Him, to grant men open liberty to blaspheme God at their pleasure, wrest the scriptures to their own destruction, trample upon His holy ordinances, slight and contemn all ministry, despise His messengers, commit all manner of abomination, and for every one to go a-whoring after his own inventions, which yet would be the effects of a lawless toleration. Add yet further, that a toleration would be the putting of a sword into a madman's hand; a cup of poison into the hand of a child; a letting loose of madmen with firebrands in their hands; an appointing a city of refuge in men's consciences for the devil to fly to; a laying of the stumbling-block before the blind; a proclaiming liberty to the wolves to come into Christ's fold to prey upon His lambs; a toleration of soul-murder (the greatest murder of all other), and for the establishing whereof damned souls in hell would accuse men on earth. Neither would it be to provide for tender consciences, but to take away all conscience; if evil be suffered, it will not suffer good; if error be not forcibly kept under, it will be superior; which we here the rather speak of, to undeceive those weak ones who, under the specious pretext of liberty of conscience (though falsely so called, and

being indeed, as is well observed by the general assembly of the Church of Scotland, liberty of error, scandal, schism, heresy, dishonouring God, opposing the truth, hindering reformation, and seducing others), are charmed by Satan into a better liking of an unconscientious toleration. We also dread to think what horrid blasphemies would be belched out against God; what vile abominations would be committed; how the duties of nearest relations would be violated; what differences and divisions there would be in families and congregations; what heart-burnings would be caused; what disobedience to the civil magistrate that might be palliated over with a pretence of conscience, as well as other opinions and practices; what disturbance of the civil peace, and dissolution of all humane society, and of all government in the Church and Commonwealth, if once liberty were given by a law (which God forbid) for men to profess and practise what opinions they pleased; yea, sin would be then committed without any restraint or shame, although the more liberty to sin the greater bondage. The establishing of a toleration would make us become the abhorring and loathing of all nations, and being so palpable a breach of our covenant would be the high-road way to lay England's glory for ever in the dust, and awaken against us the Lord of Hosts to bring a sword upon us, to avenge the quarrel of His covenant. A toleration added to our sins would make us to God an intolerable burthen; He would doubtless think of easing Himself, He would be weary of repenting. And when Jesus Christ shall come to judge both the quick and the dead, the very lukewarm prelates whom Christ hath spued out of His mouth (who in their times would never consent to such a toleration) would rise up in judgment against us and condemn us. And therefore, however some may conceive that in things of the mind the sword is not put into the hands of the civil magistrate for the terror of evil doers, yet because we judge the toleration of all kinds of opinions and professions in matters of faith (errors therein being in the number of those evil works to which the magistrate is to be a terror), to be impious and wicked, and would be a tender nurse to give suck to and cherish the foul, ugly, monstrous, and misshapen births of our times, as it would be also destructive to the common wealth, . . . we do here profess . . . that we do detest the fore-mentioned toleration. And whatever others may expect to the contrary, yet we hope that God will never suffer the parliament of England to be so unmindful of either their Solemn League and Covenant, or of their own former declarations and remonstrances, protestations and professions, as once to give a listening ear to such as might move for such a thing; and that they may be kept from being guilty of so great a sin shall be our earnest prayer for them unto God continually night and day.*

* To this 'Harmonious Consent' the following names were subscribed:—

Richard Heyricke, warden of Christ
Colledg in Manchester
Richard Hollingsworth, Fellow of Christ
Colledg in Manchester

Robert Yates, pastor of the Church at
Warrington
Bradley Hayhurst, preacher of the Word
at Leigh

That this extraordinary document was subscribed by nearly all the presbyterian ministers of Lancashire can be explained only by supposing that they were frightened out of calm thought and wise consideration by the monstrous apparitions, which were rising on all sides and threatening their newly-established Church. The signs of the times were disastrous; the portents were such as neither they nor their fathers had ever seen before. History is said to repeat itself,

Alexander Horrocks, minister of the Gospel at Deane

John Tilsley, pastor of Dean

John Harper, pastor of Bolton

Richard Goodwyn, minister of the gospel at Bolton

Richard Benson, minister of Chollerton

William Alt, min. of Bury

Robert Bath, pastor of Rachdal

William Asheton, pastor of Middleton

John Harrison, pastor of Ashton-under-line

Thomas Pyke, pastor of Radcliff

John Angier, pastor of Denton

William Walker, minister of the Gospel at Newton-Heath chapel

Toby Furnesse, minister of the Gospel

John Joanes, min. of Eccles

Edward Woolmer, min. of Flixton

Robert Gilbody, preacher at Holcome

Jonathan Scholefield, min. at Heywood

Thomas Holland, min. of Ringley

Thomas Clayton, min. of Didsbury

Robert Constantine, min. of Oulldham

Peter Bradshaw, min. of Cockey

John Brierley, preacher at Salford

Thomas Johnson, min. of the Gospel at Halsal

William Bell, pastor of Hyton

William Dun, min. of the Gospel at Ormeskirk

James Worrall, pastor of Aughton

William Aspinwal, preacher of God's Word at Mayhall

John Mallison, min. of God's Word at Melling

Robert Seddon, min. of God's Word at Alker

Will. Norcot, minister of West Derby

Will. Ward, min. of the Gospel at Walton

Nevil Kay, pastor at Walton

Henry Boulton, preacher at Hale

John Fogg, pastor of Liverpool

Joseph Tompson, min. of Sephton

Jo. Kyd, min. of Much-Crosby

James Bradshaw, pastor of the Church at Wigan

James Starkey, pastor of North-meoles

James Wood, preacher of the Word at Asheton in Makerfield

Thomas Norman, pastor of Newton

Timothy Smith, preacher of the Word at Rainforth

John Wright, pastor of Billinge

Henry Shaw, pastor at Holland

Thomas Crompton, min. of the Gospel at Astley

William Bagaley, min. of the Gospel at Burtonwood

William Leigh, preacher of the Word at Newchurch

Richard Mawdesley, pastor of Ellins

James Hyet, pastor of Croston

Thomas Cranage, pastor of Brindle

Edward Gee, minister of the Gospel at Eccleston

Paul Latham, pastor of Standish

Samuel Joanes, pastor of Hoole

Henry Welch, min. at Chorley

Wil. Brownsword, preacher at Dugglas

James Crichely, preacher at Penwortham

Edward Fleetwood, pastor at Kirkham

Isaac Ambrose, pastor of Preston

William Addison, lecturer at Preston

William Ingham, minist. at Goosen-arghe

Matthew Moore, minister at Broughton

Christopher Edmundson, pastor at Garstang

Thomas Smith, preacher at Garstang Chapel

John Breres, minister at Padiam

Richard Jackson, pastor at Whittington

Nicolas Smith, pastor of Tatham

Robert Shaw, pastor at Cockeram

James Scholecroft, minister at Caton

Thomas Whitehead, pastor at Halton

Peter Atkinson, minister of Ellel

John Jaques, minister of Bolton

Richard Walker, minister of Warton

Philip Bennet, minister of Ulverston

William Smith, minister of Over-Kellet

Brian Willan, minister of Coulton

Peter Smith, minister of Shireshead

Edward Aston, minister of Claughton

Thomas Denry, minister of Wiresdalle

Thomas Fawcet, minister at Overton

Will. Garner, Preacher of the Gospel

John Smith, minister of Melling

but no history was ever like the ecclesiastical history of England in the civil war. The position of the presbyterian clergy was new and strange to them. They had suddenly become rulers of the Church in which they had been oppressed, and they felt both their elevation and their responsibility. They saw that the cause for which they had contended so long and suffered so much was exposed to new perils and unexpected disasters. They acted as if they had been stricken with panic in a great emergency, when their most sacred interests were exposed to imminent hazards of which they had little knowledge and no experience.*

But more terrible things than the phantoms of heresy were threatening the Presbyterians of Lancashire. The Scottish army, under the command of the Duke of Hamilton, was marching from the north, through Cumberland and Westmoreland, in support of the cause of royalty; while Lambert from the south and Cromwell from Wales were hastening to combine their forces in order to resist its progress. The opposing armies were expected to meet in Lancashire, and the Presbyterians of the county were in great perplexity as to the part they should take in the terrible conflict which they could neither prevent nor avoid. They had good reason to fear the triumph of either army.

As Presbyterians they might have been expected to look favourably upon the progress of their co-religionists; but they knew that the commissioners of the kirk had not cordially approved of the invasion of England. Many of the Scotch ministers were afraid of Hamilton, lest he should restore the king without conditions, and allow him to re-establish prelacy. The Scotch parliament consented to the invasion only upon the condition that Hamilton would admit none of the English to join his army, unless they would subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant. Had this condition been faithfully observed, the Lancashire Presbyterians might probably have received the Scotch army as friends, and produced a very different result of the war. Hamilton kept his engagement in its letter, but utterly disregarded its spirit. Under the pretence of observing it, he would not allow the uncovenanted Cavaliers to unite with his soldiery, but directed them to march as a distinct army, under the command of Sir Marmaduke Langdale, some few miles distant from his own. Heyrickes, although favourably disposed to the restoration of the king if he would only subscribe the covenant, looked with suspicion upon those 'great malignants and Papists,' and refused to support Hamilton, unless he would dismiss and utterly disown all his English auxiliaries who would not sign the Solemn League and Covenant.

On the other side the danger to the presbyterian establishment was quite as obvious, and its subversion by the republicans, should it be subverted, would be quite as disastrous to its friends. The

* The presbyterian ministers of some other counties, as Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Gloucestershire, published their 'Consent' to the Representation of the London Ministers, but so far as I can find, none in terms so outrageous as those of the Lancashire ministers.—See *Neal*, vol. ii. p. 263.

ministers heard with dismay that their favourite general, Fairfax, had refused to lead the army against the Scotch. They had little reason to regard with satisfaction the rising authority of either Lambert or Cromwell. Placed between the abhorred prelacy and popery which were arrayed in front of the Scottish army, and the dreaded Independency and sectarianism which were marching to resist them, the ministers of Lancashire knew not what was best to be done, and therefore, acting under the advice of Heyrick, resolved to do nothing.

The old Lancashire soldiers, however, were more disposed to fight with some enemy whom they hoped to find on the one side or on the other. Some of them had old grievances to redress, old injuries to avenge on the Scotch, or the sectaries, or on both. Some were considering on which side the spoils of war were more promising. Some of their officers, as Sir Robert Dukenfield, Colonel Worsley of Platt, and Colonel Birch of Birch, had become favourably disposed to the Independents, and were ready to support the interests of Cromwell and the Republicans. Others, as Sir George Booth and Colonel Holland of Denton, were as much disposed to defend the presbyterian interest against the Republicans as they had been to defend it against the Royalists; and probably, had it not been for their dislike of Langdale's malignants, they would have fought under Hamilton against Lambert and Cromwell. As circumstances were, they acted with the same indecision as their ministers, and waited with much anxiety and doubt the issues of the conflict. Others, although retaining their old love for the presbyterian discipline, resolved to resist the restoration of an uncovenanted king, and to leave all questions of government, civil and ecclesiastical, to be solved as best they might by parliament, after the Scotch army was driven across the border. Sir Ralph Assheton again took the command of the Lancashire militia, and with him, Alexander Rigby, Standish of Duxbury, Colonel Dodding, and the two surviving sons of old Colonel Shuttleworth, were ready with four regiments of infantry and two of cavalry to join the army of Lambert, as soon as he should arrive in the county.

The difficult position in which the presbyterian soldiers of Lancashire were placed induced their commanders to compose 'The Declaration of the Officers and Soldiers of the County Palatine of Lancaster.' In this 'Declaration,' which was generally subscribed by the officers and men of the six regiments, they vindicated themselves from the charge, on the one hand, of being 'malignants' opposed to the just authority of the parliament, and, on the other, of being rebels against the lawful power of the king's majesty. They renewed their profession of adherence to the Solemn League and Covenant, and asserted their determination to oppose to the utmost 'Papists, popish persons, and malignants,' as well as to resist the 'toleration of heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever is contrary to sound doctrine, so plainly covenanted against by their ministers.' They finally expressed their resolution 'not to be commanded by any gentlemen or other officers who declined from these honest and just

principles.' In short, the six regiments adhered, though late, to the old war-cry 'For the king and parliament.' They sent their 'Declaration' to the ministers of the several hundreds of the county, with a request that it might be read in their churches on the first convenient opportunity.

This declaration was so agreeable and satisfactory to the ministers as to prevent them from accepting the proposals of Hamilton, who addressed them as 'Reverend Gentlemen,' and assured them he had come for the 'settling of presbyterian government according to the covenant.'* Many of them with their families had sought protection within the walls of Lancaster from the poor and predatory Scots, who, making free quarters in the villages, had 'taken forth of divers families all the very racker crocks and pot-hooks, and driven away all the beasts, sheep, and horses, all without redemption.'† In reply to a letter of Hamilton, assuring these ministers that they might return without fear of molestation to their several dwellings, they wrote :—

'We acknowledge ourselves but weak men, and therefore subject to mistakes, but are not satisfied of any in having our present abode in Lancaster, it being incredible to us how we should have safety and freedom with your army, knowing our old enemies of religion, and the kingdom's peace, are with your excellency. We have all taken the covenant, and are zealous for re-establishing his Majesty, and doubt not the reality of the intentions of the two Houses of Parliament, according to their late declarations, nor yet of the settling presbyterian government, whereof we have lately had good assurance in this county, and how much we shall own it (unto the death) is known to all the world in our late "Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ," subscribed by us, together with the rest of our brethren of this province, unto which truth we pray nothing may be acted prejudicially by your excellency, and rest,

Your humble servants.‡

Lancaster, August 10, 1648.

On August 16, Cromwell entered the county, and passed the night at Stonyhurst. Having effected a junction with Lambert, he marched the next morning with nine thousand men, and found

* *Letter of Hamilton, in Civil War Tracts.*

† *The last News from the two Armies of England and Scotland. Letter from Henry Porter and W. West to the Committee of the County, Lancaster, August 17, 1648, in Civil War Tracts.*

‡ The names of these good ministers, whose testimony was 'known to all the world,' would now be irrecoverably lost, had not the letter been published by authority and printed by Edward Husband, printer to the H. H. of C., August 25, 1648. They were—

Tho. Whitehead
James Schoulcroft
Jo. Jaques
Pet. Atkinson
Jo. Syll

Edw. Ashton
Tho. Denny
Jo. Smith
Sam. Elwood
Tho. Fawcett

They all belonged to the northern parishes of the county.

nearly twice as many Royalists encamped on Ribbleson Moor, about five miles from Preston. The division in front of him consisted of English Royalists, commanded by Langdale, 'the great Papist.' The Scotch kept their distance from the malignants chiefly on the south side of the Ribble, and in the valley of the Darwen. With both armies were difficulties and dissensions which would have embarrassed ordinary commanders. The keen eye of Cromwell saw at a glance the road to victory, while the energy and skill of Hamilton utterly failed him. Cromwell observed that the Lancashire regiments were not willing to contend against their covenanting brethren, while they were eager in revenge of former injuries to fight their old foes, the prelatical and papistical Cavaliers. The Scotch had as little goodwill to these Cavaliers as had the Lancashire Presbyterians, and would not be very ready in an emergency to assist the malignants near whom they refused to encamp. Cromwell sagaciously placed the Lancashire regiments on the moor with orders to attack the English Royalists, and assigned to his own men, many of whom had disowned the covenant, the duty of making the attack upon the Scotch in the valley of the Darwen. Assheton's regiment was stationed at Whalley to intercept the Cavaliers, who were expected to retreat in that direction, while a party of Cromwell's own soldiers were ordered to pursue the Scotch, who even before the battle were disposed to march southward and occupy Wigan.

The battle began on the moor by 'the forlorn' of Cromwell's army attacking the outposts of the Royalists, in which attack the advantage was so decidedly with the Parliamentarians that Cromwell was able to bring on the field and arrange without molestation the whole of his forces. The fight then became terrible. Sir Marmaduke kept his position with desperate resolution for six hours, 'in all which time,' he says, 'the Scot sent me no relief.' Cromwell had seldom if ever encountered such a foe as this terrible malignant, who, although unsupported by the Scotch, gained at times upon the 'Ironsides.' At last some Scotch cavalry appeared, but they were soon compelled to retire. Sir Marmaduke declared that if only a thousand Scotch infantry had come earlier and stood firm, 'the day had been ours.' When they did come they were too late, for the Cavaliers had expended their ammunition.

Hamilton has been blamed for the delay, but it was probably his misfortune more than his fault. He seems to have had great difficulty to induce the covenanting Scotch to render any assistance to the uncovenanting English. Many of the former, without facing the enemy, except in a feeble attempt to cover the retreat, fled to Preston, pursued by the regiments of Cromwell and Harrison, who entered the town close upon their rear, and charged on them in the streets. After some desperate fighting, the Scotch retreated upon the bridge, where Assheton's regiment, knowing the country, and having marched rapidly on the south bank of the Ribble, 'encountered them with push of pike and made them to recoil.*' The blood of

* Cromwell's *Letter to Lenthall*.

the Lancashire men was up, and in their excitement they forgot the difference between Cavaliers and Covenanters, Papists and Presbyterians. The Royalists and the Scotch, mingled in the confusion of defeat, fled in one crowd, while the English Presbyterians and sectaries, forgetting their dissensions in the excitement of victory, united in the fierce and indiscriminate slaughter of their enemies. The Royalists lost most of their ammunition, a great part of their arms, and about five thousand men killed, disabled, or captured.*

After a terrible day of continuous fighting and incessant rain, the two armies, wet, weary, and exhausted, with poor shelter and small supply of food, passed the night in the fields south of Preston. Early in the morning the Scotch retreated upon Wigan before the Parliamentarians observed their movement. Superior in numbers, although dispirited by defeat, they occupied the town, and found in it one night's lodging, while Cromwell's soldiers, 'being very dirty and weary,' passed another comfortless night in the fields. It was a sad time for the people of Wigan, 'plundered almost to their skins.' Being 'a malignant town,' Wigan seems to have been reckoned fair game and honest booty for both parties, or rather for all three: for the Parliamentarians because it was Royalist, for the Scotch because it was papistical, for the Cavaliers because they plundered everybody that came in their way. The distress of the inhabitants was so urgent and oppressive, that many had to beg for food in the neighbouring country, and many perished of hunger and disease.

The next morning (August 19), the Scotch evacuated Wigan in more senses than one, leaving the poor malignants 'with nothing but their skins,' and retreated towards Warrington, pursued by Cromwell and Lambert. It was a sad day for both victors and vanquished. Cromwell says he 'never rode such a twelve miles in all his life.'† For three days and nights both armies, exposed to

* It is not easy to harmonise the several accounts of the battle of Preston, although the materials are supplied by the commanders and officers who were engaged. I have carefully compared the letters of Cromwell addressed to the Lancashire Committee and to Speaker Lenthall, *The Impartial Relation* of Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and the *Narrative* of Captain Hodgson, printed in the *Original Memorials of the Great Civil War*.

The following account of the service done by the Lancashire men may be gratifying to their countrymen:—

'I met Major-General Lambert, and coming to him I told him where his danger lay, on his left wing chiefly. He ordered me to fetch up the Lancashire regiment, and God brought me off, both horse and myself. The bullets flew freely; then was the heat of the battle that day.

'I came down to the muir, where I met with Major Jackson, that belonged to Asheton's regiment, and about three hundred men were come up, and I ordered him to march; but he said he would not till his men were come up. A sergeant belonging to them asked me where they should march. I showed him the party he was to fight, and he, like a true-born Englishman, marched, and I caused the soldiers to follow him, which presently fell upon the enemy, and losing that wing the whole army gave ground and fled.

'The Lancashire men were as stout men as were in the world and as brave firemen. I have often told them they were as good fighters and as great plunderers as ever went to a field.'—Captain Hodgson's *Narrative*, printed in *Original Memorials of the Great Civil War*.

† *Letter to Speaker Lenthall*, August 20, 1648.

terrible storms, had been marching and fighting in wet clothes, and sleeping for the most part on the damp ground with no better shelter than that of hedges and trees. Along the sides of the road the sick and the starving were lying, forsaken by their comrades, and Presbyterians, Prelatists, Papists, and sectaries were dying in promiscuous groups. At Winwick the Scotch turned upon their pursuers with terrible resolution, and maintained their position with desperate courage. Cromwell says, 'They coming to push of pike, and very close charges, forced us to give ground.' Terribly, indeed, they must have fought to have forced Cromwell's men 'to give ground' in the presence of their general. But more of his men coming up the general 'recovered the ground, and charging home upon them beat them from the standing, and killed about a thousand of them.'* The Scotch retreated upon Warrington, where their infantry, utterly exhausted, surrendered upon promise of 'civil usage,' and whence their cavalry fled into Cheshire.

In this narrative of desperate fighting we miss the old Lancashire Cavaliers, and feel disappointed on not finding them with the Yorkshire and Northumberland Royalists under the command of Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Many of them had been driven from their estates. Some had compounded for their lands, and were bound to neutrality by the terms of their composition. The Earl of Derby was confined to the Isle of Man.

Sir Thomas Tyldesley, however, impatient of restraint, chafing under the conditions of inactivity imposed upon him, collected his tenantry and neighbours, and at all hazards marched upon Lancaster. It seems difficult to account for his marching northward rather than southward to support Hamilton in his conflict with Cromwell. He was certainly no coward. Rash, impetuous, eager for fighting, insensible of danger, ever in front of the battle, he was wayward and self-willed, and, as I suppose, disliked Hamilton's Covenanters as much as they disliked him and his malignants. Nor would Tyldesley submit to be treated as Langdale had been, kept at a distance from the Scotch, and protected or deserted by them as might suit their purpose. Tyldesley would fight for a free king, but not for a covenanted king, who in his estimation would be nothing better than a presbyterian pope. He therefore fought in his own way, and sacrificed for the cause of royalty as he loved it, not as Scotchmen would make it, his estates, his friends, and his life.

While he was investing Lancaster Castle, the news reached him of the defeat of the Scotch, whose defeat as Royalists probably appeared to him not more disastrous than would have appeared their victory as Covenanters. Immediately he determined to march against Cromwell, whose army was wearied by long and severe fighting. Collecting as many as he could of the fugitives of Langdale's army, he proposed to Sir George Munro, who had brought over a considerable number of wild Irish, to hasten to Warrington, and make a desperate attack upon the Parliamentarians, while they were exhausted, fatigued, and unprepared for a battle. With these Irish

* Letter to Speaker Lenthall.

savages, many of whom are said to have been 'women armed with knives,' Tyldesley was much more willing to fraternise than with the fanatical Covenanters of the north. But he was bitterly disappointed with the caution of Sir George, who would wait for more troops and more information. Tyldesley importuned and threatened in vain. He insisted upon the importance of promptitude and the danger of hesitation. The march was delayed, and the delay was fatal. Had Tyldesley overtaken the enfeebled and wasting army of Cromwell at Winwick or at Warrington, the great general, never in his life exposed to so much peril, would probably have been defeated, and the result of the war completely reversed.

Tyldesley's appearance, however, was perilous to his own cause. The Presbyterians of Lancashire hated him more than they feared Cromwell, and they had good reason for doing so. To Sir Ralph Assheton was entrusted the duty of opposing Tyldesley, and recovering the northern parts of the county to the allegiance of the Parliament. At the head of the Lancashire regiments, with the assistance of a considerable detachment from Lambert's army, he marched northward, compelled the Royalists to raise the siege of Lancaster, pursued them into Westmoreland, and forced them to surrender, on the conditions that the soldiers and inferior officers should lay down their arms, and that Tyldesley and the superior officers should engage to leave the country within six months, which were allowed for the settlement of their private affairs.

Thus a second time, although with great cost and suffering, the county was freed from the forces of the Royalists. Large districts were devastated by the marches and encampments of opposing armies in the midst of harvest. Famine and pestilence followed in the footprints of war, and pestilence appeared even in the towns which had escaped the ravages of the soldiery. Cavaliers plundered Roundheads; Roundheads Cavaliers; the Scotch all who had anything, and the Irish those who had nothing. 'In this county the plague of pestilence hath been raging these three years and upwards, occasioned by the wars. There is very great scarcity and dearth of all provision, which is fully sixfold the price that it hath of late been. All trade is utterly decayed. It would melt any good heart to see the numerous swarms of begging poor, and the many families that pine away at home, not having faces to beg.' . . . 'There is no setting bounds to keep in the infected, hunger-starved poor, whose breaking out jeopardeth all their neighbourhood; some of them being at the point to perish through famine, have fetched in and eaten carrion and other unwholesome food, to the destroying of themselves and increasing the infection; and the more to provoke pity and mercy, it may be considered that this fatal contagion had its rise evidently from the wounded soldiers left there' (in Wigan) 'for cure.' This affecting statement was attested by the mayor, bailiffs, and minister of Wigan, and by four preachers in other parts of the county.* The glory of victory in Lancashire, as it has been every-

* *A True Representation of the present sad and lamentable Condition of the County of Lancaster.* May 24, 1649. Printed in *Civil War Tracts*.

where else, was nothing better than a gorgeous iris reflected from the malign exhalations which rose from the blood and tears of the battle-field.

By an ordinance of parliament, September 7, 1648 was observed throughout England and Wales, as a day of public thanksgiving for these victories, and contributions were to be recommended in all churches and chapels for the 'maimed soldiers, and poor visited people of Lancashire.*' The Lancashire Presbyterians rejoiced with trembling. They rejoiced at the defeat of the malignants and Cavaliers, but they would gladly have heard of the safe retreat of the Scotch into their own country. They exulted on hearing of the glorious victories of their own General Assheton and his six regiments, but they dreaded the growing power of Cromwell and his sectarian army. They kept the thanksgiving day with deep and unfeigned solemnity; but their preachers had lost the fiery energy with which they had been accustomed to preach on great occasions at the commencement of the civil war. Their allusions to political events were few, moderate, and confined to professions of loyalty to a covenanted king, could they only obtain him, and of obedience to a covenanted parliament, which seemed to be silently but surely losing its authority. Their earnestness was expended chiefly in recommending contributions for the present distress, although many of them were addressing congregations who had little or nothing to contribute.

In the review of that sad time of war, famine, and pestilence, it is pleasant to observe the kindness and care with which the presbyterian clergy ministered to the consolation and relief of their suffering people. Intimations of their devoted attention to the wants of the sick and destitute, in the midst of personal danger, continually appear in all accounts of the terrible distress of the county. In this respect their conduct may be honourably compared with that of the non-conforming ministers of London, who, some years later, amidst the contagion of the plague and the ruins of the fire, were found in their temporary sanctuaries offering to the bereaved and destitute the blessed consolations of the Christian faith. In Lancashire the ministers, as Dr. John Taylor says, 'kept close to their people in the worst of times,' carrying help to the destitute, soliciting food for the hungry and medicine for the sick, and speaking words of peace and comfort to the suffering and bereaved. If we find any of them at that time away from their homes, we may look for them in more distressed parishes, helping their brethren in the burden of more oppressive labours. In malignant Wigan, which would seem to have less claim upon the kindness of Presbyterians, save the claim of greater distress, than any other town of Lancashire, the good minister, James Bradshaw, was assisted in the emergency by Richard Hollingworth of

* The money collected was to be forwarded to 'Mr. Henry Ashurst of Watling Street in the City of London, who undertook the distribution of it under the direction of the magistrates.' I have elsewhere referred to the Ashursts, a highly respectable presbyterian family of Lancashire, with some of whose members Newcome, Heywood, and Baxter were on terms of intimate friendship.

Manchester, Isaac Ambrose of Preston, John Tilsey of Dean, and James Hyett of Crosby,* in collecting and distributing relief for the destitute of that cruelly afflicted town.

As the year 1648 was drawing to its close, the Presbyterians of Lancashire were becoming more anxious about the future, and more doubtful about their present duty. The army was gaining mastery over the civil authorities of the country. The intentions of its leaders were every day coming more distinctly into view. Republican principles were, to the horror of the ministers, openly avowed and defended. Texts of holy scripture were cited against kings as well as for them. The taciturnity and reserve of some generals were as alarming to the Presbyterians as the rash and unrestrained talk of others. Even in the pre-eminently presbyterian county of Lancashire some of the officers were suspected of subserviency to Cromwell, and the militia were beginning to be infected with the wild notions of the levellers and sectaries. Some troublesome soldiers, who had fought against Hamilton, and learned from their comrades in Lambert's army to dislike the presbyterian government, interrupted the provincial assembly while it was sitting in Preston, and audaciously asserted that the ordinance of parliament, by the authority of which the reverend assembly was constituted, was to have been enforced for only three years. Parliament, however, confirmed the ordinance, and made it perpetual.

In the general embarrassment, the Lancashire ministers knew not what to do nor whither to look for protection. They professed unabated respect for constitutional and covenanted royalty, but the king, as they feared, if he recovered his liberty, would be again directed by uncovenanted and malignant advisers. The parliament had been their best protector, but they were losing their confidence in the ignominious extremity of that great parliament which in the days of its strength had established their authority. From the army they had everything to fear. Even the six regiments of Assheton were beginning to waver. Their co-religionists in Scotland were becoming a broken staff which pierced the side of him who leaned upon it. Not knowing what to do, they did the very worst thing they could have done—they obtained for their principal ministers a concession of civil power, by which they could enforce their ecclesiastical authority. Heyricke, Hollingworth, Angier, Harrison, and other ecclesiastics obtained the authority of a sort of hybrid judges, or imperfect justices in their several parishes. Having secured this anomalous position, they began with strange inconsistency to question the authority of the government by which they were appointed, and to preach against the domination of usurpers, without distinctly defining whether the usurpers were the remains of an exhausted parliament or the commanders of an unconstitutional army.

Among the Lancashire ministers there was very little difference in their estimate of the legitimacy of the rule to which the country was subjected, while the king was imprisoned, and the parliament dimi-

* A minister who, 'having a considerable estate, was much given to hospitality.'
—Calamy.

nished and intimidated. They did not hesitate to declare it a usurpation. But disputes arose about the kind and degree of submission which they ought to render to the existing government, so long as no other was possible. William Prynne, who had suffered the loss of his ears and his property by the cruelty of the king and prelates, appeared as a zealous defender of the prerogatives of royalty, and the duty of resisting usurpation. His book was generally read by the ministers, and the disinterested pleading of the martyr for his persecutors had probably more influence than the authority of his learning or the force of his logic, although neither in learning nor in logic was Prynne deficient. Of the Lancashire ministers some contended that they ought not to acknowledge usurpers at all, some that their obedience should be strictly passive, some that in obeying usurpers a distinction should be made between doing what was lawful *when* commanded and doing what was not lawful *because* commanded, and some that, as a bad government was better than anarchy, it ought to be acknowledged until a better could be obtained.* Ministerial meetings were convened; authorities were cited in abundance; examples from the Old and New Testament were plentifully adduced; Gee of Eccleston, and Hollingworth of Manchester, the great logicians of Lancashire, were engaged to write on the subject. The chief text of the disputants, their *articulus causæ*, was Rom. xiii. 1: 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God.' Hours, days, were spent in criticising and interpreting these words. Were 'the powers that be' the Roman emperors? Were they usurpers? Some thought that Claudius was a usurper, but that Nero was not. Was Claudius or Nero emperor at the time? If Claudius was a usurper, how could Nero be anything better? The military power of Rome seemed to be acknowledged in the text, but there was nothing, save prelacy and papistry, so abhorrent to the Presbyterians as the military ascendancy. While they were learnedly or angrily disputing, news came from London which smote the disputants with terror and astonishment, and seemed to make all authorities civil and ecclesiastical to reel and tremble around them. The king was to be tried by a High Court of Justiciary, for the constitution of which they could find no authority in the English constitution, the light of nature, the law of Moses, or the Christian scriptures. Completely 'glopped,' to use an expressive word of their own county dialect, before they recovered from their amazement they heard, although they could scarcely believe the unparalleled wickedness, that the king was beheaded at Whitehall. At once they boldly avowed their abhorrence of the barbarous, sacrilegious murder. Whoever was implicated in the execution of Charles, the ministers of Lancashire

* See a curious account of these disputes in the *Life of Adam Martindale* ch. iv. § 22. At a meeting at Warrington Martindale found 'a great number of able men met together, and among the rest three great knockers for disputation, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Hollingworth, and Mr. Gee.' These 'great knockers' failed to produce unanimity, as they could not agree among themselves in anything else than the propriety of more disputation.

never hesitated to express their reprobation of the impious deed, and to assert on every opportunity their freedom from 'the blood-stain of the Lord's anointed.'

We have now to turn over another page of this eventful history, and to observe under the new government the decline of the presbyterian power, which in Lancashire fell almost as rapidly as it had risen, although it has left some relics of great interest to every religious enquirer.

CHAPTER XIV.

COMPREHENSION.

I HAVE so entitled this chapter, not because a comprehension was accomplished, either by the Presbyterians becoming amicably united with the Independents, or the Episcopalians with either, but because in the struggle of parties no one of them was able to maintain an acknowledged superiority over the others in the religious establishment of the county. From the death of Charles to the passing of the Act of Uniformity, ministers of various parties shared in a greater or less degree the benefits of the ecclesiastical revenues, and were equally eligible to the vacant offices of the Church. In Lancashire Presbyterians struggled hard, but in vain, to maintain their ascendancy unimpaired against both Episcopalians and Independents until the restoration of royalty, and afterwards to keep their official position secure within the establishment. As, therefore, during the interval from 1649 to 1660, neither Presbyterians, Episcopalians, nor Independents obtained an acknowledged predominance in the government of the Church, I have designated that time as one of 'comprehension.' The designation may not be accurate, as a comprehension, although practically existing in Lancashire to a considerable extent, was neither authoritatively defined nor avowedly recognised. For a time, an incoherent mixture of churchism, voluntarism, and Erastianism practically existed in strange connection with a religious establishment, until, on the restoration of Episcopacy, the Presbyterians and some of the Independents were comprehended under its government, before High Churchmen obtained the enactment of strict and absolute uniformity. For want of a better designation I call this state of things 'the comprehension.' It was more like a comprehension of various sects than anything which has ever before or since existed in England.

The Presbyterian ministers of Lancashire, I have said, were guiltless of the execution of King Charles. I may with equal justice exonerate the Independent ministers, not of Lancashire only, but of the whole country, of any participation by approval or otherwise in the criminality of that unfortunate deed. By Independent ministers, however, I mean not the preaching sectaries of the army, Arians, Anabaptists, Fifth-Monarchy-men, officers suddenly impelled by the excitement of the times to preach whatever sort of gospel gained the ascendancy in their unrestrained imagination, but the disciples of John Robinson, the adherents of the dissenting brethren of the Westminster Assembly, or the Puritans who, during their flight from

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persecution, had received the congregational discipline from the churches of New England, and had at the beginning of the civil war returned to promulgate or to practise it in their native country. This distinction between the two kinds of Independent preachers ought to be carefully remembered, as without observing it the conduct of Presbyterians and Independents, both in their controversies and in their harmonies, may hereafter appear strangely inconsistent and contradictory. The educated Independent ministers were more favourably disposed to a republican government than their presbyterian brethren; they had no faith in a covenanted king, and hoped to find Cromwell a protector from covenanted intolerance; but such ministers as Samuel Eaton and Henry Roote, who were then teaching 'the congregational way' in Lancashire, were as far from approving the beheading of Charles, whatever they may have thought of his deposition, as any of their presbyterian brethren. In some counties, as in Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire, the Independent ministers united with the Presbyterians in protesting against the execution of the king. Eachard, Bates, and Neal assert that many of the Independent ministers in their public services protested against the violent proceedings of the army.* The only ministers that Neal could find as approving of the execution were Hugh Peters and John Goodwin, who had certainly no claim to represent the opinions of the Independents. Hugh Peters was too violent, impetuous, and intemperate to be trusted by his brethren. John Goodwin, although he firmly adhered to the discipline of Independency, was an avowed Arminian, and therefore was disowned by the Independents, who regarded Arminianism as among the worst errors of prelacy or popery. Milton, in his 'Defence of the People of England,' had little reason to defend any other ministers than the preaching soldiers.

Of the Lancashire members of Parliament, the only one who signed the death warrant of the king was John Moore of Liverpool. He seems to have been ashamed of his signature, or, as is much more likely, afraid of its consequences. Noble says he did not sign, but Mr. Heywood, the editor of the 'Moore Rental,' says he did. It seems strange that, with the document to be consulted, there should be any dispute. In some copies of the deed his name does not appear, but in the original there is an illegible scrawl which is said to be the signature of John Moore. It was so interpreted when produced after the Restoration in the Old Bailey; as indeed, if it be the signature of any one, it can be that of no one else.

The only other Lancashire member likely to be implicated was Alexander Rigby, the representative of Wigan; but although he opposed the king to the last, and protested against making any treaty with him, he refused to serve in the High Court of Justiciary or to take any part in promoting the execution of the sovereign.

* *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. ch. x. Dr. Lewis Du Moulin, Professor of History in the University of Oxford, wrote *An Answer to those who accuse the Independents for having an immediate hand in the death of King Charles I.*, but his friends, on account of the dangers of the times, dissuaded him from publishing it. Neal, as above.

The consternation of the Lancashire ministers was greatly increased when, within six weeks of the king's death, intelligence arrived of the beheading of two presbyterian noblemen, the Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Holland. Their execution (especially that of the Scottish peer commissioned by the government of his own country), attended as they both were on the scaffold by presbyterian ministers, probably did more to alienate the Presbyterians from the new government than even the death of the king himself.

The ministers of Lancashire, after observing many days of fasting and prayer, met in their provincial assembly and agreed to issue a pastoral address, in which, with much earnestness tempered by moderation, they exhorted their people to adhere steadfastly to their faith, and to prepare for suffering in its defence. They carefully avoided the use of words which would imply direct and active opposition to the existing government. Some of them were quite prepared for such opposition, but they waited for the proper time of avowing it; while others were willing to live quiet and peaceable lives under any government which Providence might establish. The spirit of their address may be understood from its concluding words: 'Seeing most perilous times are come upon us, wherein our churches' peace is opposed and assaulted by all ways both of subtilty and power, we earnestly exhort and warn you all, that, with exquisite heed and resolute steadfastness, ye discern and resist all those who would seek to seduce you either into errors or division, contrary to that sound doctrine and safe fellowship which ye have embraced in your own churches; that with accurate circumspection you keep yourselves from the common and reigning sins of these times; that ye stand fast to our Solemn League and Covenant in all the branches of it, and specially in those that contain the great and much hazarded public interests of religion, civil government, and brotherly union, not suffering yourselves to be drawn aside to any new inventions to the subverting of any of them; and that ye walk in the old path and good way.'

The moderation of their address soon ceased to restrain many of the ministers from active interference in the exciting events of the time. The unpropitious season, the deficient harvest, the pestilential diseases, the failure of trade, and the distress of the working people, which cast a gloom over the year of the king's execution, were interpreted by several preachers as the judgment of God upon the nation for the usurpation of its government. They asserted that the wrath of God was revealed against the people who had broken their covenant and renounced divine as well as royal supremacy. 'Sudden and terrible rains on the Lord's day,' 'three parhelions observed by hundreds of people in the market-place of Manchester about ten on the clock before noon,' 'corn bleeding when it was cut in John Pendleton's ground,' are mentioned by Hollingworth as disastrous signs of the terrible times.* They supplied the preachers with abundant illustrations for their discourses on public affairs. A notice was ordered by the assembly to be read in all the churches and chapels of

* *Mancuniensis*, 1650.

Lancashire, that 'in consideration of the heavy judgments of God lying upon the country by famine and pestilence, and in regard to other troubles and dangers upon us, it is judged necessary, and accordingly ordered, that a public fast be observed in every congregation within the province, with solemn and earnest seeking unto God for the averting of the said judgments and evils.'

In this state of uncertainty and alarm, the unsettled disputes of the ministers respecting the obedience due to the government of usurpers unexpectedly assumed practical and urgent importance. Before the 'great knockers for disputation' had convinced their brethren, or one another, what ought to be done, they were required publicly before their congregations to take the engagement to be 'true and faithful to the government established without king or house of peers.' By refusing to take this engagement, they would incur the forfeiture of their benefices, and become disqualified for any public service. It was an arbitrary and tyrannical ordinance, and those who resisted it from patriotic motives deserve to be honoured as much as the opponents of the ship money. Unhappily there was no court in which a second Hampden could try the case.

On this subject two books, written by Lancashire ministers, excited considerable attention. One, entitled 'The Divine Right and Original of Civil Magistrates illustrated and vindicated,' was written by Mr. Edward Gee of Eccleston. The other, 'An Exercitation concerning Usurped Powers,' was generally attributed to Hollingworth of Manchester. Several meetings of ministers were again held for conference, and the disputants had to determine a more definite and practical question than that which had been previously submitted to 'the great knockers.' The opinion of 'that pretious, peaceable man, John Angier,' seems to have prevailed, that they might act in lawful things under usurpers until a legitimate government could be obtained. But the enquiry still remained, Was 'the taking of the engagement' a lawful thing? At a meeting of the ministers of the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire, the majority resolved that it was not lawful, because 'the Solemn League and Covenant was still binding,' and because 'it was a prejudice to the right heir to the crown.' Some of them, however, as Adam Martindale, took the engagement in the faith that it bound them only to submit quietly to the existing government so long as it might continue, although they were afterwards sorely grieved that they had done so.

Of the Presbyterian ministers who lost their benefices for refusing to take the engagement, several are included in Walker's 'Sufferings of the Clergy,' as if they had been regular orthodox Episcopalians ejected from their livings for their adherence to the old discipline. In his Lancashire lists, some who suffered for their consistent adherence to presbyterianism are paraded as if they had suffered for their adherence to prelacy. As Baxter truly says, 'the moderate Presbyterians generally refused the engagement, but the Cavaliers and sectaries generally swallowed it.'

In their perplexity, the Lancashire ministers were stricken with dismay by an order of parliament requiring them to observe a day

of humiliation and prayer for the success of the army about to march against Scotland. Doubtful of the conduct they should pursue, they heard of the daring conduct of a young minister in Worcestershire, until that time little known in the north, who was preaching against the engagement and especially against the invasion of Scotland. This bold, persistent man was Richard Baxter. Induced by his example, the Lancashire ministers refused to observe the parliamentary fast, preached against the Scottish war, and prayed for the union of the two nations in the good work of preserving inviolate the national covenant. With an audacious loyalty unequalled in any other county, they appointed the birthday of Charles II. to be observed with public religious solemnities. May 29, 1650 must have been an extraordinary day in Manchester, when the ministers who would not on any account observe the nativity of Christ kept with religious solemnities the nativity of the heir to the throne, with whose father they had made war, and did it openly, in the presence of a large congregation, and in defiance of a strong government, which was not slow to assert and vindicate its authority.*

Within a month of this solemn observance, intelligence reached Lancashire of the landing of Charles in Scotland, and of his subscribing the Solemn League and Covenant. Heyrick and his brethren were unable to restrain their exultation. Their prayers were surely answered. The son had willingly done what the father never could be induced to do by either promise or threatening. He had become a Presbyterian! He had disowned the English prayer book! He had approved of the directory! He had learned the assembly's catechism! He had dismissed his popish and prelatical advisers! He would certainly do whatever the Presbyterians desired, and establish their godly discipline upon the ruins of both prelacy and sectarianism! What better could the ministers desire than a covenanted king sworn to establish the Presbyterian discipline in both his kingdoms?

Of these fond hopes the battle of Dunbar produced a sad reversal. But though cast down the ministers were not in despair. Again they resorted to humiliation and prayer, and again they thought they heard a wonderful answer to their prayers. When, a few months afterwards, the news arrived of the coronation of Charles at Scone, their joy and gratitude revived, because the correction of the king had been 'sanctified,' and all they desired had been readily conceded. 'I . . . declare,' said he, 'by my solemn oath, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, my allowance and approbation of the national covenant, . . . and faithfully oblige myself to prosecute the ends thereof.' He swore that he would 'fully establish presbyterian government, the directory of worship, the confession of faith, and the catechisms, approved by the general assembly of the kirk.' He subscribed his solemn oath, written upon parchment and annexed to a copy of the covenant, to be preserved

* *History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester*, part i. ch. xix. The younger Lancashire Puritans of this time, unlike the older men who had observed festivals if not fasts, renounced the observance of 'pasch and yule.'

as a witness of his 'fidelity' (or perfidy) 'in the archives of the kingdom.' More than all this, he acknowledged with tears the sin of his father in marrying a Papist, and imputed to his parents the blood shed in the civil war! He professed himself sensible of the evil education he had received in his childhood! He confessed his great sins in tolerating popery and prelacy, and in making peace with Irish rebels! In his repentance and resolution no longer to tolerate false religion, he looked to the mercy of God to support and countenance him in the new and better course which he was determined, by God's grace, to pursue. Well might presbyterian Lancashire observe with great joy its thanksgiving day, and sing in its churches 'What hath God wrought! He hath done great things for us whereof we are glad!' The army of Cromwell was mighty, but mightier was the arm of God. By the battle of Dunbar the king had lost many good soldiers, but his heart had been converted, and he had made his peace with God.

When, in 1650, a plentiful harvest succeeded an unpropitious season, the pestilence already noticed declined, and the trade of the county revived, the ministers of Lancashire, in their day of thanksgiving, found or 'improved' the opportunity of intimating that these signs of the returning favour of God had been granted since the king had humbly acknowledged the sins of his family, and proved the sincerity of his repentance by subscribing the covenant.

The dissatisfaction with the existing government felt by the ministers of Lancashire was greatly increased, although, as will hereafter appear, with very little reason, by the appointment of the committee of sequestrators, consisting of twelve magistrates, to regulate and manage the Church property of the county. The causes of their increased dissatisfaction were very apparent and very difficult to remove. With the people or the patron (the conflicting interests of these parties were never harmoniously arranged in Lancashire) was the right of appointment to a benefice. If the presbyteries were not satisfied with the appointment of the people or of the patron, they could refuse ordination. But when the presbyteries had approved of the appointment and ordained an 'expectant,' he was still compelled to apply to the sequestrators, all of whom were laymen, to grant a title to the revenues. Although it does not appear that they ever withheld the revenues capriciously or unreasonably, their decisions were strictly if not suspiciously scrutinised by the presbyterian courts, who thought they could best manage what they called their own property.

The Manchester clergy had, or thought they had, especial reason to complain of the committee of sequestrators. The endowments of the collegiate church had been regarded partly as private, partly as ecclesiastical property. Although they were consecrated to religious purposes, they belonged to a corporation which had, and used, the power of perpetuating itself by its own elections. With the exception of its warden, who received his appointment from the government, the collegiate body filled up its own vacancies in accordance with the provisions of its charter. The sequestrators, having found on inqui-

sition that the property of the collegiate church was no more personal nor private than any other Church property, determined to claim possession of the whole, and make such allowance as they thought reasonable to the ministers in present occupation of the benefice. The clergy denounced the spoliation. Hollingworth, alarmed and angry, appealed to influential friends in London; Heyricke, who feared nothing, determined to resist the usurped authority. He had opposed the king, he was not afraid of the protector. The chest containing the charters, titles, and other muniments of the collegiate church, was demanded in order that the sequestrators might make a valuation of the property: Heyricke positively refused to surrender the chest, to give up the key, or even to allow the perusal of a single deed. Unfortunately he had to deal with a sequestrator as bold and pertinacious as himself, and armed with a power which it was hopeless to resist, although he resisted to the uttermost.

Colonel Thomas Birch was one of the few Lancashire magistrates who were favourable to the proceedings of the Republicans. Unwilling to submit to the arbitrary and intolerant rule of the presbyterian classes, he was one of the earliest and firmest supporters of independent principles in the county. Having been appointed governor of Liverpool, he had the command of the garrison, in which were many soldiers who having served in the army of Lambert and Cromwell, had been infected with the religious fanaticism of their comrades. Heyricke and Birch had co-operated with indomitable perseverance, as friends to the same cause of puritanism and constitutional liberty, through several years of varied fortune. They had congratulated each other on many victories, and condoled with each other on some defeats. They had together in Manchester church offered grateful praises on many days of thanksgiving, and afflicted their souls on many days of humiliation. Of the bold and fervid declamations of the warden the colonel had been an enthusiastic admirer, and so long as the war raged between prelacy and presbyterianism, arbitrary sovereignty and constitutional government, these two men were among the most cordial and active leaders of the same great party. But after the execution of Charles the two friends came into unpleasant collision. Heyricke was for a covenanted king, Birch for a commonwealth; Heyricke for a presbyterian establishment, Birch for unlimited toleration. The colonel, hearing of the dissatisfaction of the Presbyterians, marched with a trusty body of republican soldiers upon Manchester, disarmed the town, and having authority from parliament demanded the surrender of the deeds and revenues of the collegiate church. The warden, maintaining the authority of ancient charters and the inviolable sanctity of ecclesiastical property, absolutely refused to make the surrender, locked the door of the chapter house where the deeds were kept, and stoutly charged with robbery any man who should attempt to take the key from him. Birch drew up his soldiers in front of the chapter house; Heyricke, standing at the door, forbade them to enter. Birch commanded his men to force open the door, and finding the muniment chest strongly bound with iron, ordered it to be removed and sent unopened to London. The

fanatical soldiers being thus excited, proceeded to deface the costly architecture of the church, to break its painted windows, and to demolish its carved screens and sculptured monuments. The most beautiful ecclesiastical edifice in Lancashire, which by the prudence and high character of its Catholic wardens, Collyer and Vaux, had been protected through the perils of the Reformation, and afterwards by the influence of its presbyterian warden Heyricke through the perils of the civil war, was bereaved of its rich ornaments and time-hallowed memorials by the fanaticism of an ignorant and preaching soldiery. Those richly-stained windows, representing scriptural narrative, or commemorating national events, had often, indeed, disturbed the devotion of many a puritan worshipper, and probably scarcely a presbyterian minister condoled with Heyricke on their demolition. But Heyricke, seeing no intimate connection between presbyterianism and barbarism, grieved bitterly for the injury done to the beauty of the church which he dearly loved and regarded as precious and inviolable as his own life.*

Heyricke, however, had something else to lament than the loss of carved angels, stone saints, and stained glass. The sequestrators, approving of the act of Birch, took possession of the collegiate lands, and granted the miserable pittance of 100*l.* a-year to the warden, and 80*l.* to each of the two ministers whose services were retained, Hollingworth and Walker. Heyricke was not the man to grieve quietly under a sense of wrong. Leaving Hollingworth to his tears, he set his heart upon redressing his grievances by overturning the government of usurpers, sectaries, and apostates. His restless spirit, either stimulated by zeal for religious truth, or chafed by a sense of personal injury, found its only relief in conspiracy and intrigue, and drove him into desperate opposition to the miserable remnant of a parliament and the usurped commission of military despots. Protesting against the spoliation of the college, he retired for a time from Manchester, and found in London covenanted ministers and discontented officers who felt with him unabated attachment to the presbyterian discipline, unswerving devotion to the cause of a covenanted king, and unmitigated abhorrence of all republicans, sectaries, and abettors of universal toleration.

The principal ministers engaged in the conspiracy in which Heyricke was implicated were Mr. Case, Mr. Watson, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Jackson and Christopher Love. They were accustomed to meet with their friends in several places, and frequently in the house of Mr. Love, where they received communications from many of the Scottish clergy and noblemen in the confidence of the king. One of the conspirators, Major Adams, being arrested upon suspicion, confessed his guilt and impeached his associates. Several were arrested; some escaped. The government, desiring to conciliate the moderate Presbyterians with an appearance of clemency, were content with making a public example of only two of the conspirators, Love and Gibbons. Christopher Love, bearing his testimony with undaunted

* Hollingworth's *Mancunians*, 1650. Hibbert's *History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester*, vol. i. ch. xix.

courage to the cause of the national covenant, and dying with the spirit of an old martyr, has been canonised in the affections, although not in the calendars, of all true Presbyterians. The feeling of that great party may be inferred from the fact that Dr. Manton preached his funeral sermon before an immense congregation, extolled his virtues, lamented his execution, and published the sermon with the title of 'The Saints' Triumph over Death.'

Heyrick was arrested and imprisoned. It is said (I know not on what authority) that had it not been for the great interest made in his behalf by some powerful supporters of the government, he would have followed his friend Love to the scaffold. He, however, found unexpected reason for hesitating to commit himself to the cause of Prince Charles without incurring any imputation on his honour or personal bravery.

By his association with the more moderate party in Scotland, Charles had offended Argyll and the more rigorous of the Covenanters. Most of the English Presbyterians keenly felt the offence given to their Scottish brethren. When, in August, 1651, Charles was proclaimed at the cross of Lancaster king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, the presbyterian leaders, instead of rallying, as was expected, round the royal standard flying on the old tower of John of Gaunt, hesitated and denounced the 'malignants' to whom had been entrusted the person and interests of their royal master. The Cavaliers were commanded by noblemen whom the Presbyterians regarded as their inveterate enemies. Of all the Royalists the most abhorred in Lancashire since the Bolton massacre was the Earl of Derby, who was then bringing a considerable force from the Isle of Man to support the cause of Charles. All the old Papists and malignants were rallying round the throne. Sir Thomas Tyldesley, false to his engagements, was arming his tenants and collecting auxiliaries. The king spent a night in his mansion at Myerscough, and the next night, to the horror of the Presbyterians, in the house of Anderton of Euxton, 'a bloody Papist,' 'up to his elbows,' as the preachers said, 'in the blood of Bolton saints.' The following night he was lodged in the house of Sir William Gerard, 'a subtle, jesuitical Papist.' These papistical halls were strange places of hospitality for a covenanted king professing contrition on account of the papistry of his father and mother. The Presbyterians were perplexed and divided. Some were neutral or indifferent; some, having promised assistance, were ready to redeem their promise, of whom Major Ashurst was the principal; and some resolved to resist the Papists even when they were fighting for a covenanted king. The latter did as they had done before, fought for the king against the men who followed his standard, to rescue him from the evil counsellors who would involve him in the ruin of his kingdom.

Charles was sadly disappointed. He had reason to expect from the information of Ashurst and others that the Presbyterians would unanimously support his cause. They were preparing to do so, when their hatred of his papistical friends prevented them from continuing their preparations. Even puritan Manchester, of which Lilburne

said, it had 'become very malignant,' had agreed to send five hundred well-trained and well-armed men to follow the royal standard.* Had Charles acted in England the farce of a covenanted king as well as he had done in Scotland, Cromwell might have had to fight a stout force of Lancashire Puritans instead of Prelatists and Papists, and the result might have been something very different from that of the battle of Worcester.

Major-General Harrison, with a strong force of cavalry, was directed to watch the progress of Charles through Lancashire. Retreating as Charles advanced, he avoided an engagement until, joined by General Lambert, he disputed the passage of the Royalists at Warrington bridge. The result was unfavourable to the Republicans, owing, as they said, to their inability to bring their horse into action in an enclosed country. Charles showed more courage than he had been accustomed to show, or at least than he had gained credit for showing. Lambert says, 'the king in the van, if not in the forlorn, with his own life-guard pressed hard upon our rear.'† Lambert drew off towards Knutsford and left the London road open to the king, who marched towards Shrewsbury.

In the meantime, the Earl of Derby, having arrived in the Wyre water from the Isle of Man with a few hundred men, hastened to meet the king at Warrington. On his way, or on his return, he had an interview with several of the leading Presbyterians. To neither party was the interview satisfactory. The Presbyterians, before they would do anything, required that the earl should subscribe the Covenant, and that he should remove all Papists from his camp. The Stanley had not the insincerity of some of his ancestors, for sooner than subscribe the Covenant he would die in opposing it. Nor could he dismiss the Papists, who constituted the strength of his little army, and whose alienation would have proved the ruin of his cause. Disappointed by their unreasonable demands, the earl resolved to spend no more time in treating with the impracticable Presbyterians, but as soon as possible to join the king with such force as he could raise in his own country.

Colonel Birch, the active Governor of Liverpool, had obtained early information of the arrival of the earl in Wyre water, and immediately took measures to defeat the object of the expedition. He sent ships from the Mersey into the Wyre to intercept the arrival of supplies, and to prevent the return of the earl's troops. He communicated with Lilburne, who marched upon Prescott, within a few miles of the earl's quarters at Ormskirk. He speedily collected the parliamentary troops which were in the neighbourhood of Chester, and sent them to the camp of Lilburne. He despatched orders to his own regiment in Manchester to hasten to Prescott, although few arrived in time to be of service in the approaching fight.

The force of Lilburne consisted of his own regiment of horse and about as many footmen, whom Birch had sent him. The troops of

* Lilburne's *Letter to Speaker Lenthall*, August 30, 1651.

† *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 89. Tuesday, August 19, 1651.

Lord Derby amounted to some 1,500 men, considerably exceeding in number the parliamentary army. After several skirmishes, conducted with equal bravery and various success, the two armies met in a lane on the north of Wigan. Sir Thomas Tyldesley took the place he ever loved to take, at the head of his friends, in front of his foes. Lilburne's horse made a fierce and impetuous attack upon Tyldesley's infantry, who met it with a stubborn and desperate resistance. The fight was courageously sustained on both sides, and for more than an hour was undecided. So well contested a battle had not before occurred in the war. The unbroken firmness of Tyldesley's foot was evidently gaining the advantage over the impetuous activity of Lilburne's horse, who were compelled to retreat, disputing every inch of the ground almost to the end of the lane. At this critical moment some of Lilburne's infantry took their positions unobserved behind the hedges on both sides of the lane, and being capital marksmen, shot many of the royalist officers and threw their troops into confusion. Immediately the reserve of Lilburne's horse dashed upon the weary soldiers of the earl, who was himself wounded in the face. In the confusion, the Manx men were the first to retreat, leaving many dead and wounded in the lane. Among the dead was found the body of Sir Thomas Tyldesley.*

Thus fell the most active, the bravest and in many respects the best of the Lancashire friends of royalty. Never daunted, never weary in consultation, marching, or fighting, he was engaged in every intrigue, present in every conference, ready for every emergency, and unreservedly devoting all he had to the cause of royalty, and, as he understood it, of the true religion. Beloved and trusted by all the members of his own party, he was respected by his enemies, and treated by them more leniently than the other malignants whom the fortune of war brought under their power. Three times he was taken prisoner, and as often released and allowed to retain his lands, when those of many of his friends were confiscated. Memorials of him remain in the eloquent eulogy of Clarendon, in the fine portrait at Hulton Hall, and in the column erected to his memory on the spot where he fell, by his 'grateful cornet, Alexander Rigby.'

The royalist families of Lancashire long remembered with grief the battle of Wigan, in which many of their promising young men were killed or taken prisoners. Lord Derby, although severely wounded, made his escape. Knowing the country well, and finding friends in every village, he eluded the vigilance of Lilburne, and made his escape into Cheshire. At Boscobel, in Shropshire, he found a refuge not only for himself, but afterwards for his sovereign. Although suffering from his wounds, he contrived to reach the royal camp on

* To understand the battle of Wigan Lane, compare two letters dated Chester, August 26, 1651, printed by order of Parliament; a letter of Lilburne to Colonel Birch, August 25, 1651; a letter of Birch to Speaker Lenthall, dated Liverpool, August 26, 1651; and two letters of Lilburne, one to Lenthall dated August 25, and one to Cromwell August 25. See also Seacome's *Memoirs*, Cary's *Memoirs*, and an interesting account in the *Discourse of the War in Lancashire*.

the eve of the battle of Worcester. After the fatal defeat, he adhered with singular fidelity to Charles, at the risk of his own life; until, reaching Boscobel, he committed his sovereign to his own protector, William Penderel, with the charge, 'This is the king: thou must have a care of him, and preserve him as thou didst me.' Fearing suspicions might arise in the neighbourhood from the number of strangers sheltered in the house, he induced other noblemen with himself to leave the place for their several homes. Of his capture we have his own account, written in Chester Castle to his countess: 'I escaped a great danger at Wigan, and met with a worse at Worcester, being not so fortunate as to meet any that would kill me, and thereby put me out of the reach of envy and malice. Lord Lauderdale and I having escaped, hired horses, and falling into the enemies' hands, were thought not worth killing, but had quarter given us by one Captain Edge, a Lancashire man, and one that was so civil to me, that I and all that love me are beholden to him.'*

A more particular account is given by a parliamentary officer, Captain Hodgson of Coley, who was present.† A Lancashire regiment on its return to Manchester had reached Namptwich. 'Oliver Edge, one of our captains, had a mind to see what had become of the forlorn, hearing such a great firing; . . . he spies a party of horse behind him in the fields, and having no order to be there, he retreats towards the regiment, but they called upon him, and asked if he was an officer; and drawing towards them, about eighteen or twenty horsemen lighted, and told him they would surrender themselves prisoners; there was the Earl of Derby, the Earl of Lauderdale, Sinclair, and a fourth. These became prisoners to one single captain, but the soldiers fell in with him immediately.'‡

The earl was confined in Chester Castle, and soon brought to trial, on a charge of high treason in contravention of an Act passed only a few weeks before, 'prohibiting correspondence with Charles Stuart.' A court-martial was convened at Chester, under authority of a commission from Cromwell. The earl pleaded, as he well might, ignorance of so recent an Act of Parliament, passed after he was committed to the war. He, however, chiefly insisted upon the quarter given to him by the parliamentary officer to whom he had surrendered. He urged that, as his life had been granted on his surrender, it was by

* Seacombe's *Memoirs*, p. 183. For the closing scenes in the life of the earl, see Hughes's *Diary in Boscobel Tracts*, and extracts from the Derby MSS. made by Seacombe, Collins, and Peck.

† *Original Memoirs during the Great Civil War*, by Captain Hodgson. Although Hodgson was 'a thorough Republican and Independent,' he maintained an intimate friendship with his presbyterian neighbour, Oliver Heywood. See Hunter's *Life of Oliver Heywood*, p. 87.

‡ Oliver Edge belonged, as I have before intimated, to a family of second class gentility, resident in Rusholme. The Edges of Birch-Hall Houses, like their grander neighbours the Birches and the Worsleys, were among the earliest supporters of 'the Congregational way.' In the 'Chapel Book' of Birch Chapel the name occurs in a list of subscribers for the support of the minister, of which I shall have occasion hereafter to take notice.—*History of the Ancient Chapel of Birch*, p. 148.

the law of civilised nations to be held sacred. He was, however, pronounced guilty, and sentenced to 'be put to death by severing his head from his body in the market-place of the town of Bolton, upon Wednesday the 15th of this instant October, about the hour of one on the clock of the same day.' *

It was a horrible sentence, which his Lancashire friends believed would never be executed. Great and persevering efforts were made in all directions to obtain its remission. The earl himself wrote to Cromwell, pleading that he had surrendered himself prisoner of war, upon the implied condition of his life being sacred. Colonel Bradshaw of Marple, one of his judges, earnestly entreated his brother, the lord-president, to obtain a commutation of the punishment. The countess sent her clever chaplain, Brideoake, to plead with Lenthall, 'which he did with so much more than ordinary reason and application' as to obtain for himself the place of chaplain to the speaker and preacher at the Rolls; an unexpected preferment, which seems to have consoled him in the failure of the primary object of his mission. The earl's son is said to have ridden in one day and night from Leigh to London, a distance of one hundred and ninety miles, by relays of horses, 'with incredible speed,' to have a petition to parliament presented in time to stay the execution. All was done which could be done, but it was done in vain. The government was determined to make an example, which by its severity should deter the Royalists from taking any active measures to accomplish the purpose which they were secretly cherishing in the northern counties.†

Had the republican rulers been able to choose their victim, they could not have selected one more suited for their purpose of striking the hearts of their enemies with confusion and dismay. They had in their hands the head of the most powerful family of the northern counties, an avowed and consistent Protestant, the acknowledged leader of the more constitutional Royalists, who had never approved of the extreme measures of Laud and Strafford. If he were not spared, who could expect to resist the government with impunity? The rulers of that day had more reason to fear the Presbyterians than the Prelatists. The execution of the earl in their stronghold of Lancashire would do much to quiet their restless spirits, while the memory of the Bolton massacre would cause many of them to regard his death as the just retribution of his crimes.

The earl petitioned the House of Commons for a respite, and wrote to Speaker Lenthall: 'It is a greater affliction to me than death itself, that I am sentenced to die at Bolton, so that the nation will look upon me as a sacrifice for that blood which some have unjustly laid upon me.' ‡ Bolton, however, was the place where his death would

* *The Perfect Trial and Confession of the Earl of Derby, at a court-martial held at Chester, the first day of October, 1651.*

† Seacome attributes the death of the earl to the 'inveterate malice' of Bradshaw, Rigby, and Birch, 'these three assisted by Sir Richard Hoghton.'

‡ *Letter to Lenthall*, dated Chester, October 11, 1651, printed in Cary's *Memorials*, and in a more perfect form in the *Civil War Tracts*. According to the information of the sub-librarian of the Bodleian, communicated to the editor, it is written throughout by the hand of the earl.

produce the greatest impression, especially upon the Presbyterians, and therefore in Bolton he must die. He entreated that the petition of a dying man might be read in the House. Inhuman as it seems, the extreme party attempted to negative the proposal. The House divided, twenty-two for reading the petition, sixteen against it. I am grieved to find General Harrison one of the tellers for the negative, and as pleased to find the earl's old antagonist, Sir William Brereton, a teller for the affirmative.*

On the Sunday before his execution the earl wrote his tender and loving letters to his countess and to their two daughters. On Wednesday, October 15, he was conducted to Bolton by a guard of eighty horse and sixty foot soldiers. On the way he passionately entreated to be allowed to visit the grave of his friend, Sir Thomas Tyldesley, but his entreaty could not be granted. On his arrival at Bolton, the scaffold was ready for him at the market cross, erected (it is said) with timber brought from Lathom House.

We have several accounts of his death, in some particulars contradictory, and three versions of his last address, one in Somers's 'Tracts,' one in the 'Black Tribunal,' and one in Seacome's 'Memoirs.' The first, although reprinted by Sir Walter Scott, is believed to be spurious; the last seems to be the most correct. Of the following particulars there can be no reasonable doubt.

About two o'clock the earl ascended the ladder, and standing in the front of the scaffold, after 'submitting to the mercy of God,' he asserted his innocence of encouraging the Bolton massacre. 'Now it hath pleased God to take my life, I am glad to say that in this town, where some were made to believe I was a man of blood, I was slandered to be the death of many. It was my desire the last time I came into this country to come hither as to a people that ought to receive their king, as I conceive upon good grounds. It was said that I was accustomed to be a man of blood; but it shall not lie upon my conscience, for I was wrongfully belied. I thank God I die in peace. I was born in honour, and I hope I shall die in honour. I had a fair estate, and did not need to mend it. I had good friends, and was respected, and did respect. They were ready to do for me, and I was ready to do for them. I have done nothing but, as my ancestors, to do you good. It was the king that called me in, and I thought it my duty to wait upon his highness, to do him service.'

The earl was not an eloquent man. While he was speaking, some confusion arose from the people not hearing or not understanding him. He continued: 'I cannot say much more of my goodwill to this town of Bolton, and I can say no more but the Lord bless you! I forgive you all, and desire to be forgiven by you all. I put my trust in Jesus Christ.' Walking along the scaffold he repeated, 'The Lord bless you all of the town of Bolton, Manchester, and Lancashire! God send you a king again! I die like a Christian, a soldier, and Christ's soldier.' Then looking towards the crowd, he said, 'There is no man that revileth me, God be thanked!'

* *Journal of the House of Commons*, October 14, 1651.

His coffin was brought upon the scaffold. He desired it might be opened, and having said a few words to an attendant, he spoke to the executioner about striking him rightly, and added, 'The Lord help thee, and forgive thee!'

He was not allowed to have the comfort of a chaplain. Probably, in puritan Bolton, the presence of an episcopalian chaplain would have excited painful opposition. Two clergymen were present as private friends, one of whom wrote the words he spoke. Kneeling down he offered his last prayer, 'The Lord of heaven bless my wife and poor children! The Lord bless the people and my good king!' He calmly laid his head upon the block, and gave the death signal by raising his hand. By one stroke his head was severed from his body.

Thus died James, the seventh Earl of Derby. In his earlier years he was favourably disposed to the Puritans, and promoted several of their ministers to the best benefices in his patronage. At the beginning of the civil war he endeavoured to conciliate the opposing parties. When the means of conciliation failed, he was among the most moderate and constitutional adherents of the king. As the conflict proceeded, he became thoroughly imbued with the spirit of his party, and as the royal cause grew desperate he grew more devoted to it. Possessing great personal courage and indefatigable energy, he was not endowed with much intellectual power or commanding ability. In Bolton his execution was witnessed in profound silence by the inhabitants, who on the one hand could not forget the barbarities associated with his name, nor on the other rejoice in the triumph of the sectarian army. A few months earlier his presence in Bolton would have met with bitter execrations; a few months later he might have received the honours of martyrdom. As it was, the people probably regarded his execution as a righteous judgment of God, without approving of it as an act of the government which they dreaded. The mangled remains were placed in the coffin and removed by a few faithful friends to Ormskirk, where he was laid with his fathers in the sepulchre of the Stanleys. His illustrious countess survived him twelve years, and during that time, although steadily adhering to the royal cause for which she had suffered so severely, she, faithful to the Protestant principles of her parentage, presented as she had opportunity the benefices in her patronage to loyal and deserving presbyterian ministers.*

Another victory delivered Lancashire from all fear of the Royalists. A considerable number of the Scotch soldiers, who did very little for their covenanted king in the battle of Worcester, on their retreat

* Romanists have perpetuated a strange notion that the earl was reconciled to their Church before his death. A detailed account of his conversion, written in Latin, is preserved among the MSS. of Stonyhurst College. The story is so improbable, and so contradictory to all that we know of the last days of his life, as to render it, notwithstanding the attestation in its favour, utterly unworthy of credit. His countess was with no better reason announced as a convert to popery at this time in the *Legenda Ligneæ*, in which her name was printed in red letters as that of an illustrious person.—Neal, vol. ii. pt. ii. ch. ii. p. 413.

halted near Morecambe Bay, and formed in military order, under the command of General Lesley. The parliamentary troops under Harrison and Lilburne soon marched upon them, killed many of their officers, made about six hundred prisoners, and drove the rest out of the county. Although the peace of the county was restored, the Presbyterian Church was sadly troubled by the results of the war. Heyrick we left a prisoner in London. Herle of Winwick, Angier of Denton, Hollingworth of Manchester, Harrison of Ashton, Gee of Eccleston, and several other influential ministers, were arrested on the charge of corresponding with the Scotch, and exciting dissatisfaction with the existing government. After being confined for several weeks, they were released without obtaining an opportunity of answering the charges brought against them.

The dissolution of the Long Parliament, which had for some time been nigh unto death, still more seriously affected the presbyterian interest. Although the Presbyterians could not have felt much respect for the inglorious age of the parliament which in its youth and maturity had done so much for their liberty and welfare, its sudden dissolution seemed to them to forebode inevitable and disastrous changes. It had outlived its time and strength. Its dissolution, if it could be constitutionally dissolved, would be regretted by few others than the old gentlemen who acted the formalities of a parliament around the venerable chair of Speaker Lenthall.

But who was to dissolve it? No other than Cromwell could do it. The authority which he assumed was undoubtedly arbitrary and unconstitutional. But what could be done? Was the Long Parliament to sit for ever? Or was it to die out, and the parliamentary history of England to terminate with the life of its last surviving member? Or was it to dissolve itself? By what authority could it commit suicide? Cromwell did an unconstitutional deed, which somebody must have done if the machinery of government was to work any longer. Having resolved to do it, Cromwell did it like himself, promptly, resolutely, effectually. If he had no heavier burden upon his conscience than that unconstitutional deed, he had a much lighter weight of responsibility than must be borne by most rulers, royal or republican, who like him have had the misfortune to rule in troublous times.

On that memorable occasion, the protector went to the House, accompanied by his trusty Lancashire friend, Colonel Worsley, who, on the signal being given, led the soldiers into the House. The speaker left the chair, but Algernon Sidney, who occupied the next seat, boldly refused to retire. 'Put him out,' said Cromwell, and immediately Worsley and Harrison led him towards the door. 'Take away that bauble,' said the protector, pointing to the mace. To whom he spoke we are not told, but from the journals of the next parliament we learn that a message was sent to Colonel Worsley requesting him to restore the mace. There can, therefore, be no doubt that he took it away, and had the custody of it until the assembling of the new parliament.

On leaving the civil war of Lancashire, so disastrous to many of its noble families, Catholic, Episcopalian, and Presbyterian, we may find some illustration of the religious life and character of the time in the memoirs of a few of the parliamentary officers. The township of Rusholme supplies as many as we require, Charles Worsley, Thomas Birch, and his cousin John Birch, very different men, but each a good representative of a class of Puritans.

CHARLES WORSLEY, the eldest son of Ralph Worsley of Platt and Isabel Massey his wife, was baptised in the collegiate church of Manchester June 30, 1622. While he was a young man, that is to say, in 1646, the Rev. John Wigan was minister of Birch chapel, 'where he set up the congregational way.' About that time the principal families of Rusholme, the Worsleys, the Birches, the Edges, and the Siddals, professed and maintained congregational principles. Whether they had been converted to this profession by Mr. Wigan, or whether Mr. Wigan, who had previously attempted to introduce 'the congregational way' into Gorton was on that account invited to minister in Birch chapel, I have not been able to ascertain. As, however, it is not easy to account for so many respectable Congregationalists residing in the same village, when the neighbouring towns were almost exclusively presbyterian, I have little doubt that their opinions were to some extent formed under the influence of the earnest ministry of Mr. Wigan.

Ralph Worsley, who, like several of the traders of Manchester, carried on a profitable traffic with the Low Countries, kept a sort of diary* in which, partly in French and partly in English, he inserted brief notices of passing events. As the manuscript preserved among the family papers extends from 1645 to 1668, it contains valuable notices of the times with which we are concerned. It appears that his eldest son, Charles, when a boy, entered the parliamentary army, became a captain at the age of twenty-two and a lieutenant-colonel when he was twenty-eight.

It seems strange that at the same time in Manchester a regiment should be in the course of training to assist the Scotch in their invasion of England (if arrangements could be made with them satisfactory to the presbyterian ministers), and another to assist Cromwell in his invasion of Scotland. But such was the fact, and the opposite parties acted without interfering with each other, although it was scarcely possible that their different purposes could have been concealed.

'July 19, 1650. Friday.—At Cheetham Hill was the first muster of Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Worsley's soldiers. The second in the same place August 2, 1650.† This regiment was raised, equipped, and supported, at least in part, by the Independents of Rusholme and its neighbourhood, who were all inspired by the military spirit.

* See the previous reference to this diary, p. 162; also the extracts from it in the *History of the Ancient Chapel of Birch*, pp. 35-39. There are some entries, chiefly in French, earlier than 1645, but they afford no illustration of our history.

† *Diary of Ralph Worsley.*

Oliver Edge, the captor of the Earl of Derby, was one of its officers. Ralph Worsley, too old for active service, was represented in the regiment by a hireling, fed and clothed by him.* His neighbour, Colonel Birch, raised another regiment, and even the independent minister of Birch chapel served as a soldier in the republican army.

Colonel Worsley left Manchester with his regiment on August 19, 1650, to join Cromwell in Scotland. Having arrived too late to share the honour of the field of Dunbar, he served under the lord general during the remainder of the campaign. No soldier rose so rapidly as he in the estimation and confidence of Cromwell. While he was under thirty years of age he was promoted to the honourable position of 'Commander of the lord general's regiment of foot.' On great occasions, as on that I have already noticed, the dissolution of the Long Parliament, he was usually selected for the most difficult and confidential service. In the parliament of 1654 he was nominated the member for Manchester, and several of the inhabitants went through the formality of electing the unopposed favourite of Cromwell.†

In this parliament he took a very active part, as his name is found on several committees, especially that for ejecting scandalous ministers, and that for 'recognising and maintaining the rule of the lord protector over the three kingdoms.' On its dissolution he was appointed one of the ten generals who represented the protector in their several districts, and was invested with almost unlimited authority for the government of the counties of Lancaster, Chester, and Stafford.

Having undertaken this responsible service, he discharged its duties with extraordinary diligence, some may think with undue severity and puritanical rigour. It may be a curious enquiry why the young soldier should enforce a more rigorous restraint upon the amusements of the people than the old puritan ministers of his county had hitherto required. Whether he regarded the suggestions of the severe puritanism of London rather than the spirit of the sportive puritanism of Lancashire, or whether the puritanism of the preaching colonels had become more rigorous than that of the preaching clergymen, he endeavoured to suppress 'all horse races and cock matches,' although many a puritan squire in Lancashire boasted of the achievements of his favourite horse, and many a puritan minister gave his boys their cockpennies to spend at the cocking of Shrovetide or Easter.

It appears from his letters, which are preserved among the state papers, that Worsley had an especial dislike of Papists and of publi-

* 'November 2, 1650.—I agreed with John Burdell of the Millgate in Manchester to carry my arms during the service; and for his pains I have given him 30s., one green coat, and am to pay him daily one shilling, when he with the rest of his company is trained; and when he is to go forth of the county upon service I am to pay him thirty shillings more.'—*Diary of Ralph Worsley.*

† Of the twenty-nine names attached to the indenture of his election, not one reminds us of the great presbyterian families of the town.

cans. Papists he disarmed, fined, and turned to some good use by making them contribute from their registered estates to the impoverished exchequer. But the publicans troubled him sorely. They were, he says, 'the ban of the county,' although he found it 'a difficult thing to stop their trade and not weaken the revenue.' In the hundred of Blackburn he ordered 'two hundred ale-houses to be thrown down,' and then found that the exchequer could get no more revenue out of them. In great perplexity he craved further instructions.

He was also troubled with scandalous ministers and with vexatious Quakers. The 'scandalous ministers' were scandalous indeed: some of them 'drunkards, swearers, gamblers, unchaste, dishonest.' These he ejected from their benefices or curacies. Some of them, quite as many Presbyterians as Episcopalians, appear in Walker's lists as 'suffering clergy.' With the Quakers he had more trouble than with the publicans or the preachers. A publican, of no other earthly use, might help the exchequer, but there was no getting money from Quakers, living or dead. A preacher he could silence, but there was no silencing the Quakers. They disturbed the churches, denounced the ministers, defied the magistrates, exhorted in the markets, spake evil of dignitaries, went to prison as if they liked it, and came out as if they wished soon to return. Of them he could promise nothing better than 'I shall take what course I can.'

The religious spirit which breathes in all his letters is very remarkable. Everywhere he sees the hand of God. A man of prayer, he feels greatly encouraged by the prayers of others, and confidently expects answers to his own. In this respect, many of his letters resemble those of the protector. 'I find in them' (the officers of Lancashire) 'a spirit extraordinarily bent to the work, and I plainly discern the finger of God going along with it, which is indeed no small encouragement to me. The sense of the work and my unworthiness and insufficiency for the right management of it are my only present discouragement. Yet this is the ground of my hope and comfort, that the Lord is able to supply my wants, and will appear in weak instruments for His glory to the perfecting of His work. I shall, through the grace of God, discharge my trust in faithfulness to those who have employed me, and I omit no opportunity nor avoid pains wherein my weak endeavours may be useful.'* 'I have set a day apart to sit upon the ordinance for the ejecting of ignorant and scandalous ministers and subordinates. I am daily more and more encouraged that God will carry on this good work. I have been in divers towns and corporations, and have acquainted them with something I have in charge, and with the good people who doth no little rejoice, and seem to be abundantly affected therewith, and promise to set heart and hand to this good work. And indeed I hope it will make itself, by the blessing of God, a reconciling work.'†

* Dated, Manchester, November 3, 1655, quoted in *History of the Ancient Chapel of Birch. State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 149.

† Preston, November 9, 1655. Addressed to Secretary Thurloe; *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 149.

'I have been in some corporations with the mayor and aldermen, and the best of the people, to stir up and quicken the putting in effectual execution the laws against drunkenness, swearing, profaning the Lord's day, and other wickedness, and I indeed find a very great seeming readiness, and I am hopeful it is very much upon their heart to do so. But surely that which is none of the least encouraging is that God hath already put into His people a praying spirit for this great and good work, and indeed I find it already in good men of different principles.' *

Young as he was, and strong as he seemed, the incessant activity of his mind and daily fatigue of his body were too much for the endurance of his nervous and excitable nature. Invited to London by Cromwell, he wrote intimating his purpose, if his health would allow, and 'if the Lord will,' to 'take post' as soon as possible. He had apartments assigned to him in St. James's, or, as his puritan father always called it, 'James's House,' where he arrived feeble, exhausted, and nigh unto death. On the evening of June 12, 1656, he breathed his last at the early age of thirty-five.

His death was felt painfully by all the members of the government, by no one more than by the protector himself. 'He was buried with the dirges of bell, book, and candle, and the peals of musketry, in no less a repository than Henry VII.'s chapel, as became a prince of the modern creation and Oliver's great and rising favourite.' †

If the portrait which is preserved as an heir-loom in the family resembled him, as it surely must have done, his countenance was remarkably beautiful and expressive, for every feature seems formed to engage confidence and love. There is much gentleness in the expression, and yet the decision and magnanimity of the warrior are not weakened by the sweetness and blandness of the gentleman. He looks like himself, endowed with many great and good qualities seldom combined in the same person. ‡ His premature death was an irreparable loss to the Commonwealth. Of all the great officers of Cromwell, he had more than any other the unerring foresight, the calm judgment, the quiet decision, the dauntless courage, the decisive movement, the unwearied energy, and the unswerving perseverance of his great commander; and withal he had what his commander had not, a most gentle, insinuating, gracious, and conciliatory spirit and manner. Like Cromwell he firmly trusted in God; so far as man was concerned he trusted in himself, and he had the mysterious power of inducing others to trust him. Of the military circle around the protector's chair, no one appeared so fit to succeed to the pro-

* Preston, November 12, 1655. † Addressed to Thurloe. See as above, *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 179.

† Heath's *Chronicle*, p. 381.

‡ Of this portrait Mrs. Carill Worsley, the present possessor, a descendant of President Bradshaw, kindly allowed a photograph to be taken for the embellishment of the first edition of this work. General Worsley's sword is also preserved by the family. On its blade are engraven several moral and religious maxims, of which, perhaps, the most appropriate to his character is 'Fide, sed cui vide.'

tectorate as Major-General Worsley. We are ready to say if the Commonwealth of England was to have been preserved, his life would have been prolonged for its preservation. The only republican officer equal to him in qualities appropriate to a ruler was Ireton, but Ireton was then sleeping in the sanctuary of royalty at Westminster.

His eldest son Ralph succeeded to the family estates, as well as to the political and religious principles of his father and grandfather. After the Restoration he continued the faithful friend and protector of the nonconformist interest at Rusholme through all the vicissitudes of fortune to which it was subjected.

Adjoining the lands of Platt in Rusholme lies the estate of Hindley Birch, of which THOMAS BIRCH was the proprietor at the commencement of the civil war. Like his neighbour Ralph Worsley he was among the earliest supporters of 'the congregational way' in that neighbourhood. Having offered his services to the parliament, he obtained a commission as captain in a regiment of foot raised for the defence of Manchester. On occasion of the visit of Lord Strange in 1642, he led his troop marching to the sound of the drum, and ordered them, it is said upon authority that I have already considered, to fire upon the party of Royalists. If it were so, as that was the first skirmish in the great civil war, it must have been a painful reflection to him in later life, when he thought of the streams of blood and tears which had followed the fight so hastily provoked in the streets of Manchester.

In the course of the following winter he served as Major in Colonel Assheton's regiment with distinguished valour in the assault on Preston, and in the capture of Lancaster. In 1644 he became Governor of Liverpool, and there acted as a steady supporter of the religious principles of the Independents. In October 1649, on account of a vacancy occasioned by the death of Sir Richard Wynn, he was elected a representative of Liverpool in the Long Parliament. In the little parliament of 1653, he was returned the sole member for Liverpool, as he was also in the parliament of 1654, but in that of 1656 he was not allowed to take his seat. Independent in politics and religion, he was supposed to be unfavourable to the later measures of Cromwell, who assumed, in the opinion of stern republicans, too many of the prerogatives of royalty. He might well enquire by what constitutional authority the protector could forbid any man legally returned by his constituents to take his seat. While in his politics he seems to have agreed with Sidney, Neville, Harrington, and Martin, whom Cromwell called 'heathens,' his religious feelings prevented him from forming any intimate relations with those men. In the parliament elected on the Restoration, in which his old enemies the Presbyterians were powerful, he was charged, I hope unjustly, by Sir Ralph Assheton with taking bribes for doing parliamentary service. Instead of boldly meeting the charge, he retired to his estate and there contented himself with supporting the nonconformist interest in Rusholme. For some time after the passing of the Act of Uniformity, non-subscribing ministers were sustained in Birch chapel

by the leading families of Rusholme. When the authorities interfered, the Birches, Worsleys, and others withdrew their contributions, and the 'chapel wage' was inadequate to the support of a conforming minister. As late as 1670, according to Anthony Wood, two young men of this family, adhering to their nonconforming principles, studied in Oxford, that is, procured the privilege of consulting the university library and engaging a private tutor, although, like sound Puritans, they refused to wear gowns, or to conform in any particular to the ecclesiastical costume and practices of the university.

A branch of the Birch family was in the reign of Charles I. settled in Ardwick. JOHN BIRCH of that branch entered on the great conflict of the times with as much ardour and energy as his cousin Thomas. Although the cousins were engaged on the same side, they differed widely in respect to the political and religious controversies which divided the Parliamentarians. John Birch was as firm and decided a Presbyterian as Thomas was an Independent. John defended constitutional monarchy, Thomas republicanism; John opposed the measures of Cromwell, Thomas for a time adhered to him. John disliked Cromwell for destroying the king, Thomas for making himself too much like a king. John supported the interest of the presbyterian ministers, Thomas enforced the sequestration of their property. John promoted the restoration of Charles II., Thomas had no faith in any of the Stuarts. John was moderate in all his measures, Thomas determined and extreme in whatever cause he supported. Unlike in everything, except in their steady adherence to nonconformity, the cousins, while supporting the cause of liberty, seldom acted together, and never without exhibiting much difference in their opinions and in the manner of attaining their common object.

John Birch was the eldest son of godly parents, Samuel and Mary Birch, in whose house, first at Ardwick, afterwards at Ordsall, John Angier, William Bourne, Richard Hollingworth, and other ministers, kept many 'pretious days.' He was baptised in the collegiate church of Manchester, April 7, 1616. On the breaking out of the civil war, he entered the parliamentary army, probably induced by the example and encouragement of his cousin, who was a few years older than himself. His promotion was rapid. He did not, like his cousin, confine his services to his native county, or even to the Lancashire regiments, as in 1645 he commanded a Kentish regiment in Plymouth, and afterwards was appointed by parliament Governor of Bridgewater. Engaged in many sieges and battles in the west of England, he gained the reputation of a careful, cautious, far-seeing officer, who could wait his opportunity, and when it came act with singular promptitude and vigour. In the winter of 1645, he took the city of Hereford by stratagem. Having disguised six of his best soldiers as labouring men, he sent them separately into the city on a dark evening, and directed them at a given signal to surprise the sentinels and secure the gates. At the exact time previously determined, Colonel Birch led the infantry into the city, who in a stormy winter's night secured

the important positions, and, the next morning, on the arrival of their horse, captured the military stores, and made prisoners of forty knights and gentlemen of consideration. For this service public thanksgiving was ordered by parliament, and the colonel was appointed governor of the city. A story is told much to the credit of the moderation of the colonel and the courage of the Bishop of Hereford. The bishop, preaching in the cathedral before the new governor, took the opportunity of inveighing against the disloyalty of the times in language provokingly bitter and insulting. A guard of soldiers at the porch levelled their muskets, and threatened to fire upon him. Birch, who had been quietly listening, immediately rose, not to silence the preacher, but to command the soldiers to retire until the conclusion of the service. It was well for the bishop that the colonel was John Birch, not Thomas, who would probably have turned him out of the pulpit or commanded the soldiers to fire upon him.

After capturing Hereford and Ludlow, he was employed in services which required especial prudence, sagacity and discretion, as in arranging the differences with the Scottish authorities, and in conciliating the disaffected republican soldiery. But difficulties too great even for his wisdom to overcome obstructed his further progress. He had subscribed the covenant and he would not renounce it. He adhered firmly to his early presbyterianism and to the cause of constitutional monarchy. He desired, in opposition to the army, to make further overtures to the unfortunate king. Few of the Presbyterians were more feared by the Republicans than John Birch. A soldier, he was trusted and beloved by the men who had served under him. He was not to be frightened, he was not to be bought. Though cautious, he was not timid, as he never hesitated to do what he believed to be his duty. But he must be silenced. Elected the representative in parliament of Weobley, he was excluded by the operation of 'Pride's Purge,' and was afterwards confined as a prisoner by Major-General Berry. In the confusion which followed the death of Cromwell he regained his position, and became one of the council of state. With his presbyterian associates he was most active in concerting measures for the restoration of the monarchy. He prepared the instructions for the commissioners who negotiated with the king the terms of his restoration. Little did he expect to see the weakness and duplicity of Charles, or the sad consequences of his return to the throne of his ancestors. But he could do little else than grieve and protest. Remarkable for his steadfast adherence to the political and religious principles of his youth in those changing times, he remained a constitutional Presbyterian through a long life, in which he resisted with unfaltering courage the tyranny of Charles the elder, the despotism of Cromwell, the treachery of Charles the younger, the popery of James, and in his old age joined heart and hand in securing the revolution of 1688. Constant as he was to his principles, the little town of Weobley was quite as constant to him, and in all changes invariably returned him as its representative until his death. His last votes were for the establishment of the English

monarchy on a Protestant basis, in the persons of William and Mary, and for the passing of the Act of Toleration. The work of his long life seemed then appropriately to terminate. He died in 1691, and was buried in the chancel of Weobley church. His grateful constituents erected a monument of his worth, and inscribed upon it:—

In hope of resurrection to eternal life. Here is deposited the body of Colonel John Birch, descended of a worthy family in Lancashire. As the dignities he arrived at in the field and the esteem universally yielded him in the Senate House exceeded the attainments of most, so they were but the moderate and just rewards of his courage, conduct, wisdom, and fidelity. None who knew him denied him the character of asserting and vindicating the laws and liberties of his country in war and promoting its welfare and prosperity in peace. He was born on September 7, 1626, and died a member of the honourable House of Commons, being burgess for Weobley, May 10, 1691.*

I return to the event from which I digressed, the dissolution of the Long Parliament. The convention which Cromwell summoned for immediate consultation has been contemptuously treated by historians, who have called it 'the little parliament,' 'the Barebones parliament,' and other opprobrious names. It should, however, be observed, that it was not a parliament and never assumed the authority of one. The members were nominated by Cromwell; they amounted only to one hundred and fifty; they were selected almost exclusively from the counties; they received the authority which the protector placed in their hands; they were to resign their trust to their successors appointed to revise the form of government which they were to prepare. It was an arbitrary arrangement provided in a great emergency, and it is unjust to complain of it as if it were a parliament, or a substitute for a parliament, and not a convention intended to secure parliamentary government in future.

The members chosen for Lancashire were William West, John Sawry, and Robert Cunliss. Why they were selected to assist Mr. Barebones it is not easy to discover, as no one of them ever did a single deed by which he has been distinguished.

In the next year, 1654, when a more complete representation of the counties and large towns was secured, Lancashire had four representatives, and its chief towns, Liverpool, Manchester, Preston, and Lancaster, had each one representative. They were all well known men of puritan families. Richard Holland, Gilbert Ireland, Richard Standish, and William Ashurst represented the county. Colonel Thomas Birch was member for Liverpool, General Charles Worsley for Manchester, Richard Shuttleworth for Preston, and Henry Porter for Lancaster.

It may cause less interruption to the narrative if I here observe that in Cromwell's next parliament of 1656 the representation of Lancashire continued with little variation. The only changes were that Sir Richard Hoghton (whose family about this time began to

* Monumental inscriptions are not always to be trusted. Colonel Birch was baptised in 1616, and therefore was not born in 1626, as stated on his tomb. According to Anthony Wood (no bad authority for the bad deeds of a bishop), the bishop of the diocese with the minister of the parish defaced this harmless inscription, because it contained 'words not right for the church institution.'

take the lead of the Lancashire Presbyterians) was returned for the county in the place of Mr. Ashurst, and Richard Radcliffe for Manchester in the place of General Worsley, who died a few weeks before the election. It would seem from the signatures appended to the indenture that the Presbyterians promoted the election of Mr. Radcliffe. The names of their leaders, 'conspicuous by their absence' from the indenture in favour of General Worsley, are prominent on that in favour of Mr. Radcliffe.

From the dissolution of the Long Parliament until the death of the protector, it is not easy to say what was the legal state of presbyterianism in Lancashire. Its adherents claimed for it an exalted position which both Episcopalians and Independents refused to acknowledge. The chief ecclesiastical authority in reality, if not in name, was the committee of sequestration, as on their recommendation depended to a great extent the stipends of the clergy. They had, as I have already observed, procured a survey of the ecclesiastical property, and with it a great amount of useful information respecting the several churches, chapels, and incumbents of the county. They had made a valuation of the tithes, and taken an account of 'the chapel wages.' They ascertained the distances of the chapels from their parish churches and specified such as ought to be made parochial. They further noticed the character and services of many of the incumbents, and recommended augmentation of the poorer benefices and diminution of the richer. By their services the condition of the more indigent and deserving clergy was considerably improved, and would have been much more improved if all their recommendations had been observed. Whoever might complain, the working clergy of the poor chapelries of Lancashire had reason to be thankful for the appointment of the committee of sequestration.*

But on several accounts, the power of the sequestrators was offensive to the presbyterian synods and assemblies. Having the manage-

* The following extracts will afford a fair specimen of the survey. 'To the parish church of Manchester belong several messuages in Manchester, and in Newton, and in Kirkmanshulme. Valued per annum fifty-six pounds to the warden and fellows, beside increase of fines and tithes of the parish five hundred pounds per annum. Mr. Richard Heyricke, warden, Mr. Hollingworth and Mr. William Walker, masters of the church.' . . . 'Nine chapels belong to Manchester, namely, Salford, Stretford, Chorlton, Didsbury, Birch, Gorton, Denton, Newton, and Blakely.' . . . 'Stretford Chapel, Mr. John Odcroft, preacher. Tithes from Sir Edmund Trafford, six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence; worth in kind twenty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence. Second part taken from Sir Edmund Trafford for recusancy. Is distant four short miles [from Manchester]; one half mile from Chorlton; three miles from Flixton. Fit to be a parish church.' . . . 'Salford Chapel, late erected. Twenty pounds by free gift from Mr. Humphry Booth out of lands partly in Manchester, part in Pendleton, part in Eccles. Mr. William Meek, preacher. Fit to be a parish church. Tithes worth sixteen pounds.' . . . 'Newton chapel. Distant three miles from Blakely; from Gorton . . . miles. Lands in Newton and Kirkmanshulme, thirty-one pounds two shillings and threepence, paid to the warden and fellows. Tithe in Newton eight pounds. Kirkmanshulme forty shillings.' . . . 'Bradford, Failsworth greater part. Droylsden, Moston, nearer than to any other. Fit to be a parish church. Mr. John Walker, preacher. Late forty pounds by inhabitants, and dwelling-house as stable by inhabitants.'

ment of the temporalities of the Church, they were able to a large extent to control the movements of the ecclesiastical authorities. Although they do not appear to have used their power in an offensive manner, it was humiliating to the spirits of a dominant clergy to submit their stipends to the regulation of a committee of laymen, and especially to refer to its authority the claims of every newly appointed minister to the income of the church, to the ministry of which the presbytery by an ordinance of God had solemnly ordained him. They knew too well that in any appeal to parliament, in which they had lost their best friends, the sequestrators would certainly obtain whatever support they desired. High churchmen like Richard Heyrick, who, Presbyterian as he was, would quite as soon submit to black prelacy as acknowledge the Erastian domination of lawyers and soldiers, chafed and fretted under the restraint of the lay 'lords over God's heritage.'

This restraint, so vexatious and irritating to the influential clergy, exposed many of their ecclesiastical proceedings to the uncertainties of legal controversy. Was their ordination indispensable for obtaining a legal title to the stipend of an authorised minister? Was a minister already in possession of his stipend bound to submit to their discipline and comply with their ordinances? In other words, could none but a Presbyterian, sound in his faith and orderly in his practice, receive or retain the position and stipend of a parochial minister? These questions brought the Presbyterians into troublesome controversies, on the one side with the Episcopalians, and on the other with the Independents.

We have seen how by an ordinance of the Long Parliament the Presbyterian Church was established in Lancashire. When that parliament had taken 'The Purge of Colonel Pride,' and some other mild cathartics, it was relieved of its presbyterian exuberance. By an ordinance of September 27, 1650, without directly subverting the presbyterian establishment, it assured to all ministers professing the true protestant religion, though of different judgment in matters of worship and discipline, equal liberty and protection in their public ministrations, and it repealed every statute which was contrary to their liberty. What was the legal effect of this ordinance in Lancashire? In what position did it place ministers who would not submit to the presbyterian establishment? There was no toleration for Papists. It was admitted that prelacy was contrary to the constitutional government of the country. But there were in Lancashire moderate Episcopalians who disowned the prelatical hierarchy, and there were Independents as sound Protestants, and, I fear, as intolerant, as the Presbyterians themselves. How were these Protestant ministers to enjoy equal liberty and protection with the ministers of the presbyterian establishment? Of this enquiry it was not easy to find a solution.

No attempt was made by either of the dissentient parties to subvert the ecclesiastical government previously established. The regular ecclesiastical authorities might continue to rule those ministers who chose to submit to their discipline. But it was contended that on



the occurrence of a vacancy in a parish or chapelry, if the congregation with the approval of the patron elected a minister who was in the judgment of the secular power competent to the duties of his office and deserving of its income, the presbyterian courts had no right to exclude him, or to insist upon a profession of conformity with their discipline. If they had, what became of the equal liberty and protection which had been secured to all protestant ministers by the ordinance of parliament? But, on the other hand, if they had not, it was evident to the clerical authorities that presbyterianism was established only where the people were presbyterian, and in no other sense than, in other places, episcopacy, or independency, or anabaptism, or anything else except popery and prelacy, might be established.

The presbyterian ministers determined to resist, but like prudent men they began by making some concessions that they might more effectually oppose the demands which would soon be made upon them in matters of greater moment. Martin Firth, an expectant of orders, declined to subscribe the covenant; but as he appeared in conversation to think favourably of its contents, and promised to weigh its obligation, he was ordained on the ground that 'he had given satisfaction concerning the covenant.' To conciliate the moderate Episcopalians the repetition of the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments was introduced in the celebration of public worship, and considerable parts of the old office for the solemnising of the Lord's Supper were restored where the people desired it. Kneeling at the communion was, however, strictly forbidden as superstitious, if not idolatrous. These concessions were too inconsiderable to satisfy the discontented, while they encouraged or provoked the demand for greater changes. Heyricke and his friends had to prepare for long and harassing controversy, the more difficult and perplexing, because the arguments adduced in opposition to one class of opponents often supplied advantage to another. Presbyterianism had to fight warily in order to defend its position between the extremes of Episcopacy and Congregationalism.

With the Episcopalians the controversy began upon the subject of lay elders. In all the courts of the Presbyterian Church, lay elders had equal authority with their clerical brethren, and in Lancashire they always constituted the majority. In the Episcopal Church lay authority was inadmissible in spiritual matters, and was, as in the instance of churchwardens, strictly confined to the temporalities of the building or the benefice.

On this subject the Episcopalians soon found occasion of troubling the congregations, even in the hundred of Salford, where presbyterianism, being more powerful than elsewhere in the county, was probably not less haughty and defiant. In Prestwich, in Oldham, in Middleton, in Bury, and in Salford, attempts were made to exclude lay elders from the government of the congregations, that is in effect to exclude the congregations from being represented in the classes and synods to which they severally belonged.

The presbyterian ministers were sorely exasperated. Their kindly concessions, instead of conciliating dissidents, had promoted dis-

sension. Heyricke, the author of the concessions, was especially angry, and acknowledged that he had advised his brethren to concede too much and too hastily. Harrison, Tilsley, Gee, and others who had not cordially supported the concessions, were determined to adopt rigorous measures to restrain the innovating spirit of the episcopal party. Complaints were made to the classes that on account of the contempt into which the elders had fallen through the disparagement of them by the episcopalian clergy, they had lost their authority in exercising discipline, in reproving sin, in examining candidates for communion, and in discharging other duties of their office. A general neglect of religious ordinances was observed wherever the elders were obstructed in the discharge of their important duties. Congregations evidently inclined to the restoration of Episcopacy became, under the circumstances, practically Independents.

The Lancashire presbyteries felt, and generally expressed the feeling, that decisive measures ought to be immediately adopted to restore to their Church the godly order and discipline by which it had flourished in its better days. Among other proposals, it was ordered that notice should be taken of all persons who, not reputed ignorant or scandalous, neglected the 'observance of the Lord's Supper,' that they should first be privately admonished, that admonition failing their names should be published in the congregation, and that if they continued obstinate they should be publicly excommunicated. The point and meaning of these proposals may be understood by observing that all persons were admitted to the Lord's Supper through the mediation of the ruling elders. The orders of the classes were published in the churches, and, as might have been expected, provoked a vast amount of ill-feeling, opposition, and controversy.

Under the toleration granted by parliament, the disaffected persons might, if they so pleased, have formed their own religious communities, and observed their own forms of worship, provided they did not read the Book of Common Prayer. How much they might have used with impunity is uncertain, but, as Heyricke and other presbyterian ministers used several parts of it, it is probable that under the growing liberality of the government they would have been allowed to use the greater part. They could not have constructed a hierarchy, but they would not have been compelled to elect ruling elders, nor to adopt any particular usages of the Presbyterians. The question to be decided was, whether ministers and congregations who renounced the presbyterian discipline and usage could retain possession of the churches and chapels in which they had been accustomed to worship.

Several congregations were determined to assert their freedom from the rule of lay elders, and to resist the authority of the presbyteries. Attempts to do so were made with various success, as appears from the minutes of the first and of the second classical assemblies.

In the first district, that of Manchester, the most formidable

opposition to the eldership arose in Prestwich. Mr. Isaac Allen, the minister, determined to retain or restore as much of the form and usage of the Episcopal Church as he could, without violating the existing laws. In his determination he was supported by the majority of his congregation. He privately solemnised matrimony according to the old ordinal. He used large parts of the English liturgy interwoven with his own service. He would not acknowledge the authority of a lay court, nor recognise the office of ruling elder. When the Manchester classis required him to correct his irregular proceedings, he refused, and in reply to a threat of deposition plainly denied the right of the classis to rule the minister and free people of Prestwich. He propounded questions which it was not very easy for the ministers of the presbytery to answer. What Church, he asked, did they mean which had authority to excommunicate offenders? Was it the church in Manchester where the classis assembled? By the recent ordinance of parliament the church at Prestwich was as free as that of Manchester, and would claim protection in the exercise of its freedom. Or did they mean the Presbyterian Church of England? If they did, why did they not first excommunicate the great offender, Oliver Cromwell, who observed presbyterian usages no better than the humble minister of Prestwich?

Heyricke, although very angry, was not quite prepared to propose the excommunication of Oliver Cromwell, the mention of whose name seems to have frightened the rest of the classis. They began to fear lest the ordinance of parliament by which presbyterian government was established in Lancashire should on trial prove to have been repealed by the subsequent ordinance, which secured the universal toleration of Protestants. Or more probably they feared that if the question were agitated the parliament would soon put an end to their local establishment, even if it had not already done so. They, therefore, with more of the wisdom of Hollingworth than of the courage of Heyricke, instead of boldly asserting their authority turned aside to a smaller question which incidentally arose in the debate, 'How far was it lawful to hear an unordained minister?' As with this question neither Isaac Allen nor Oliver Cromwell had much concern, the former kept possession of his church, and, irritated by the impotent attempt to silence him, became a vexatious thorn in the side of the Manchester presbytery.

Allen soon grew bold enough to assume the offensive, and to attack the proceedings of the presbytery. When the classis ordered that persons competent for communion refusing to communicate should be publicly notified for excommunication, he advised all who were so exposed to obloquy to apply for protection to a magistrate, or to commence an action for defamation of character. In the unsettled relations which then existed between Church and State, it was difficult to say what would be the result of such legal proceedings.

Allen, growing bolder by impunity, wrote an indignant remonstrance against the threatenings of the presbytery. He wanted to know by what authority or process they could excommunicate any

who did not, and would not, belong to them. Such an excommunication was nothing more than noise and bluster. As to their acts and instruments of confession, humiliation, and mourning for the sins of the nation, believing it to be not very humiliating to mourn for other people's sins, he told them, 'These are so many waste papers, wherein presbytery is wrapped to look more handsomely and pass more covertly. But beware we must, for *latet anguis in herbâ.*'

This remonstrance, to which Allen had procured the signatures of many Episcopalians, as well as of persons who, being indifferent about Church government, objected to all intolerance, was, with as much formality as its author could secure, presented to the classical assembly. The members of the classis seem to have been much perplexed about the best manner of answering the offensive document. They made bold assertions which they were not bold enough to maintain. They asserted that no one could renounce the presbyterian government of his district without also renouncing his baptism into the Presbyterian Church. They declared that excommunication was an ordinance of God, for the administration of which the Church was responsible only to the Lord Jesus. They referred the remonstrants to the example of their own bishops, who had excommunicated many good ministers. Allen laughed at them. They wisely entrusted their formal answer to Mr. Harrison of Ashton, one of their moderate brethren, who drew up the reply in terms so conciliatory and cautious as to show how much of its haughty spirit the presbytery had either corrected or concealed, and how in the midst of new perils it had learned to speak with unwonted fairness and moderation.

This wise and temperate reply produced so favourable an impression that moderate Episcopalians began to express their hope of the reconciliation of the two parties by a fair and honourable adjustment of their differences. But provocation, not conciliation, was the purpose of Isaac Allen. He would acknowledge no concession as of any value, no reconciliation as possible, so long as laymen were allowed to exercise any authority in the Church. This he knew was, with the Presbyterians, a vital element, which could not be conceded without the subversion of their recognised polity and discipline. He would be satisfied with nothing less than an acknowledgment that the Presbyterians were wrong, and therefore ought to unite in restoring the Church which they had destroyed. So humbled was the presbytery that it appointed a committee to confer with the disaffected Episcopalians, and so haughty were the Episcopalians that, acting under the advice of Allen, they, with only one exception, refused to meet the presbyterian committee. The one Episcopalian who met them was good Mr. Mosley, and he laboured hard to arrange terms of peace, if not of union and co-operation. Mosley could do little alone, and Allen was determined he should do nothing. The latter published the whole correspondence, with a most bitter and intemperate preface, under the title of 'EXCOMMUNICATIO EXCOMMUNICATA.' The spirit of his preface may be seen in the following extract: 'What David said of Goliath's sword, surely they say of the Holy Sacrament, "There's none like unto that!"' no engine so likely to

teach us obedience and to give them the sovereignty as that. They impale the supper of Christ to their own enclosures, and as absolute judges of all communicants, keep back all persons that have not their shibboleth ready; that will not fall down and worship that idol which they have set up. The Egyptians were hard taskmasters to expect the children of Israel should make bricks and make straw too; to require the same number of bricks without materials to make them of. This is something like the severity of our new masters. They censure for not doing that which they render to us impossible. If we come not to the Lord's Supper we must be excommunicate; and they will not permit us to come because we are ignorant, or scandalous, or profane. And 'tis proof enough we are so, because we are too stout to fall down and worship their imaginations.'

To these intemperate censures of presbyterian usages, Mr. Harrison of Ashton published a temperate reply entitled, 'The Censures of the Church revived in the defence of a short Paper published by the First Classis in the Province of Lancaster.' In the dedication, addressed to the Provincial Assembly of London, the author refers with much anxiety to the spiritual state of the churches. 'When you, my reverend brethren, had first been shined upon and made so fruitful, the divine grace caused a second enlivening beam of civil authority to fall upon this remote and despised county; to constitute in it also several classes, and afterwards a provincial assembly; since which time such heavenly influence hath been stayed. As our lot hath happily fallen to follow you in the favour of God and civil authority, so we have unhappily fallen into your lot, especially this class is to be followed with the anger, opposition, reproaches, and contradiction of men of contrary minds; which, though hid in the ashes in great measure formerly, and but sparkling now and then, here and there, in a private house or congregation, yet when we would conscientiously and tenderly have improved the government for the instruction of the ignorant, and information of the profane, it brake out into a flame. And no way but that flame must be hasted to such a beacon that it might not be quenched till the whole nation had seen and taken notice.'

The temperate character of this defence, written in circumstances of great provocation, as well as the moderate and conciliatory proceedings which the leaders of the party had recently adopted, suggest the enquiry, What could have humbled the lofty spirit of the presbyterian ministers, and induced them to do so much to conciliate the more moderate Episcopalians? We may attribute the change in their conduct partly to the difficulties which they found in practically maintaining the discipline which in theory had appeared to them easy to be worked, and partly to the growing desire among them of subverting the republican government and restoring the monarchy. The difficulties of their position increased with every change in the national affairs, while the restoration of the monarchy, to which they were beginning to look for relief, could be expected only through a good understanding with the moderate Episcopalians.

Their difficulties, as we have already seen, were with their ruling elders and their restrictive communion. In these matters, Allen and his party determined to allow them no peace, and found many opportunities of making them unpopular. The officiousness of the lay elders in claiming ministerial authority, and excluding their neighbours from communion, was the subject of popular complaint in many parts of the county.

On the occurrence of a vacancy in the chapel of Salford through the death of a godly minister, Mr. Meek, the profane party, as they were called by the rigid disciplinarians, zealously supported the claims of the Rev. James Brown to become the successor of the late pastor. While he was preaching on probation, having obtained the approval of the patron, he somehow incurred the displeasure of the ruling elders. The 'profane' party united with the patron against the 'pious,' who adhered to the elders. The candidate resolved to keep possession of the chapel on the plea that the majority of the people, together with Mr. Booth, the patron, supported him, and that under the recent ordinance of toleration he had a right to claim the protection of the magistrate. The elders, encouraged by the presbytery, endeavoured to eject him. He defied both elders and presbytery, and took the extreme course of announcing that, although not ordained by the classis, he would, on his own responsibility, administer the Lord's Supper to all who wished to communicate. This was inflicting a fatal wound upon the power of the presbytery. To tolerate such a rebel would be to resign their authority; to eject him, supported as he was by the patron, would oblige them to appeal to a court of law, the result of which proceeding was uncertain and might be humiliating and vexatious. In their perplexity, the members of the classis descended from their elevation, and conceded to arbitration a case of which, according to their own principles, they were the only competent judges. The litigation was prolonged, perhaps advisedly, until greater changes prevented either party from obtaining a decision.

Similar troubles disturbed the congregations of Oldham and Stretford, where the ministers had refused to acknowledge the rules of the presbyteries. Mr. Lake of Oldham, on being threatened with a prosecution, made some concessions to the classis respecting the eldership, and the prosecution was abandoned, probably more through fear of its failure than through regard to the offender. He was not allowed to take his seat in the classical assembly without giving satisfaction for his irregularities, which satisfaction he never did give. Mr. Odcroft of Stretford, having conducted his services according to the Book of Common Prayer while it was prohibited by parliament, challenged the classis to resort to a magistrate to support them in removing the offender from the chapel. But neither in Oldham nor in Stretford could decisive measures be completed, before presbyterianism was deprived of the power which it then held with a feeble and irresolute hand.

In the second classis, that of Bolton, the people of Bury and of Middleton refused to acknowledge the authority of the lay-elders.

Throughout the long conflict, Bury contained a large proportion of influential residents who wished to retain the order and usages of the Episcopal Church. The classis was compelled to bear with their irregularities, although with much reluctance and inconvenience. The case of Middleton brought great scandal upon all parties who were so unfortunate as to be concerned in it.

Mr. Symmonds was elected by the people to be the minister of Middleton. As he did not produce a certificate of ordination according to the regular formularies of the Presbyterian Church, the second classis refused to induct him. Chargeable with several other violations of presbyterian order, he was prohibited from preaching in Middleton or anywhere else within the bounds of the classis. The parishioners, who seem to have been cordially attached to him, petitioned the presbytery to allow him to continue his ministry among them until they were provided with a competent successor. The presbytery refused, probably suspecting that as the people were much pleased with his services they would not very speedily provide his successor. After some months, during which the parish was without a minister, the classis 'sadly resented the defect of provision of the means of grace in that congregation,' and claimed, in the prolonged vacancy, the right to appoint Mr. Folgate to discharge all ministerial duties. But Folgate was regarded as an intruder, and truly or falsely represented by the parishioners as wholly incompetent. They petitioned against him; they repeated their petition; they followed it with an angry remonstrance. Being required 'to condescend to particulars,' the worst they could say about him was that he was an Irishman, and acted like one. For some months the presbytery supported him against the opposition of the people, until that opposition was observed gradually to subside. The members of the presbytery, at first pleased with their apparent success, were in the end bitterly disappointed. While the Irishman publicly observed the presbyterian regulations, he conciliated the people by privately observing the old usages, and solemnising marriages according to the formulary of the Prayer Book. The presbytery, indignant with their favourite, who in their own court was zealous for their discipline while in his congregation he evaded their rules, prohibited him from preaching in their bounds. What became of him I do not know, nor could Walker discover. Had he known any good of the Irishman, he would, I have no doubt, have glorified him, as he has done Symmonds his predecessor, as 'a most excellent and extraordinary' martyr for episcopacy.

This second classis was remarkably unfortunate, for within its limits, including only six parishes, in the short interval of three years of presbyterian rule, eleven ministers were silenced or suspended, and ten more were subjected to censure or trial.* Had we the minutes of the other seven classes, I have no doubt we should find

* See in Walker extracts from the copy of the *Minutes of the Bolton Classis*, preserved in the Bodleian. Walker gives some curious particulars, which, however, I have not verified, as of ministers charged with working on fast days, tippling in ale-houses, swearing by faith, and kneeling down in the desk at church.

they had their troubles with refractory ministers as well as the classes of Manchester and Bolton.

While the Presbyterians were engaged in these vexatious controversies with the Episcopalians, they were involved in others quite as vexatious and much more formidable with the Independents. Although the Independents were favourably disposed to lay elders, they made other objections to the established discipline. They would not acknowledge the authority of classical, synodical, or provincial assemblies. They respected no boundaries within which the action of a Church should be confined. They maintained the independency of every Church, that is, its competence to manage its own affairs, although they were willing to accept advice and assistance from ministerial associations. The congregationalism of Lancashire, as it was to some extent modified by Mr. Eaton, its most influential supporter, upon the New England model, more nearly approximated to presbyterianism than the sterner independency of London and the eastern counties. With regard to the patronage and support which the Church received from the civil power there was no great difference between them. The independent minister received his stipend from the sequestrators, ploughed his glebe, enforced his dues, and exacted his 'chapel wage,' as readily and as strictly as his presbyterian or episcopalian neighbour. With regard to the interference of government, the Independents were often less scrupulous than the Presbyterians, whose High Church principles were ever inducing them to protest against the action of the civil power in Church politics. The independent ministers returning from Massachusetts or Connecticut, would have been glad to have formed such relations with Cromwell and his parliament as the transatlantic consociations had formed with the governors and representative assemblies of the puritan states. Although such relations were impracticable in England, Samuel Mather, and other Lancashire Independents would not have objected to them, as is evident from Mather's ecclesiastical connection with Henry Cromwell in Ireland. In matters of ceremonial, the Independents were as severe and anti-popish as their presbyterian neighbours.

These new religionists gave much trouble to the Presbyterians by their preaching members, 'gifted brethren' as they called them. Frequent were the disputes whether unordained men, not expectants, ought to be allowed to preach. Hollingworth, Harrison, Gee, all the presbyterian controversialists, exhausted their stores of logic and learning in proving the negative of this question. Their arguments, however logical and learned, produced little impression upon the Independents. The reply was always ready: Why are brethren gifted, if they are not to use their gifts? Many a lay brother could preach quite as long and as loud as a presbyterian parson. Why should he not use the gift of the Spirit? Why should he quench the Holy Ghost?

(Compare the instances already mentioned in pp. 255, 257.) He says, but I suppose he did not learn it from the minutes, that Mr. Symmonds 'was not allowed to go to the funeral of his wife, who died during his confinement' [in prison].

Had these 'gifted brethren' been content with exercising their gifts in their own community, they might have been allowed to preach without disturbance for the edification of their own brethren. But they had a mission which was limited by no parochial boundaries, nor even by the extent of the societies to which they belonged. They felt an irresistible impulse to preach everywhere the gospel which they had received from the Lord Jesus. They formed 'gathered churches,' 'entered into other men's labours,' and drew away followers from the ministrations of the presbyterian clergy. If they did not, like the Quakers, disturb congregations by bearing their testimony in the churches, they held conventicles of their own, and exhorted men of every party who would come to hear their 'utterances of the Spirit.' Adam Martindale, who had many a fierce dispute with them, always managed to restrict the dispute to the one question, whether the 'gifted brethren' might preach, without his consent, to the members of his own congregation, for whose souls he would have to give account at the tribunal of God. By avoiding the wider question of the propriety of their preaching at all, he thought he gained an advantage over them, as probably he did in the estimation of people who cherished the belief that their ministers were responsible for their souls.

But after a while these 'gifted brethren' became troublesome to their own ministers, and impatient of the restraint of their own churches. They invaded the pulpit, exhorted from the benches, assumed authority over the ungifted brethren, and contradicted the teaching of their ministers. Some of them taught strange doctrines. They upheld free will, denied the divine nature of Christ and the personality of the Holy Ghost. Arminianism, Arianism, Socinianism, all sorts of crotchety isms grew out of their liberty of prophesying. Samuel Eaton, the most influential teacher of the northern Independents, and the other leading ministers, were zealously orthodox, and were, in their perplexity with their unmanageable adherents, prepared to consider proposals of union which were made to them by the more moderate of the presbyterian ministers.

Before we notice these proposals, it is desirable to refer to the introduction of Henry Newcome to the ministry of the collegiate church of Manchester, as he will henceforth occupy a prominent position in the progress of Lancashire nonconformity.

Richard Hollingworth, fellow of the collegiate church, died November 3, 1656, having been elected in 1643 on the death of old William Bourne. In many respects he was well fitted to act a subordinate part with Warden Heyricke, for they cordially agreed in their political and religious opinions, while they differed in their dispositions just so far as difference of disposition is desirable between colleagues co-operating to promote the same objects. Both were true Presbyterians, resolutely opposed on the one side to popery and prelacy, on the other to independency and all sorts of sectarianism. Both were constitutional Royalists, resolved to defend to the uttermost in the even balance of the English government the rightful prerogatives of the king and the ancient privileges of the parliament.

Heyricke was haughty and imperious, Hollingworth pliable and submissive; Heyricke would not be crossed or contradicted, Hollingworth was not disposed to cross or contradict him. Heyricke loved the dignity of his office and the power which it gave him to rule in the parish or the presbytery; Hollingworth was content to let the warden rule, while he secured the emoluments of his fellowship, or, as the warden said of him, 'well lined his pocket.' Both advocated the presbyterian parity of ministers, save that Heyricke always defended the dignity of a warden and Hollingworth the revenue of his fellowship. Heyricke could work, and talk, and preach, and protest, and fight, and move men mightily, but he was not good at logic nor patient enough to write a book; Hollingworth was fond of his pen, and was ever ready to reason and write in defence of the cause which was dear to them both. When the college was dissolved, and the sequestrators allowed the warden only 100*l.* a year, and each of the fellows 80*l.*: Heyricke, content to retain his dignity and influence, seemed to care little about the money; Hollingworth vexed his soul about the leases of ecclesiastical lands which he had granted, and the great fines which he might have secured had he known that the hand of the spoiler was speedily coming upon the Church. They had united to resist the armies of Charles; they had stood together in the siege of Manchester; they had signed together the Solemn League and Covenant; they had kept fast and humiliation together on the murder of the king; they had together conspired and suffered for the restoration of royalty; they had in classis and provincial assembly acted their different parts with uninterrupted harmony; and when death divided them, the generous warden mourned for what he thought an irreparable loss to the Church, as it was undoubtedly an irreparable loss to himself.

His regret was shared by the ministers of the district. According to the minutes of the classical meeting, it was agreed that 'a fast be observed in Manchester on Wednesday, the third of December next, and that Mr. Gee and Mr. Tildsley be sought unto to preach upon the occasion of the sad breach made in the congregation by the death of Mr. Hollingworth, late minister there, and to desire the Lord's guidance and assistance in an election of a minister to succeed him.'

This minute suggests a notice of the great change which had occurred since the appointment of Hollingworth to his collegiate charge. According to the charter of the college, the warden and surviving fellows were, on occasion of a vacancy, to choose a successor. At this time the charter was disregarded and the election was vested in the people. The warden had not the privilege even of a patron. The sequestrators were the persons to whom the newly-elected minister would have to apply for the temporalities of the benefice. There was little fear of their interposing any difficulty in the way of a competent preacher, and the congregation was so guided by its ministers and elders that there was as little fear of their choosing an incompetent or objectionable candidate.

Among the younger ministers who had preached in Manchester

during the sickness of Mr. Hollingworth was Henry Newcome, from Gawsworth in Cheshire. Like some other ministers under both presbyterian and episcopalian government, he had to equalise the wants of a growing family and the supplies of a small stipend. His preaching in Manchester for only one Sunday brought him considerable relief from the generosity of a town where generosity has been an exemplary virtue for more than two hundred years. The relief thus obtained produced an effect which the contributors did not intend, as it induced him, when contemplating his removal, to remain in Gawsworth, where Providence had so unexpectedly relieved him of his anxieties by their liberality. He painted his little parsonage, parted off a little study from his little parlour, and spent what he could spare of his friends' bounty in making his little home nice and comfortable. But in those times, when good preaching was in great request, he was not the man to be allowed to repose undisturbed in his small incumbency.

His sermon preached at Manchester in August must have left a deep impression upon his audience, for only two days after the death of Mr. Hollingworth in November, he received a letter signed by several of the congregation, enquiring if he were free to come, should he be invited to accept the vacant charge. But other people had heard of the wonderful young preacher, and had requested him to preach in several large towns. Wherever he preached every hearer wished to hear him again, and having heard him again to hear him every Sunday. He had spent a Sunday in Shrewsbury, a town at that time of nearly as much importance and quite as much gentility as Manchester. He had preached at 'Alkmond's, and the people of Julian's* set their affections' upon him while preaching in the neighbouring church. The matter was referred to 'pretious Mr. Baxter,' who was quite certain that it was both his duty and his interest to settle in Shrewsbury.

The Manchester people were not disposed to lose any time in accomplishing a desirable object. A meeting was held on November 7, only four days after Hollingworth's death, when three persons were mentioned as suitable to supply the vacancy; but the feeling was so strong and unanimous in favour of Newcome that nothing more was said about the other two. The classis appointed Friday, December 5, for the election, but 'so evenly did they strike,' that on the day that Newcome heard of this arrangement he received letters from the people of 'Julian's,' from the Mayor of Shrewsbury, and from three of its ministers, entreating him to accept their invitation. On November 30, the Sunday before the election, he preached in Manchester, where 'the women were so pleased that they would needs send tokens,' which amounted to seven pounds. On his receiving these tokens the Shrewsbury people 'gave him a very unhandsome lash' for having been drawn away from them by 'women's favours.' The proud Salopians were evidently afraid of the fascination of the Lancashire witches. On the day before the election, Mr.

* The saints were in those days expelled from Shrewsbury as ignominiously as from London.

Newcome sent Baxter's letter to Manchester, that the good people might see the reasons of that eminent minister in favour of his settlement in Shrewsbury. The people were not disposed to acquiesce in the recommendation even of Richard Baxter, but gave Newcome a unanimous invitation to become one of their ministers. As Warden Heyricke expressed his fear that a young minister would not like to act contrary to the advice of Mr. Baxter, they proposed that each of the competing congregations should select three ministers, and that Mr. Newcome should decide according to the advice of the six referees. Newcome was pleased with this proposal, and cordially agreed to act upon it. The Salopians, making sure of success, would agree to no arbitration. They would be content with nothing less than the unbiassed decision of Newcome. At one of their meetings for prayer a good man prayed that Mr. Newcome might be directed to go where he would do most service for Christ; which prayer was resented as likely to deprive Shrewsbury of a great blessing. The good pastor of Gawsworth was not pleased with these intemperate proceedings. To his cautious, timid spirit, the decision by referees would have been a great relief. Disappointed of the reference by the conduct of the Shrewsbury people, he ventured to act contrary to the advice of Richard Baxter, and accepted the invitation to Manchester.

It was a sorrowful time in Gawsworth when Henry Newcome left his little parsonage and rustic congregation. The last Sunday he spent with them was a sacramental day, always with him a day of much solemnity, but in all the great occasions of his life never was one more solemn than that memorable Sabbath. Writing in his diary after his ejection from Manchester, he says, 'Driven from my people, and family, and work too, it was no such trouble as that was,' meaning his removal from Gawsworth. He 'never was so broken in duty' as at that time. The sight of the waggons sent to remove his furniture overwhelmed him with solicitude and grief. He prayed earnestly for the forgiveness of the faults of his seven years' ministry. 'May we take a pardon with us, and leave the sins behind.' 'I am full of shame, and sorrow, and dejection. I could wish myself invisible until this transaction was overpast.'

At Manchester he was welcomed with extraordinary manifestations of friendship and pleasure. 'Many of the town met us at Stockport, and on the way. I was kept down by sadness on many accounts, whereby I was kept out of the pomp and ceremony of the meeting. The Lord knows how much sin this sickness did prevent.' Manchester has been favoured with many great preachers, from John Bradford to Robert McAll, but no one of them was welcomed with so much delight, heard with so much attention, or lamented with so much sorrow as Henry Newcome.*

* In his *Autobiography* Newcome says, 'I came to Mr. Minshull's till the Monday sevensnight after. This Minshull, either father or uncle of Milton's last wife, was, as I have said, an apothecary of great repute among the Nonconformists. In the account of the funeral expenses of Mr. Samuel Worsley of Platt the entry occurs: 'Paid Mr. Thomas Minshull for spices 3*l.* 5*s.*,' which would have purchased a considerable quantity according to the prices of that time.

Unanimously elected by the people, he was approved by 'the triers,' accepted by the classis, and entitled to 94*l.* per annum from the augmentation fund, which the people cheerfully engaged to supplement sufficiently to secure 120*l.*, a large income, which enabled him, in those days, to live like a gentleman.

Newcome became to Heyricke all that Hollingworth had been, and a great deal more. If not so obsequious as his predecessor, he was gentle, respectful, obliging, doing his own work well, and ever willing to do the work of others. In one respect only was he inferior to Hollingworth. He was not what in modern speech is called 'a man of business,' on whom Heyricke could rely in the Church courts; but other ministers were ready to do the warden that sort of service, and Newcome never wished to interfere with the arrangement.

At first some little jealousy seems to have been excited by the unexampled popularity of the new preacher, but he bore his honours so meekly that the haughty yet generous spirit of Heyricke ceased to be troubled and eventually became pleased with the immense congregations of his colleague, to whom when he failed as a rival he acted as a patron. Newcome was wise enough to acknowledge the patronage, and Heyricke was vain enough to be gratified with the acknowledgment. As in their political and religious opinions they agreed, being constitutional Royalists, zealous Protestants, and firm Presbyterians, they worked pleasantly and well together through the eventful changes of their time.

So happily passed the first year of Newcome's ministry, in Manchester that on the anniversary of his election, December 3 1657, a day of thanksgiving was observed, and a vast congregation crowded the church to bless God for the prosperity and success of his ministerial labours. His friends Angier of Denton and Harrison of Ashton preached on the joyful occasion.

His preaching made very deep impressions upon the hearts of his hearers, many of whom had never before felt the power of evangelical truth. Private fasts were kept in several houses on account of 'the great work on foot amongst souls.' In all parts of the town people affected with concern for their spiritual interests met together for prayer and devout conversation. As their religious feelings had been excited by Newcome's preaching, they invariably applied to him for guidance and help in their spiritual anxieties. He was ever accessible and ever ready to visit them in their homes and on their private fast-days.

In the part of his diary which belongs to his early ministry in Manchester are several notices which illustrate the life and manners of a presbyterian minister in Lancashire in the time of the protectorate. I have already, in describing the recreations of the Puritans, referred to his amusements. One or two extracts may further illustrate his social life, as well as surprise, if they do not please, those who know the portraits of the Puritans only as they are seen in the caricatures of Samuel Butler.

'January 30 [1658], Saturday. I was much used to go to Zachary

Taylor's at an evening to play at shuffleboard. I was oft checked for this, but I was too much concerned in it, as afterwards about going to Mr. Minshull's of an evening. I thought this a rational resolution of the case; not to go forth for this recreation unless I had been close at serious business all day, nor to go forth if I had been diverted from business other ways. And for mirth, of which I was afraid of taking too great a latitude, I thought it was my duty to let some savory thing fall where I had spoken merrily, or to count myself in debt for as much serious discourse as every jest I had told.' I know not what his friend Richard Baxter would have thought of his casuistry, but I should fear his 'savory things' were poor antidotes for jests that needed any antidote at all.

'January 31. The children at school shot at their cocks this day, and I was much moved with fear about them. I had cause, for Daniel's hat on his head was shot through with an arrow.'

'February 13. It was shooting day at the cocks. We prayed that God would keep our children from doing or receiving any hurt.'

In some matters he was more scrupulous than the warden.

'February 2. A horse did strange things for such a creature to do.' It was therefore exhibited in Manchester. Heyricke proposed to go and see the performance; but Newcome 'considered the thing, and resolved not to go,' for four reasons: 1. He 'was not satisfied that a showman's calling was lawful.' 2. 'At the best it is but curiosity.' 3. 'If I was satisfied to go, for others' sake I ought not.' 4. 'To go might be a sin, not to go I knew was no sin.' Armed with these reasons he remonstrated with Heyricke, and 'the Lord made the resolution easy, and neither went.' His fourth reason might be thought as appropriate to his favourite games of billiards and shuffleboard. Not to play was certainly no sin, and yet he played at shuffleboard almost 'every lawful day,' when he had opportunity. Both casuists and logicians sometimes make not only distinctions without difference, but differences without distinction.

I have already noticed the puritan practice of preaching sermons appropriate to the several occurrences of social and domestic life, sermons on account of births and baptisms, and young people leaving home, and going to new houses, and betrothals, and marriages, and recoveries from sickness, and funerals. In Newcome's diary are some curious entries respecting the sort of persons for whom such services were occasionally requested.

'December 2 [1657]. I preached at the funeral on one they called Justice Hibbert of Droilsden. He was a very drunken fellow. He had buried his wife, and rejoiced mightily at it, and bought a new horse to ride about upon. Last Saturday night he was very late in the town, and was in drink. He strangely missed his way, and turned down another lane to the water, and so was drowned. His wife was an orderly woman, and oft in her lifetime feared this very thing, it being his constant practice to come home at such hours.'

Although Justice Hibbert was not a very promising subject for a funeral sermon, Newcome consented, at the request of the relatives, to preach one on the occasion, on condition that he might 'improve the providence,' and not praise the dead. He selected a remarkable text, Eccles. vii. 17: 'Be not overmuch wicked, neither be thou foolish: why shouldst thou die before thy time?' What comfort Justice Hibbert's relatives got from the sermon I do not know.

Among the Presbyterians of that time some dissension and dispute arose respecting the propriety of speaking over the graves of their friends. Some pronounced it a vain and superstitious practice; others regarded it as an expression of affectionate remembrance or of becoming solemnity. Mr. Newcome, while he remained at Gaws-worth, was accustomed to say a few words at the grave when any of his friends were interred. At Manchester the ministers had discouraged the practice, and Heyrick, although no longer warden, assuming the authority of the chief minister, prohibited it. As it was known that Newcome had observed the usage in Cheshire, he was frequently requested to 'speak at the grave.' He, however, declined, partly because he was not quite satisfied of the propriety of the practice, partly because in so large a parish he could not always comply with the request and would not make a distinction among the applicants, and partly because he respected the authority of the elder minister. People who wished to have a religious service at the grave were compelled to resort for the interment of their friends to Salford, where the minister conducted such a service, to the annoyance of Heyrick and the trouble of Newcome. Throughout the county the practice of speaking at the grave seems to have varied with the opinion and taste of the minister. In subsequent times the Scotch Presbyterians universally maintained silence, while their English brethren usually observed some religious exercises.*

* Although at this time puritan ministers had generally ceased to concern themselves with casting out devils, Newcome gives us, in his *Autobiography*, an account of some very curious proceedings respecting a poor girl who had sold herself to the devil. Although she lived as far away as Cambridge, and so far as appears from the narrative had no acquaintances in Manchester, letters arrived on June 13, 1659, requesting prayers for her before July 25, the night on which the devil was 'to meet her.' Newcome writes: 'The next day was classical day, but I got a few together in the morning by six, and we kept to prayer until after nine on her behalf. We after that kept a private day on purpose for her, and still remembered her on occasions.' As July 25 was the fatal day, 'we kept it on her account chiefly at Mr. Wollen's.' In the evening, after the whole day had been spent in prayer, Mr. Newcome on coming home found a letter telling him 'the sad time is between nine and ten.' Enquiring the hour, he was told 'it had just struck nine. Whereupon,' he says, 'I called my cousin Davenport, and with our wives we spent that part of the hour in prayer.' In Cambridge, as might have been expected, more general concern was excited on behalf of the poor girl. 'Mr. Kenyon wrote word that they resolved to sit up with her, and to keep in prayer all the night, which they did.' . . . 'It was a university then, when so many masters of arts and fellows of colleges could be found to keep a night for such a purpose.' . . . 'She would have gone very fain from them, but they would not suffer her, and they were not disturbed by anything but her. Satan did not prevail in this gross contrivance upon her.' Newcome appends the remark, 'Yet it proved in the end a kind of drawn

I have already noticed the attempts which were made to include in the established presbyterianism of Lancashire some moderate Episcopalians, and the failure of those attempts, chiefly on account of the impossibility of compromise or concession between those who maintained that the government of the Church ought to be exclusively restricted to the priesthood, and those who asserted that it belonged to the community, acting by representatives, lay and clerical. Finding union in that direction impracticable, the liberal Presbyterians began to consider the possibility of harmonious action, if not of professed union, with the moderate Congregationalists. In effecting such a union the lay elders would give occasion for no great difficulty. The government of the laity, although existing in another form, was a vital principle in the independent churches. But Heyricke, Tilsley, Harrison, and other presbyterian ministers had said some very hard and contemptuous things about the Independents, their gifted brethren, their heretical opinions, their idol toleration, and their fierce republicanism. These hard sayings, when they came to a better understanding with the leading Independents, they were disposed to modify or even to retract. Adam Martindale says in his 'Diary' that Heyricke had so far modified his old theology that when reminded of his assertion of the 'divine right' of presbyterianism, he replied that Presbyterianism, Episcopacy, and Independency were all of 'divine right;' by which he must have meant—if he meant any more than to explain away his own words—that God had appointed for His Church some government which might be modified according to any one of the three forms. His new associate Henry Newcome was eminently a man of peace, who had lived on friendly terms with Samuel Eaton, the leader of the Independents of the neighbourhood. Eaton was not very careful to promote the influence of his 'gifted brethren,' for they had given him a great deal of trouble. As to the idol toleration, he was not one of its blind devotees, like the preaching colonels of Cromwell's army. Strange heresies had prevailed among the early Independents, but if we may judge from his sermon on the Trinity* he could denounce heretics as fiercely as any presbyter or priest. And as to republicanism, he seems to have cared little about it, so long as he was allowed to preach and practise his own principles. Newcome and Eaton, be-

battle.' She must have been left in a sad state when 'the masters of arts and fellows of colleges' were doubtful about the benefit done to her, 'though she seemed delivered in this thing according to their prayers.' The explanation of the drawn battle is given by Newcome: 'She proved melancholy, idle, would follow no business, and whether she inclined to the Quakers or no I know not.' It is evident the good man feared the Quakers would have her, and so to save her from the devil was only 'a kind of drawn battle.'

Newcome long lived in great fear of Quakers. 'Was much affected to consider the danger we may soon be in from Quakers; what a woeful plague God may make them. Latimer said Stephen Gardiner was reserved in the Tower to burn him. God knows what Quakers may be reserved for.'—*Autobiography*, January 15, 1654.

* *The Mystery of God Incarnate*. This sermon was followed by a *Vindication* of it against Knowles, an independent preacher who denied the divinity of Christ. The early Unitarians among the Nonconformists were not Presbyterians, as commonly supposed, but Independents or Baptists.

tween whom there existed some family relation, were likely to exert a good influence in any attempts to reconcile the parties to which they respectively belonged.

Some kind of united action between these parties was rendered necessary by the ecclesiastical arrangements which had been made by the government. The parliamentary commissioners recognised no distinction between the two denominations. A presbyterian minister, elected according to the usage of his party, and accepted by the classis, might be sent for approval to independent 'triers,' or an independent minister to presbyterian 'triers,' or more frequently to a commission including 'triers' of both persuasions, without whose approval neither could obtain the temporalities of the benefice. In the instance of Newcome himself, the 'triers' nominated in the commission to try him were Richard Heyrick, Samuel Eaton, John Angier, and John Harrison, three Presbyterians and one Independent.*

Independency had begun to obtain some notice in Lancashire as early as the year 1646, which Adam Martindale in his autobiography calls 'that bustling year wherein the presbyterial and congregational governments were like Jacob and Esau struggling in the womb.' Poor Adam was sadly troubled, as between two fires. Congregationalism, 'not waiting for a civil sanction' as its elder brother had done, 'had got into possession of Dukenfield, within two miles and a half of us.' He was then at Gorton. It was bad enough to be within a 'Sabbath day's journey' of one set of gifted brethren, to hear whose discourses his own people might roam so far, while he 'held himself responsible for their souls.' But they were then getting up a like church without 'civil sanction' at Birch, no farther from him on the other side, and worst of all his predecessor, who had turned Independent, was preaching there.

These were the two earliest, so far as I know, of the independent churches of Lancashire and Cheshire whose progress it will be necessary to notice prior to the attempt to comprehend them in the religious establishment with the authority of a 'civil sanction.'

The presbyters of Manchester were as angry as Martindale was alarmed at the portentous appearance of churches 'not waiting for a civil sanction.' They circulated a petition for the suppression of gathered churches with so much diligence and success as to obtain in the course of that 'bustling year' 12,578 signatures.

According to Hollingworth, under date 1649, 'the Independents set up a meeting in the college.' This was probably the third in the neighbourhood. How it came into the college would be inexplicable were it not for the explanation which Adam Martindale gives of the difficulty: 'The college lands being sold with the college to Mr. Wigan' (the Independent minister at Birch), 'who made a barn there into a chapel, where he and many of his persuasion preached doctrines diametrically opposite to the ministers under their very

* This interesting document, with several others relating to Newcome's settlement, is printed in the Addenda to his *Autobiography*. See Appendix to this volume.

nose.' Whether Wigan, who had been a soldier in the republican army, obtained money enough from pillage and plunder to purchase the college I do not know: but there were soldiers, both royalist and republican, who got much gain from fighting in the civil war.

In 1651 there were two other independent churches in the hundred of Salford, one at Walmesley, under the pastorate of Michael Briscoe, the other at Altham under that of Thomas Jollie. The last-named pastor, educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, was a son of Major Jollie, Provost-Marshal of the Parliamentary army in Lancashire.* Although these gathered churches often included republican soldiers, we must not suppose they came exclusively from the republican camp. The older and better element had never been in the army, and in Lancashire especially their ministers had been trained both in persecution and in scholarly discipline. While some of the old soldiers among them were troublesome and turbulent, many were eminently pious and devout. To their piety we have the testimony of several presbyterian ministers who were not disposed to regard them favourably. Under date May 1651, Newcome, being at that time at Gawsworth, writes: 'Captain Merriman lay at Sutton, and several of the soldiers being at church on the Lord's day, the captain on the Monday came to see me, and after that I went to see him. The truth is they were so spiritual and inward, that it is a mercy I was not ensnared by them, for they were high Independents.'†

As Samuel Eaton was the principal director, and in some respects the founder of the Lancashire and Cheshire congregationalism, it is desirable that we should briefly notice his biography. He was a son of Richard Eaton, the puritan vicar of Great Budworth in Cheshire. He was probably related to Theophilus Eaton, the celebrated governor of New Haven, as, on his crossing the Atlantic he went directly to that settlement, and was hospitably entertained by the governor.‡ Educated at Oxford, he obtained a benefice in Wirral, in Cheshire. For a time he conformed, 'although very rarely,' to the ceremonies of the Church. How bitterly he lamented his occasional conformity appears from several references in his writings, as in a passage in which he refers to a neighbouring clergyman, Mr. Murcot, who, like himself, afterwards became an Independent: 'We have bewailed and publicly testified our repentance, both before and since the times of this present parliament.'§ Having

* The major was a zealous Independent, and several of his descendants inheriting his spirit occupied important positions in the independent ministry of the north of England. Adam Martindale must have known the major well, whose step-daughter he married, but Adam seldom mentions his independent connections.

† 'I remember Mr. Tilsley said that the episcopal principles he could rather accommodate with than theirs' (the Independents), 'but with their persons and lives rather than the others' (the Episcopalians). This testimony to the character of the early Independents is valuable as given by a man zealously opposed to their principles.—Newcome's *Autobiography*, July 13, 1659.

‡ Palmer and others say they were brothers, but Theophilus was son of a minister in Coventry.

§ *Defence of Sundry Positions and Scriptures alleged to justify the Congregational Way.* 1645.

become known as a nonconformist to the ceremonies, he was, in 1631, suspended by Bishop Bridgman, and compelled to leave the country that he might escape prosecution in the ecclesiastical court. After spending some time in Holland, he removed to New England, found a home in the settlement of New Haven, and there became associated in the ministry with Mr. Davenport, the pastor of the congregational church. A man of liberal principles, he was much disturbed by the restraint imposed on his church by its connection with the civil power. As on that subject his opinions were very different from those of his colleague, he left New Haven, and eventually New England, assured that God had some work for him to do in his native country. Although a decided Congregationalist, his congregationalism was in everything, except its relation to the civil power, of the New England type. He had observed how beneficially the independent discipline of the Pilgrim Fathers had been modified, without injury to its principles, by the influence of presbyterian emigrants. He had learnt how churches, really and inflexibly independent, might become united and helpful to one another by ministerial unions and ecclesiastical consociations. He had cordially approved, and to some extent promoted, the measures by which the independency of the first settlers and the presbyterianism of the later emigrants had been united in a common congregationalism. Such a man found work to do in Lancashire and Cheshire, where the disbanded soldiers of the republican army held their assemblies for mutual exhortation with little regard to ecclesiastical order. He was well qualified to gather these scattered sectaries into churches, to confirm their principles and correct the prevalent abuse of them, to restrain the excesses of their liberty, and guard them against the fanaticism which was covering their good principles with dishonour. These things might appear exceedingly difficult; but he did them to a considerable extent, and induced moderate Presbyterians and Independents to think better of each other than they had ever before thought in the north of England. Newcome, Angier, Harrison, many other Presbyterians of their spirit, and even old Heyrick of another spirit, although at first they regarded him as a troubler of their Israel, eventually learned to co-operate very pleasantly with Samuel Eaton.

Soon after his return to England he became acquainted with Colonel Dukenfield, a soldier of stern republican principles. Under his auspices, Eaton gathered a church in the family chapel of Dukenfield, and formed it upon the basis of a liberal congregationalism. He would gladly have seen it united with other churches, after the manner of an American consociation, and if the Presbyterians would have allowed him liberty of action, he would readily have co-operated with them without interfering with the exercise of their discipline. But the spirit neither of presbyterianism nor of independency was prepared for free and united action.

In the year 1645 was published the 'Defence of Sundry Positions and Scriptures, alleged to justify the Congregational Way,' by Samuel Eaton, teacher, and Timothy Taylor, pastor, of the Church of Dukenfield.

While Mr. Eaton was the recognised teacher of the Church in Dukenfield, he received the appointment of chaplain to the garrison of Chester, where he seems to have gathered a church of soldiers. Being frequently absent from his flock, and occasionally for some weeks together, he encouraged the 'gifted brethren' to preach in his absence, under the mild supervision of their pastor. Some of these brethren were, I doubt not, excellent men, who did good service in their way to the cause of true religion; but others were ill-qualified for their work, and made themselves very disagreeable to their presbyterian neighbours. While Martindale speaks very kindly of the great ability of Mr. Eaton, and the 'moderate spirit' of Mr. Taylor, he calls these lay preachers 'bitter presumptuous fellows.'

An incident mentioned in the 'Autobiography' of Newcome shows how much the 'gifted brethren' were disliked by the moderate presbyterian ministers, and how injudiciously Mr. Eaton sometimes encouraged them to 'exercise their gifts,' even where they were not wanted. Mr. Stringer, the presbyterian minister of Macclesfield, wishing to show his fraternal regard for Mr. Eaton, invited him to preach at 'an exercise' which was held in his church. Eaton not only went himself to preach one sermon, but took with him William Barret, 'a gifted brother,' to preach a second. Stringer, who seems to have been a good-natured sort of man, very reluctantly assented to the proposal of his friend. The appearance of a 'gifted brother' in the mystic sanctity of a presbyterian pulpit produced no small excitement through the town and neighbourhood. 'Great boasting,' says Newcome, 'there was of it by the unsettled hankering party, and great expectation of some great acqurest by it. The Lord helped me to declare my dislike to Mr. Stringer about it.' Newcome and Mr. Langley, a venerable minister of great wisdom, conferred about this grave and serious matter. They, however, in these distressing circumstances, when profane hands had touched the ark, were exceedingly comforted on finding that 'the Lord was pleased to defeat the design, for his preaching was nothing taking.' Happily the 'gifted brother' had not the grace of pleasing or expressive action, for the people said if he preached again he must 'have a curtain before him.' Although Barret was not a graceful orator, he must have been a man of some position and property, as he was one of the sequestrators for the county.

As a considerable part of the Dukenfield church resided in and near Stockport, the public ministrations of the teacher were often conducted in that town, and eventually the church usually assembled there and became known as the gathered church in Stockport. For a time there seem to have been two recognised branches of the church, for the ministry of which the teacher, the pastor, the ruling elder, and the gifted brethren were quite adequate.

Eaton was sorely troubled with the diversities of doctrine which sprang up among his people, and especially with the rank and noxious heresies which grew among the soldiers of Chester. Some were Millenarians, some Fifth Monarchy men, some Arminians, some Antinomians, some Socinians, and some strange compounds of these

heretics in different proportions. As Eaton was fervently orthodox, he regarded the denial of the doctrine of the Trinity as the renunciation of the Christian faith. To his annoyance and grief, one John Knowles, who held the opinions of Socinus respecting the divine nature of Christ, was chosen to occupy his place in the garrison of Chester. This grievous choice gave him the occasion of writing his book, entitled 'The Mystery of God Incarnate, or the Word made Flesh cleared up: or a Vindication of certain Scriptures from the corrupt glosses, false Interpretations, and sophistical Argumentations of Mr. John Knowles, who denieth the Divinity of Christ. By Samuel Eaton, teacher of the Church of Christ in Dukenfield. London, 1650.' The controversy was conducted with much anger and acerbity, utterly unworthy of the character of moderation and urbanity which Eaton had acquired in previous discussions. These troublesome and irritating contentions probably disposed him to regard favourably any proposals which might be made for union with the Presbyterians.

Timothy Taylor, the pastor of the gathered church in Dukenfield, had been educated at Queen's College, Cambridge, and had taken orders in 1634. While vicar of Almeley, in Herefordshire, he was troubled by the severity with which the bishop enforced conformity with the ceremonies. According to his own account this induced him to 'study more attentively and industriously the second commandment, when, through the rich mercy and grace of God, he not only saw the evils of Episcopacy and of the ceremonials imposed, but also repented of the use of them, and publicly in the parish of Almeley preached against them, and for all the substantials of that way of congregational government which ever since, and at this day, he hath and doth judge to be at most conformity with the word of truth.' Afterwards being harassed in the Ecclesiastical Court, and 'having no hope of liberty, he did by consent leave Almeley, and lived about three years in a small peculiar, exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, viz., Longton-upon-Trent.*' By meditation and prayer in his retirement, he was prepared to take the oversight of a congregational church. Finding Samuel Eaton a man after his own heart, he became pastor of the church of which Eaton was the appointed teacher.

After the removal of Mr. Wigan from Birch, Mr. Robert Birch, probably one of the chief family of the place, became the minister of the chapel, and appears to have united in himself the two offices of pastor and teacher of its gathered church.

Both parties having been in some degree prepared for union—the Presbyterians by the bitter humiliations which they had suffered, the Independents by the angry disputes which had prevailed among themselves—several of their ministers held frequent conferences in Manchester to ascertain how nearly they could co-operate in their ecclesiastical arrangements. With such men as John Angier and Henry Newcome on one side, and Samuel Eaton and Timothy Taylor

* *Defence of Sundry Positions and Scriptures alleged to justify the Congregational Way.* By Samuel Eaton and Timothy Taylor. London, 1645.

on the other, their conferences could scarcely fail to produce some happy results, even if they did not secure an acknowledged union. Newcome, however unlike himself he may appear in this, did not cordially accept the proposals of his peace-making friends. In his 'Autobiography' he says, under date July 13, 1659: 'We had a meeting with the ministers of the congregational way at the college, and we agreed upon certain heads of accommodation.' He concurred, but strangely apologised for his concurrence: 'I am the meanest concurrent instrument in the thing; they cannot look upon me as a leader.' There is more here than Newcome chose to express. He was at the time deeply concerned in the revolutionary measures which his intimate friend, Sir George Booth, was then engaged in promoting. He distrusted, as well he might, the advantage of a union, the consenting parties to which would soon be in arms on the opposite sides of a great political contest.

At the meeting held on July 13, the following propositions were agreed upon, and signed by fourteen presbyterian and seven independent ministers. As they are the earliest propositions of agreement which were ever made between the ministers of the two denominations, it may be useful to give them at length.*

'I. We agree that all persons that are admitted to the Lord's Supper shall have these qualifications:—

1. They shall have a competent knowledge of the principles of religion, and be sound in the faith.

2. They shall live without scandal.

3. They shall maintain the exercises of Christianity: viz., prayer and instruction in their families, reading the Word, careful supplication on the Lord's day, and the like known duties of Scripture.

'II. It is further agreed that we hold Communion in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in each other's congregations, as there may be occasion, upon the recommendation or personal knowledge of such members as may desire it.

'III. It is agreed that if there be any deviating or shall be in future from the character above mentioned, the persons thereat offended having discharged their own duties shall give notice to the churches, that there may be orderly proceeding against the parties offending.

'IV. It is agreed that such persons as are qualified with suitable gifts and graces for the ministry, and have had due trial and approbation by preaching elders, shall be allowed amongst us. And for the future, after like trial, there shall be an imposition of hands upon such as are to undertake a pastoral charge.

'V. That none shall preach among us but such as are approved by preaching officers (expectants excepted), and that we shall not dis-

* Adam Martindale obtained a copy, which may be found in his *Life*, ch. vi. sec. 2. Another copy, substantially agreeing with it, is given in Hibbert's *History of the Collegiate Church, &c.*, vol. i. p. 326. It is strange that Hibbert represents these heads of agreement as between the Presbyterians and Episcopalians. There is not appended to them the signature of a single Episcopalian. The great amount of information which Dr. Hibbert possessed renders his many inaccuracies quite inexplicable.

turb each other's congregations by imposing on them preachers undisciplined, and that we will use our endeavour that no offence be given by the preaching of mere gifted brethren.

'VI. We also agree to preach in each other's congregations, and to meet together for advice as occasion shall require.

'VII. In cases of offence it is agreed that such matters be heard and determined by a meeting of delegates chosen on both sides.

'VIII. We also agree that we will lay to heart all our unnecessary distances and unbrotherly carriages, engage in this accommodation in all unfeigned love and steadfast resolution, and lay aside, to our utmost, all words and carriages that may violate or prejudice our Christian communion.

'IX. We, concurring in these things ourselves, do promise to communicate the same to others, and so after our next meeting, which is to be the fourth Thursday in September, there may be an acting according to this agreement.'

The Presbyterians who appended their names to these heads of agreement were Richard Heyrick, John Angier, John Harrison, John Tilsley, Henry Newcome, Richard Eaton, John Jaques, Joshua Stockport, James Jackson, William Colburn, Edward Richardson, Robert Hyde, James Johnson, and Thomas Hammond. The Independents were Henry Roote, Samuel Eaton, Thomas Smallwood, Michael Briscoe, Jeremie Marsden, John Jollie, and Robert Birch.*

Of the Independents, Thomas Smallwood had been chaplain to Lord Fairfax, and was at that time discharging the duties of the same office to General Lambert. Although a decided Congregationalist, he contrived to hold the sequestered living of Batley in Yorkshire. Henry Roote, educated at Magdalen College, Cambridge, was a very early Congregationalist, who wrote a 'Just Defence of the Church in Dukensfield.' Settled at Sowerby, he was ejected by the Act of Uniformity.† Jeremie Marsden, a native of Manchester, was educated in its grammar school. He lived a wandering life, of which he left an account in a manuscript entitled '*Contemplatio Vitæ Miserabilis*,' from which Calamy is said to have compiled his biography. The other four were so intimately connected with the history of Lancashire that they will frequently appear in the course of our narrative.

Newcome's apprehensions were correct. Before the coming of the fourth Thursday in September, the day appointed for the final arrangements, all prospect of harmonious co-operation was brought to a sad conclusion by political agitation, which disturbed the peaceful conferences of the ministers and separated their congregations more widely than they were before. Since the death of the great protector, whose vigorous intellect and strong arm had restrained the excesses of all religious parties, a year of anxiety to many, of hope to some, of

* Most of these independent ministers, notwithstanding their independency, held 'cure of souls' in connection with the religious establishment of their time. They had no objection to any control which the state would exercise over High Church Prelatists or Presbyterians.

† The father of Archbishop Tillotson was a member of his gathered church, and the archbishop himself is said to have retained a very kindly feeling towards the instructor of his youth.

uncertainty to all, had passed over the country. The Episcopalians were anxiously waiting, in the failure of other arrangements, for the restoration of their Church to its former elevated position under the patronage of a restored monarchy. The Presbyterians hopefully looked to a free parliament for a settlement of the religious agitation which had assumed a form so contrary to the expectations they had cherished at the commencement of their conflict with prelacy and arbitrary power. The Independents, or the greater part of them, were in favour of a republican government, if only they could find trustworthy governors. Of the other sectaries, some would have no government at all; some would govern themselves; some would be governed by 'the Spirit,' by 'King Jesus,' or by 'the lion of the tribe of Judah.' Strange as it may seem, some of the more extravagant sectaries were in favour of the restoration of royalty.* In the confusion of political parties, the name of Cromwell had lost its charm: his sons retained no authority. The misfortunes of his family were regarded by many devout ministers as the punishments of his sins.† The reassembling of the rump of the Long Parliament excited general disgust and indignation. The extreme republicans were too feeble and too distrustful of one another to take the reins of government. Of soldiers and statesmen no one rose prominently among his rivals to command the respect or attract the confidence of the people. Ireton, Worsley, and, soon after the resignation of Richard, Bradshaw were sleeping in the sanctuary of deceased kings, from which they were soon to be ignominiously ejected as desecrators of the sacred dust of royalty. In so much uncertainty some looked for anarchy, some for military despotism, some for a reign of terror, and some for the end of the world.

The power would undoubtedly have been with the army if there had been more agreement among its commanders, or more confidence in the character and policy of any one of them. Lambert, Fleetwood, and Monk were the most powerful generals. Lambert was little trusted by the Presbyterians, Fleetwood less so; and Monk, intent on securing the fidelity of his own soldiers, made no sign by which any party could conjecture what schemes he might be secretly devising.

Of the religious parties the Presbyterians were the most powerful, being not only the most numerous, but the most united, and most easily guided and controlled by their leaders. In Lancashire they were especially influential and subservient to their ministers. They

* Clarendon refers to a party of Anabaptists who during the Protectorate carried on a secret correspondence with Charles. Possibly, however, as they asked for two thousand pounds to promote the royal cause, they cared more for the king's money than for his restoration.

† On hearing of the fall of Richard Cromwell, Newcome wrote in his *Diary*, 'I was much affected at it, to see how God had reckoned with Cromwell's family for his atheistical carriage.' Nothing in the conduct of Cromwell was, in the estimation of the Presbyterians, more impious than his calling his first parliament on a Sunday, or his refusing to postpone its meeting because that sabbath was a high day with him, the anniversary of great victories. When he died on that anniversary, the Lancashire ministers did not forget to notice the coincidence, and some of them indirectly reminded their hearers of 'the manifest judgment.'

called for a free parliament, and what call could have been more just and reasonable? They desired a limited monarchy, but the degree of limitation they were willing to leave to a freely chosen parliament. This country is under great obligation to the English Presbyterians for maintaining its old constitutional liberty at great cost and suffering, while they resisted the tyranny of Charles I., the military rule which was threatening on the death of Cromwell, and the illegal assertion of prerogative by James II. While to no religious party of that time is England so much indebted as to the Presbyterians, to no Presbyterian family is it more indebted than to the Booths of Dunham Massey.

In many parts of England the Presbyterians were preparing to work and to fight for the restoration of the monarchy, but in no part were their preparations conducted with so much activity and vigour as in Lancashire and Cheshire. In this stronghold of presbyterianism, Sir George Booth was universally acknowledged to be the leader of the party, to which in all its reverses he and his grandfather had faithfully adhered. We have seen how actively and bravely he served when a youth in the parliamentary army. Rejoicing in the triumph of his party, he protested against the extreme measures of the republicans, and especially against their execution of the king. Suspected by Independents and disliked by Prelatists, he was ready to engage in any honourable enterprise which promised to secure the establishment of constitutional monarchy.

On the resignation of Richard Cromwell the Presbyterians felt that, however distrustful they were of their prelatical enemies, they must find some means of acting in concert with the Episcopalians. The two parties, at variance on all other subjects, could honestly unite in demanding a free parliament, and in leaving to its decision the terms on which the monarchy should be restored. In the correspondence which Sir George carried on with the royalist gentry in different parts of the country, in order to promote a simultaneous rising, he obtained promises of assistance from some five hundred persons of rank and influence, although almost all of them disappointed him in the time of action.*

The Presbyterian ministers of his neighbourhood were well acquainted with the design of Sir George, and many of them were actively engaged in promoting its success. The ministers of Manchester were all concerned, although Heyrick, either from the infirmities of age or from distrust of success, did not engage in it with the energy and activity with which he had resisted the government both of King Charles and of Oliver Cromwell. On two occasions he was absent from the ministers' meeting, and his absence was noticed by Newcome in a manner which seems, if not to distrust his fidelity, at least to impugn his courage.† Many of the older ministers, as

* Newcome, in his *Autobiography*, says, under date August 7, 1659: 'At night after supper we were with Sir George Booth, who with much sorrow told us how basely he had been deserted. Five hundred lords and gentlemen of the best in England were engaged, and were all either prevented or had failed in their trust, and none was up but Sir Thomas Middleton, of Chirk Castle.'

† 'Mr. Heyrick absenting himself, though he knew of the business as well and as soon as I.'—*Autobiography*, under date July 31, 1659.

Harrison of Ashton, and Tilsley of Dean, were as resolute and zealous as they had been in the conflicts of their earlier years. Several younger ministers, as Newcome, and Finch of Walton, imbibed their spirit and followed their example. The Presbyterians armed in all directions round Manchester. The tenantry of Sir George Booth and of other presbyterian lords and gentlemen were openly and regularly mustered and exercised, while ministers and women went to see the soldiering. A wet mustering day was regarded as an evil omen, a fine day as an auspicious providence. The many rainy days on which the Dunham tenantry mustered were interpreted by Adam Martindale as indications of the disapproval of God, and supplied him with a reason for not joining in the enterprise.* The pretext for mustering was to suppress an expected insurrection of the Quakers—a pretext so flimsy as to deceive nobody, although probably some thought it would supply an excuse if they were apprehended.

July 31 was a memorable Sunday in Manchester. As the presbyterian gentry were to meet Sir George Booth at Warrington on the following Monday, and the trained companies on the Tuesday, notice of the meetings was to be given to the congregation before it left the church. How this should be done was a perplexing question. To the disappointment and annoyance of the younger ministers the warden was absent from church that day, and no reason could be assigned for his absence. Mr. Stockport proposed that notice should be given of a muster at Warrington, on account of a 'rise of the Quakers.' Newcome, who was the preacher for the day, refused to make a false statement. He would go as far as any man in support of what he believed to be the cause of God, 'but the cause of God had no need of his lie.' He was never before in so great perplexity. The Manchester men were wanted. The occasion was urgent. He would not speak falsely; he durst not speak truly; and yet he must say something. While at the conclusion of his sermon he stood silent in the pulpit considering what to say, Stockport, his colleague, announced that the Quakers had risen, that the trained bands would muster on Tuesday morning, and that Warrington was to be the place of meeting. The people understood him, for his lie deceived no man. That night the excitement spread through the town and neighbourhood. The next day the people were busy with their preparations, collecting their provender, cleaning their arms, and mustering in their ranks. Old officers, well-known in the former war, Colonel Holland, Major Ashurst, and others, appeared in the town to direct the movement. On Tuesday morning five hundred well-armed men marched from Manchester to Warrington, and instead of fighting the Quakers rallied round Sir George Booth and raised the cry for a free parliament.

Friday, August 5, was observed in Manchester as a day of humiliation and prayer, in the midst of which the congregation broke up suddenly, being alarmed by a report that Colonel Lilburne was marching upon the town. Lilburne happily did not come, because, as Newcome thought, they had imprisoned 'a most perfidious and bloody Anabaptist,' who was caught on his way to inform the republican

* *Life of Adam Martindale*, p. 136.

commander of the absence of the train-bands. After the noise and alarm of the week came a sacramental Sabbath—'a peaceful, blessed day'—when Newcome preached, as he only could preach on such occasions, from the words, 'And when the Lord saw that they humbled themselves, the word of the Lord came to Shemaiah, saying, They have humbled themselves, therefore will I not destroy them; but I will grant them some deliverance, and my wrath shall not be poured out upon Jerusalem by the hand of Shishak.' Jerusalem was readily understood to denote Manchester, and Shishak, in the estimation of the women, whose husbands, brothers, and sons were hazard-ing their lives in the musters at Warrington, might be either Lilburne threatening their town, or Lambert marching against the army of Sir George Booth.

The succeeding week was one of great agitation and alarm in Manchester. Heyricke kept out of sight, but Newcome and Stockport worked hard in sending recruits to the army of Sir George. At the urgent request of Colonel Holland, Newcome was about to go into Derbyshire, where multitudes would readily arm on the exhortation of their favourite preacher; but the importunate remonstrances and alarming agitation of his wife induced him reluctantly to defer his journey. On Thursday, August 11, disastrous reports reached the town. The alarm became so general that many fled, and in the prevalent dismay Newcome and his friends had great difficulty to induce the sentinels to keep their watch through the night. On Sunday, August 14, the affairs of the Royalists were desperate. Newcome, worn out with fatigue, harassed by importunate enquirers, and depressed with unfavourable reports, was unable to preach. Although Mr. Holbrooke of Salford, an able preacher, supplied his place, the people were bitterly disappointed; for on such occasions much was expected from his gentle, persuasive, and insinuating eloquence. Wednesday, the 17th, was kept with much solemnity as a fast in Manchester. Most of the day was spent in prayer. Mr. Angier and Mr. Dunster preached. Unusual seriousness pervaded the congregation, which consisted largely of women and infirm men.

On Friday, August 19, the fatal battle was fought at Winnington Bridge, near Northwich. The defeat of the Royalists was generally expected, and may be attributed to an unfortunate concurrence of many causes. The assistance promised to Sir George failed him from almost all quarters. The old dislike between the Cavaliers and Roundheads prevented their combined and harmonious action. The boisterous merriment and profanity of Lord Derby's troops excited the apprehensions and provoked the censure of the covenanting Presbyterians. The hasty and imperfect training of the Cheshire tenantry and Manchester traders was unequal to meet the discipline of Lambert's veterans. The presbyterian regiments were broken and fled in all directions. Saturday 'was a sad day' in Manchester. Early in the morning many of the fugitives entered the town followed by their pursuers. Of many who had not arrived their families could obtain no intelligence. Happily for the inhabitants, their neighbour, Colonel Birch, commanded the troops who took possession of the

town. Although he was a zealous Republican and firm Independent, he was personally friendly to the ministers, and did all in his power to protect them from the insolence and rapacity of a strange soldiery. It must have been distressing to both parties when officers like Colonel Birch and General Booth, who in their youth had bravely fought side by side in defence of the liberty of their country, were engaged on opposite sides of a destructive conflict. In the evening of the same day Colonel Lilburne, a stranger in the county, arrived in Manchester and took the command of the republican army.

On the Sabbath, to the surprise of the people, who knew not what had become of him, Warden Heyricke appeared in the pulpit, and preached from the words of Job, 'My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go: my heart shall not reproach me so long as I live.' We have no account of the sermon; but the text suggests an exculpation or apology for conduct which had grievously disappointed his friends. Lilburne seems to have been displeased, for he would not allow any more presbyterian preaching that day, but ordered old Mr. Roote, the independent minister, to officiate in the collegiate church. He preached from Psalm xxvii. 8: 'When Thou saidst, Seek ye My face; my heart said unto Thee, Thy face, Lord, will I seek.'*

Many of the presbyterian ministers had acted so decided a part in the insurrection as greatly to alarm their friends for their safety. Newcome, although he had been deeply implicated, found the advantage of good friends among the Republicans, especially of Colonel Birch and Samuel Eaton, who used their influence with General Lambert to obtain for him exemption from punishment. The Presbyterians generally and gratefully acknowledged the leniency with which they were treated after the defeat. Little blood was shed. Very few were imprisoned. The ministers naturally and reasonably expected that their augmentations of income would not be paid by the sequestrators; but through the good offices of Colonel Birch, Newcome obtained his payment as usual. The worst that befel him was the quartering upon him of some Anabaptist soldiers, 'base pragmatical sectaries,' though probably his house was quite as offensive to them as their presence was annoying to him. It has been said that Lambert wished to take advantage of the opportunity of ingratiating himself with the Presbyterians, because he foresaw the cloud gathering in the north around the movements of General Monk; but why should we impute motives to a man who after his victory was as generous as he had been prompt and energetic in preparing for the battle?

Although most of the ministers of his neighbourhood were concerned with Sir George Booth in the insurrection, a few were timid and a few were wary and cautious. Heyricke, as we have observed, kept out of the way. He had before seen the inside of a prison, and although he had borne his confinement patiently, he had no wish to return to his cell. John Angier professed to have done with strife, and, while sincerely attached to the cause of royalty, was content to show his attachment in no more obtrusive manner than by helping

* Newcome's *Autobiography*, August 25, 1659.

and comforting his friends who had suffered in the defeat. The reasons which influenced Adam Martindale, a sincere Royalist and near neighbour of Sir George, are very curious, and clearly illustrate the feelings of a shrewd Presbyterian of the time and neighbourhood. He did not join the insurgents for twelve good reasons, that is, good enough to pacify his conscience :—

1. They did not invite him 'until they were actually in arms, and it is usually said, "'tis a bad dog that is not worth whistling for.'"

2. It was easy, 'without a spirit of prophecy, to see they were not like to stand.'

3. He had not confidence in the promise of a simultaneous rising in other parts of the country.

4. It would be 'little less than a miracle if raw undisciplined men could stand before Lambert's veteran soldiers.'

5. 'God seemed to frown upon them; the weather being so very foul that many were discouraged from going to their musters, and those that went were scarce able to stand upon the ground, much less to exercise their firearms.'

6. 'Having missed the taking of Chester Castle they had no place to hide their heads in safety.'

7. 'Their army was like Mahomet's angelical cocks, made up of fire and snow, for many were not only different but contrariant in their principles.' He refers to the discordant principles and interests of the Presbyterians and Episcopalians.

8. 'If common interest could rivet them together so long as a common enemy was to be dealt with, if they should become conquerors, then the end of one contest would be the beginning of another.'

9. 'I was desired by some that were actually engaged to keep myself free, that I might be capable of doing that kindness for them for which I should disable myself by engaging among them.'

10. 'I feared God could not prosper a business the foundation of which was laid in lying and deceit. I could name a great man in Lancashire that sent out his warrants to come to musters under pretence of danger from the Quakers.'

11. The printed declaration 'owned no authority but that of lords, gentlemen, citizens, freeholders : ' that is, authority from the king without the parliament.

12. 'The declaration promised universal toleration, which was either a perfect cheat or a promise of what I utterly abhorred.'

These twelve reasons might be sufficient to excuse Martindale, or any other man who thought with him, from committing himself to the measures of Sir George Booth, although he could not desire for them anything but success. When the insurrection failed, he generously exerted himself on behalf of his friends who were brought to ruin by their own impetuosity and rashness. Although he had engaged in keen controversy with the Independents, and had loudly boasted of his wonderful victories over their 'gifted brethren,' he found no influential person of the opposite party so accessible as Samuel Eaton, or so ready to plead on behalf of the presbyterian ministers. It must,

however, be said to the honour of the Republicans, that no one among them was disposed to treat the conquered insurrectionists with severity. It is true that Sir George Booth was committed to prison, but the government could not overlook his rebellion, unless they meant to announce that Presbyterians might conspire and rebel with impunity.

Although the insurrection failed, chiefly through the fears and suspicions of the episcopalian gentry, it revealed the preparation which many parties were silently making for great changes. The unsettled state of the government, if government it could be called, excited grave apprehensions in the minds of quiet and thoughtful people. Was England reduced to the hard necessity of surrendering its freedom to the rule of the sword? If it were, what soldier was left who could firmly grasp that sword? Pure republicanism was helpless. Monarchy or military despotism seemed to be the alternative. Presbyterians desired constitutional monarchy; Episcopalians the restoration of the monarch without conditions. The sectaries knew not what to desire. Throughout Lancashire the Presbyterians, although discouraged by their recent defeat, and perhaps softened by the leniency with which they were treated, were yet listening to the loud call of their southern brethren for a free parliament.

The disposition of their ministers appeared in their general refusal to offer public thanksgiving to God for the victory of Lambert. So long as no particular day was appointed for that purpose, the ministers, however they might displease the soldiers who attended their services, were not chargeable with disobedience to any order of the government. When, eventually, November the third was appointed for the public thanksgiving, the divisions and perplexities of the government were so generally known in Lancashire that few cared to enforce obedience to any of its ordinances. When the day came, not a presbyterian minister in the county, so far as I know, offered public thanksgiving for the victory. Some went from home. Some said they had received no directions, as certainly, for some reason or other, the authorities were very remiss in sending their notices. Some said, as Newcome did, 'It is but an invitation, not a command.' Some plainly refused to conduct any such service as was recommended. No sooner had the day passed than other affairs of greater urgency engaged the attention of the government, whose members had become desirous of conciliating rather than offending the Presbyterians. The ministers held their private days of prayer, and especially 'one very precious day,' when Mr. Angier preached 'the most seasonable and sweet sermon that ever was preached.'* A few days after, in answer to their prayers as they thought, they gladly welcomed on his recovered liberty Mr. Harrison of Ashton, the only one of their number who had been imprisoned for being concerned in the insurrection. The ministers dined with him at the warden's, and talking about the prevalent reports of the mysterious movements of General Monk, some were elated, some depressed, but most of them hoped that Presbyterianism had passed its darkest day. How vain were their hopes we shall see in the next chapter.

* Newcome's *Autobiography*, November 8, 1659.

CHAPTER XV.

EPISCOPACY RESTORED.

WHILE the conduct of Monk was observed with intense anxiety, the ministers of Lancashire devised many expedients to obtain early and correct information of his movements. Correspondence was commenced with Mr. Case, Mr. Ash, Mr. Calamy, and other influential ministers of London. Their letters were regularly received, carefully examined, and extensively circulated. The intelligence seemed to vary with every arrival. Reports were spread of the activity of the Prelatists, and of the influence of the Papists upon the mind of the royal exile. Subsequently the intelligence became more favourable. The king was disposed to make considerable changes in the government of the Church; tender consciences would be indulged; sectaries would be silenced; worse evils than any the king could introduce would be averted by his restoration; and Monk, who had been considered favourable to Independency, received the sacrament from the hands of Mr. Calamy, whom he consulted in the selection of his preachers. When the London ministers trusted so unscrupulous a soldier as Monk, it does not surprise us that their country brethren should follow their example. His mind was too dark and deep to be explored by the inquisitive eyes of puritan preachers.* Few presbyterian ministers had the sagacity to see with Adam Martindale that 'the end of one contest would be the beginning of another;' few the foresight of Richard Baxter, who wrote of the London ministers: 'These divines know nothing of the state of affairs. They pray for the success of my labours, when they are persuading me to put an end to my labours by setting up the prelates who will silence me and hundreds more. They persuade me to that which will separate me from my flock, and then pray that I may be a blessing to them; and yet I am for restoring the king, that when we are silenced, and our ministry at an end, and some of us lie in prison, we may in that condition have peace of conscience in the discharge of our duty, and faith, patience, and charity in our sufferings.'†

The attempts of the Independents in London to obstruct the movements of Monk were so feeble and fruitless as to be scarcely known to their friends in Lancashire. Although Owen and Nye may have proposed to raise a hundred thousand pounds to defray the expenses, if the officers of Wallingford House would call out their regiments,

* In November he called Dr. Owen his 'dear friend,' whose prayers he sought that he 'might be kept from going out of God's way in doing God's work.' In March he dismissed his independent chaplain and resolved to do 'God's work' only in the presbyterian way.—Neal, vol. ii. p. 540.

† *Life*, part ii. p. 216.

it is very doubtful whether they would have been supported by their country brethren, many of whom were weary of war, and sought for themselves nothing more than such a toleration as could be secured by peaceable measures.

In the midst of these uncertainties the Lancashire Presbyterians lost one of their most consistent, most influential, and most scholarly ministers. Charles Herle, the rector of Winwick, died on September 29, 1659, and was buried in his own church. Of his early life, his advancement to the richest parochial benefice in the north, and his elevation to the dignity of prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly, I have already written. On the dissolution of the assembly he was associated with Isaac Ambrose of Preston, and Edward Gee of Eccleston, in the not very pleasant office of commissioners for the ejecting of ignorant and scandalous ministers from the churches and chapels of Lancashire. However severe Mr. Gee may have been, no men in the county could have been selected more forbearing and considerate in the discharge of painful duty than Ambrose and Herle. Devoted to his parochial duties, and conciliating the good feeling of all parties around him, Herle spent the last years of his life, until he was taken away from the evil to come, the ejectment from his rich living, his hospitable parsonage, his pleasant church, and his beloved flock.*

After Monk had restored the ejected members to their seats in parliament, events seemed to proceed in a course favourable to the interests of the Presbyterians. The Independents, conscious of their numerical inferiority, and perhaps ashamed of their folly, left the management of public affairs to opponents irritated by their arbitrary expulsion from the house. It was provided that in the parliament which was soon to be convened, no person should be allowed to take his seat who had borne arms against the preceding parliament. Although this provision was evaded, for several Royalists were elected whose right no one ventured to challenge, yet it quieted for a time all fears of retribution from the prelatical party. Still more satisfactory and assuring to the Presbyterians was the resolution that no person was to be invested with any military authority, unless he had sworn to acknowledge the lawfulness of taking arms on the authority of parliament against the advisers of the king. Gratified with these securities, the Presbyterians of Lancashire were further delighted with the intelligence of the release of Sir George Booth, and of the repeal of the engagement to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth without a king or house of lords. Having done so much that was agreeable to the Presbyterians, the house issued its writs for the meeting of a free parliament on April 25, and on its own authority dissolved itself.

The new parliament, or convention, assembled on the appointed

* John Howe, referring to his ordination in Winwick Church by Herle and the ministers of the several chapels of his large parish, says: 'There are few ministers whose ordination has been so truly primitive as mine, having been devoted to the sacred office by a primitive bishop and his officiating presbytery.'—*Life of John Howe*, by Henry Rogers, p. 28.

day, and, as in old time, in its two houses of lords and commons. So quiet a return to the ancient constitution was itself an assurance of the restoration of the king, and a presage of its peaceful accomplishment. The Presbyterians, although at first surprised and troubled at the election of so many Royalists, had their own way in the earlier arrangements of the convention. The Earl of Manchester was chosen Speaker of the Lords, and Sir Harbottle Grimstone of the Commons.

Before entering upon business both houses observed a fast day in true presbyterian fashion, when Reynolds preached before the lords, and Calamy and Baxter before the commons. For recalling the king without imposing any restriction upon the royal prerogative the Presbyterians were undoubtedly responsible, and deserving of the severest censures, as they were afterwards compelled to acknowledge. When that patriotic lawyer, Sir Matthew Hale, moved the appointment of a committee to consider the propriety of renewing the propositions made to the king's father, the Presbyterians were too cowardly or too simple to support him in opposition to the remonstrance of General Monk. Had they then stood firmly by their principles, and maintained the liberties of the people as well as the prerogatives of the king, they might have averted many of the evils that fell upon their country, their ministers, and themselves.

The negligence or confidence of the Lancashire Presbyterians is apparent in the names of the persons chosen to represent their county and boroughs in the convention. For the county were elected Edward Stanley and Sir Roger Bradshaw, both Episcopalians. Liverpool was represented by William Stanley and Gilbert Ireland; Preston by Edward Rigby and Jeffrey Rushton; Lancaster by Sir John Harrison and Richard Kirkby; Wigan by Jeffrey Shackerly and Lord Antrim; Clitheroe by Sir Ralph Assheton and John Heath; and Newton by Richard George and Richard Leigh. Manchester, on the restoration of the old constitution, lost its privilege of returning a member. Of these representatives, Sir Ralph Assheton was the only one who could have been expected to take any active part in promoting the interest of the Presbyterians. Edward, the son of the indefatigable statesman Alexander Rigby, inherited neither the principles nor the energy of his father. In these elections the influence of the Stanleys reappears, while on the other hand it is difficult to ascertain why the old presbyterian leaders generally retired from the representation.

The restoration of the monarchy was speedily determined by the convention, but not more speedily than the Lancashire Presbyterians desired. In no part of the kingdom was there a more extravagant outbreak of loyalty than among the people who, a few years before, had fiercely fought for the privileges of parliament. The Catholics of the county were moderate in their rejoicing; the Episcopalians cautious and quiet; but the Presbyterians were wild with exultation. The ministers of their persuasion in London restrained their rejoic-

ings within the limits of ministerial gravity and decorum, and never forgot themselves in their cordial welcome of their returning sovereign. But in Lancashire their ministers forgot not only themselves, but their liberties, their controversies, their sufferings, and even their covenant, in the licentiousness of their newly-excited loyalty. They hated bishops, by whom they were likely soon to be governed; but they hated Baptists more than bishops, and Quakerism more than prelacy. It is not pleasant to attribute the exultation of these good ministers to a vindictive spirit; but it is not easy to find any other cause of its extravagance than the fall of the sectaries by whom, however, they had been more frightened than injured.

As early as Sunday, May 6, 1660, in the presence of the great congregation which attended the afternoon service, Mr. Newcome prayed for the king; but being cautious as well as loyal, mindful of the past as well as hopeful of the future, he prayed, as he tells us, 'by periphrasis.'* However curiously he contrived his periphrasis to protect himself from punishment if the attempt to restore the king should fail, his periphrastic prayer was well understood, and produced great excitement among the people. A meeting of the congregation was convened. It was resolved that King Charles the Second should be publicly proclaimed, and should be prayed for in the simple, old-fashioned, straightforward, orthodox manner. On Saturday, May 12, the Presbyterians gathered around their favourite preacher and crowded every part of the collegiate church. After the singing of a psalm, Newcome ascended the pulpit, and without employing periphrasis prayed for the king for about half an hour. Among other petitions, he prayed that the joy of that great and glorious day 'might not be blemished by the intemperance of one person.' His prayer (he had the puritan gift of power in prayer) brought a chastening influence over the exulting hearts of the people. His words were not forgotten, for throughout that day they were often repeated by his hearers, and induced the people, whatever excesses were afterwards allowed, 'to carry their rejoicings very carefully.'† In the neighbouring puritan towns, where in imitation of Manchester they kept the festival, they were not, I fear, so careful, as they were not so free from accident. In Rochdale, where the following Monday was observed, the Puritans, 'by the miscarriage of their muskets,' killed their drummer. The puritanism of Ashton, of Stockport, of Bolton, and of Bury, found expression for its joy, though not for its sobriety, after the example of the people of Manchester.

Although the Presbyterians of the south-eastern towns of Lancashire had, in the exuberance of their joy, anticipated the twenty-fourth of May, the day appointed by government for the general thanksgiving, they were too grateful to God, and too loyal to their king, to neglect the observance of any day enjoined by authority. In Manchester, as might have been expected, Newcome was appointed to preach in the collegiate church. From all parts of the neighbourhood the people crowded to hear the great preacher on the great occasion.

* *Autobiography*, May 6, 1660.

† *Autobiography*, May 12, 1660.

Amidst profound silence he announced his text: 'And he bowed the heart of all the men of Judah, even as the heart of one man; so that they sent this word unto the king, Return thou, and all thy servants.*' The sermon produced an extraordinary impression. Its publication was urgently requested, almost demanded, by those who heard it and by many more who had heard of it. Newcome complied with their request, and published the sermon with the title 'Usurpation defeated and David restored.' He prefixed a dedication to Sir George Booth, Sir Ralph Assheton, and Richard Holland, Esq., the presbyterian leaders of his neighbourhood. An extract from this sermon may show the spirit which breathed in many of the puritan sermons which were preached in that festival time, and the preaching of which many of the preachers lived long enough to repent.

Referring to the usurpation, he says: 'There is a liberty which is our birthright, and might have been maintained without violation of the laws of God and man.' (These words were introduced to vindicate the opinions and proceedings of the Presbyterians in fighting for the constitutional limitation of the monarchy.) 'Oh! the noise that has been made for the public! The administration of justice! The security of the good people of these nations! This hath been cried up to be the Good Old Cause! And the government settled by the fundamental laws of this land, and sworn unto by us, must be changed for the public good, when it is clear as the noon sun that private designs and interests were sought and carried on under these pretexts. We talk of public ease and liberty of the people, and of our keepers of the liberties, whereas the people's taxes and burthens increase all along under this way of government, and must necessarily do so to keep it up. And these keepers apparently increase themselves, and, to keep their unjust acquirements, an unrighteous settlement must be kept up over the whole nation! The naked truth now appears—to set up an Absalom on the throne is the design, and this is done under the pretence of the justice he will do to the people! So we are also necessitated to keep up the government of a free state, as they call it, to preserve the estates unjustly gotten of a few men, which cannot endure the test of a righteous settlement, to the true public good of the nation.—This the first pretext.

'The second pretext is of piety and devotion, whereby this desperate, ambitious design is introduced. Absalom desires leave of his father that he may go to perform his vow in Hebron—a religious service and piece of God's worship then in use, wherein by sacrifice they engaged themselves to God. And he further relates the ground of it to be the deep sense that he had of the Lord's deliverance of him in his former troubles, that then he promised to serve the Lord. So that it is not only the pretext of a mere vow for that time, or of so much religion only as might be expressed in what accompanied a vow, but he would make this vow not only a part of his intended religiousness towards God, but an introduction into a more strict course than heretofore. He would thus begin and henceforward be

* 2 Samuel xix. 14.

very strict and serious in the Lord's service ; and now how much might this take with the people, not only to get them into his conspiracy, but to tie them to him when they were in. They might a little startle when they heard him declare to usurp the kingdom ; but then this would sway much with the people. He is known to be a great favourer of the public liberty, and a man that we see owns the service of God, and sets out religiously, and therefore we may the better venture with him. He doth not declare against the temple ; he doth not threaten to cast off the true God, and to introduce idolatry, but on his very entrance into his work pretends to a more than ordinary piety and devotion. It is easy in our parallel to find out an Absalom that had a design to aspire ; that never showed much religion till it would advance a wicked design. On the sudden he is religious—the only popular man—all for devotion and the Lord's service ! “ Oh ! ” say the poor people, “ this cannot be murder, and rebellion, and usurpation, and perjury, that such men as these are engaged in ; they are not profane, notorious sensual men, but men of the greatest profession and of the strictest life ! ” *In nomine Domini incipit omne malum* ; a proverbial speech first taken up from the pope's murderous bulls and edicts that used to come out thus in Christ's name ! It hath been one of the designs of the devil since the Church was Christian to bring in his greatest persecutions under the disguise of some great profession ; the matter else would want accomplices to carry it on. A vile man in esteem with a good design would have but few followers ; and a seeming good man hath a great advantage in his hand of betraying many to a bad business if he dare lead in it. Men are too apt to follow men, and can hardly keep out of error if a tolerable person undertake their conduct. It is hard for the vulgar to distinguish between good men and bad actions, as if it must cease to be evil when such men dare engage in it ; whereas men should judge men by their actions, and not actions by men. Oh, what pretences of religion and godliness hath there been in the late mischiefs that have been perpetrated ! Calling upon God ! Appealing unto God to decide the controversy ! Nay, perpetrating villany upon impulses pretended from the Spirit of God ! Security of religion ! Liberty for tender consciences ! This hath been cried up as their Good Old Cause, that had the blood of kings and prophets at the bottom of it ! “ They build up Sion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity, yet will they lean upon the Lord and say, Is not the Lord among us ? None evil can come upon us ! ” Nay, their unheard-of villanies are made the fulfilling of their vows ! No return for their deliverances and victories so proper as to rase our foundations, murder our king, and pull down the ministry, as no doubt it was in design ; yet all along to advance religion too ! None so cruel among the Turks as a renegade Christian ; and none more like to ruin religion than the apostate professor :—and much the more if in truth an apostate and yet a professor still ! Absalom—we know not what sort of a king he might have proved—was never tried ; ours have had time enough to have showed some of their great good they seemed to be big with ; but we never could see a reality in them to

this end to this day. But thus we agree in the second particular, in the introduction of the design with high pretences of religion and the liberty of the people.

'Thirdly, with regard to the manner and management and advance of this design, several things are to be considered: First, that many are drawn into the business that meant well; the liker to be the more resolute in the undertaking. Absalom (he knew what he intended by his vow) meant nothing less than treason or murder to his king and father. There were two hundred who followed him from Jerusalem in the simplicity of their hearts, and when they were cheated and drawn hoodwinked into this design, they helped it forward. And so all over Israel! He had his agents, who were privy to his design, and they, at the sign given, drew in the people in like manner. Many a time desperate businesses are carried on under pretences; upon the secret design of a few, a sad unnatural civil war is kindled, is carried on a great way: too far, if it had been the will of God! Parties engaged declare themselves defensive; they protest, and vow, and covenant they had no design against his majesty's royal person or just honour and greatness. The business goes on; the victory falls to their side! Now the Absaloms appear, and they show what their design was! The people went in their simplicity, meaning no other than what was declared to them; which hath sufficiently appeared in that the business could not be effected till force was put upon the Houses of Parliament, the lords clearly dismissed, near three hundred commoners pulled out, and kept out of the House of Commons! Many hundreds in the nation would never say a confederacy with them, and have suffered according to their first declared principles and innocent intentions under these usurpations. But yet many were drawn in (no doubt in their simplicity) to go on further with them. If this had been known at first to have been the design, it might in all likelihood have been never advanced one step; but they take their advantage. The common people, and some good people of middling capacities, others seduced and infected in their principles, are gotten on further into the business; they are decoyed and cheated into the design to follow that cursed Absalom to the throne! They pretend it is the parliament's cause still; and the people generally make no great difference between a parliament consisting of lords and commons treating with the king and upon the matter agreed with him, and a bit of a parliament, the lords removed, and the best and greatest number of the commons forcibly excluded. And to destroy the king too! Alas! many went in wickedness, and many in simplicity, meaning no hurt, not foreseeing the guile nor understanding the treachery.'

Mr. Newcome concluded his discourse with a caution which betrays the puritan spirit, scrupulous in its rejoicing, and firm in its opposition to all practices of doubtful propriety. During the Commonwealth, the practice of drinking healths had been so discouraged by the Puritans that on public and even convivial occasions it was generally abandoned. No sooner was the restraint loosened than even in Puritan Manchester, amidst the public rejoicings, the old custom was

revived, probably by the instigation of the few Episcopalians of the town. The preacher thus uttered his protest, as he concluded his discourse: 'Here I must needs speak of a profane and wicked practice beginning to break out, and upon this mercy too (the worst time that can be for sin to meet so eminent a mercy in, lest it should turn it back again), and that is, that men fall a-drinking of healths, as if they could not testify their affection to their king unless they do apparent dishonour unto God. For men to make this an engine to intemperance and excess in drunkening is very unworthy and unbecoming. It is that which a heathen king forbade: "And the drinking was according to the law; none did compel: for so the king had appointed to all the officers of his house, that they should do according to every man's pleasure." (Esther i. 8.) His majesty, we hear, measures the affections of his subjects by the prayers they put for him, and not by the healths they drink unto him. And I hope such as these, that are a dishonour to God and the king too, will in time be made to know it. Hath the Lord given us such a deliverance as this, and shall we again break His holy commandments? Was this all the burthen that lay upon us, that we had not liberty to drink and revel, or to blaspheme? Or is this the way to have this mercy continued or completed? Oh, lay aside this wretched excess out of obedience to God and the king too! For, be you well assured, these courses will soon breed new judgments among us. He that hath caused it towards evening to be light, can make our sun to set at noon. Labour to be Christians still, and to carry like Christians under this wonderful mercy; for the Christian hath not had the least hand in the procuring of it!'

This exhortation was, I fear, little regarded. Puritan Manchester, a few months afterwards, made her conduits flow with claret and her gutters swell with strong beer. Neither the stern remonstrance of Richard Heyrick nor the gentle persuasion of Henry Newcome could prevent the people, rich or poor, from drinking the health of their king and (offensive as it was to them) of their ministers also.

The dissolution of the Commonwealth was soon followed by the fall of the presbyterian establishment in Lancashire. It seemed to die a natural death. The classical assemblies, in the course of the ensuing summer, one after another held their last meetings, and adjourned in their ordinary manner, apparently intending at the regular time to resume their business. The minutes of the last classical meeting in Manchester, held on August 14, 1660, have a painful interest: 'Mr. Hulme preached according to order. Mr. Harrison, moderator, began with prayer. Mr. Ellison returned his instrument, affixed and subscribed; he hath been examined in divinity, chronology, and ecclesiastical history. He maintained a dispute on the question, *Utrum opera sint causa justificationis vel pars aliqua justitiæ nostræ coram Deo?* and was approved. Mr. Ellison to be ordained at Flixton, on Wednesday the twenty-eighth instant. Mr. Leigh to preach; Mr. Newcome to give the exhortation; Mr. Walker and Mr. Jones to pray; and Mr. Constantine to pray at the imposition of hands. Mr. Angier, jun., to preach at the next class; Mr. Walker

to be moderator. Next class to be the second Tuesday in September next.' On the second Tuesday in September the classis held no meeting. The end had come.

In the midst of their rejoicings the Presbyterians of Lancashire sustained the loss of one of their most eminent preachers. Edward Gee, the minister of Eccleston, died on May 27, 1660. He had occupied with ability and wisdom many ecclesiastical offices of importance in the county. He had been moderator of the provincial assembly, and one of the commissioners for the ejectment of ignorant and scandalous ministers. A dexterous logician, he was ever ready to defend the presbyterian discipline, both by his preaching and by his writings. Intimately associated in long friendship and many labours with Charles Herle, he soon followed his friend to his rest, and was spared the hard necessity to which his surviving brethren were subjected, of choosing between keeping his benefice and maintaining a conscience void of offence towards God and man.

Amidst the extravagant rejoicings of the Presbyterians of Lancashire on the arrival of the intelligence of the king's triumphant entry into London on May 29, 1660, their leaders could not have been without some anxieties and fears, as they had taken up arms against the king's father, and had caused the death of many of their Catholic and Episcopalian neighbours whose relatives were about to resume their authority. What would the young Earl of Derby say of the murderers of his father? What would the relatives of Tyldesley and others, killed in defence of the royal cause, say of retribution now that their old enemies were delivered into their hands? The promised indemnity afforded them some assurance of safety, but their assurance must have been far from complete until the passing of the Act which provided that, whatever might become of a few desperate sectaries, no Presbyterian should suffer for the part he had taken in the civil war. Still more gratifying was the intelligence that ten presbyterian ministers were appointed chaplains to his majesty, by which gracious act the hopes of their country brethren were raised and sustained during a time of anxious uncertainty and transition.

The twenty-third of April, 1661, the day on which Charles was crowned at Westminster, was observed throughout Lancashire with magnificence and splendour unexampled even in a county remarkable for its magnificent festivals.

In Manchester on the morning of that festive day (St. George's day) several companies of freeholders and tradesmen, arrayed 'in great gallantry and rich scarfs,' presented themselves for 'the solemnisation of the day.' Although most of them were Presbyterians and had been Parliamentarians, they forgot or concealed their old resentments, and submitted themselves to the command of the two principal Royalists of the town, John Byron and Nicholas Mosley. Between their two companies as they marched to church after the banner of royalty, was a procession of young boys, children of the best families of the town, 'about the age of seven years, all clothed in white stuff, plumes of feathers in their hats, blue scarfs,

armed with little swords hanging in black belts, and short pikes on their shoulders.' In the rear of Mosley's company was a procession of young gentlemen 'about twelve years of age, with muskets and pikes, drums beating and colours flying.' All, both men and boys, being drawn up in the churchyard, laid down their arms, and so passed into the church to hear the sermon; 'at which time there was such a concourse of people . . . , the like was never seen in this nor any other place.'* I may venture to add, and such a sermon was preached, 'the like was never heard in this or any other' church.

The preacher was Warden Heyricke. The infirmities of age were creeping over him, but on that great occasion he seemed to have recovered the vigour, the earnestness, and the impassioned eloquence of his earlier days. Many things combined to induce him to exert himself to the utmost in one of the most exciting services in which he had ever engaged. In that church whose walls had often resounded with his fierce denunciations of popery, prelacy, and arbitrary power, where he had with intense earnestness entreated his hearers to subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant, where he had encouraged the townspeople to arm in defence of their walls against the assault of the Royalists, where he had pleaded with tears for the sufferers in the Bolton massacre, and incited his congregation to efforts of unexampled liberality in the distress of the civil war, where he had, at the peril of his liberty and life, denounced Cromwell as a wicked usurper, there, in the church he so much loved, he stood before an immense audience, and announced his text: 'AND HE BROUGHT FORTH THE KING'S SON, AND PUT THE CROWN UPON HIM, AND GAVE HIM THE TESTIMONY; AND THEY MADE HIM KING, AND ANOINTED HIM; AND THEY CLAPPED THEIR HANDS, AND SAID, GOD SAVE THE KING.'†

They who know what the warden was in his youth, can imagine how, as the spirit of former days came over him, he yielded to the various emotions of that great occasion. Rejoicing in the restoration of monarchy, proud of the conduct of his own party, grateful for the recovery of his office, and exulting in the fall of the sectaries, he could not refrain from expressing some fear of the intentions of the new government, and some censure of its ungrateful treatment of the Presbyterians. In a strange and abrupt transition from the well-connected sentences of his sermon, he exclaimed, 'A crown falling into a river, one dives for it, and, having recovered it, sets it upon his head, and swims to the land with it. The king takes his crown, rewards the man, but cuts off his head.' These ambiguous words could mean nothing else than an expression of disapproval of the king's conduct towards the Presbyterians. Like his friend Newcome on a previous occasion, he solemnly charged the people not to profane the auspicious day by the drinking of healths to any one, not even to the king. 'The Jews shouted God save the king, but they did not drink his health.' 'Even great Ahasuerus, the heathen king,

* Letter from a person present, cited by Hibbert in *History of the Collegiate Church*, vol. i. p. 350.

† 2 Kings, xi. 12.

in his great festival, expressly forbade it, nor hath the Church of God any such custom.' He concluded with the following exhortation: 'Be exhorted on the day of the king's coronation to praise God, to give God the glory and honour of it. Bless God that we have a king. The shout of a king is a joyful shout. Better anything than an anarchy; better any one a king than every one a king. I remember the cry of the beasts in the fable, when they were in consultation to submit themselves to the lion as to their king. Some alleged he would do what he pleased, upon which they all cried, Better one lion do so, than all the bears, and wolves, and wild beasts of the forest. Secondly, bless God that our king is not by election but by succession; no invader, no usurper, no conqueror, no alien or stranger; not one whose speech we understand not; but a king lineally descended from kings of the race royal for many hundreds of years, who hath an undoubted right to be king. Blessed art thou, O land, when thy king is the son of nobles, the son of kings. Thirdly, bless God that our king is peaceably restored to us; that the people generally and universally receive him for king. There were great thoughts of heart because of the division of kings and subjects. It was given out concerning Queen Elizabeth, that when she died clouds of blood did hang in the air; but God brought in King James peaceably, and made him a peacemaker. It was above our faith, above our hopes; yet in duty we prayed that our king might peaceably be restored to us. It is observed no less than miraculous, when God brought his people Israel out of Egypt, that no dog opened his mouth; it was in the dark time of night, there was great noise and tumult, yet no dog barked when the king was restored to us! It was as it was in heaven for a time—great silence; all men's mouths were stopped, and the king peaceably and joyfully restored! Fourthly, bless God that we have not only a king, but a race and succession of kings! God preserved the royal family as the three children in the fiery furnace, so that no hair of their head was singed. You see what great cause we have to praise God: Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name be the glory. Not by might, not by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.' . . . 'They praised the king. Give then the praises due unto him! Praise him for his invincible patience and forbearance! Praise him for his act of indemnity and pardon! Praise him for restoring the rights, the liberties of the Church! Praise him for establishing truth and judgment! Never had king greater provocation, greater temptation; yet he hath conquered himself, which is more than if, with Alexander, he had conquered the whole world. He is even more than a conqueror—a triumpher; not over men's bodies, but over their hearts, their souls, their spirits! Shout and cry aloud, and let heaven and earth echo it back again, God save the king! Let the king live! God save the king! they are the last words of my text, and they shall be the last of my sermon; and let all the people shout it out with a loud shout—God save the king!'

According to the narrative written on the occasion of these loyal festivities, 'After sermon, from the church marched in order the

boroughreeve, constables, and the rest of the burgesses of the town not then in arms, accompanied by Sir Ralph Assheton, knight and baronet, and divers neighbouring gentlemen of quality, together with the said warden and fellows of the said college, and divers other ministers, with the town music playing before them upon loud instruments, through the streets to the cross, and so forward to the conduit, officers and soldiers in their order. The gentlemen and officers then drank his majesty's health in claret running forth at three streams at once out of the said conduit, which was answered from the soldiers by a great volley of shot, and many great shouts, saying, God save the king! which being ended, the gentry and ministers went to dinner, attended with the officers, and music of the town, the auxiliaries dining at the same place. During the time of dinner, and until after sunset, the said conduit did run with pure claret, which was freely drunk by all that could, for the crowd came so near the same.

'After an hour, or something more, spent in dinner, the drums did beat, and the soldiers marched into the field again, giving three great vollies, and making the country therewith to echo; and from thence through several streets, bringing the aforesaid Major Byron to his own house, where, making an halt, the major began his majesty's health in sack to the officers; the soldiers standing in rank and file, who likewise drank the same, and echoed it with several vollies and acclamations of joy. So from the major's house round about Salford, firing and shouting all along, and at the door of the major's ensign's house another halt was made, and the companies were drawn up in single file around the street, and freely entertained with sack and claret. Returning thanks with vollies of shot and great shouts, they marched back into the town, and, after some few vollies and shouts were taken up with rain, and thereby prevented from marching. Bonfires being in every street, the bells continued ringing night and day, some fireworks running upon cords the length of one hundred yards, and so back again, with crackers in the air; which sport continued till almost midnight. But the spectators were much disappointed by the rain, all the day being very clear and glorious.

'Bonfires were burning above a week; unto which, suffer me to add these ensuing lines: that after Captain Mosley had received intelligence of the joyful, glorious, and prosperous carrying on of the day in London, without prejudice in that concourse (being honoured with the brightness of the sun unto which day the heavens gave testimony of their assent), he did, upon the first of May, march his company into the field, and there, in the middle of them, being drawn round, made a learned speech, declaring the goodness of God to this nation in the happy restoring his majesty to his just right and privilege beyond all expectations of man; using arguments of obedience and grounds of thanks for his majesty's preservation, and praying for his majesty's long and happy reign over these nations. All the people then cried, God save the king! His speech was not long, only I say he made a speech.

'This ended, the company as before, with the young boys, marched into the town, and were civilly entertained by Dr. Haworth and others of their mark, and being drawn up at the cross and thereabout, all bareheaded, drank his majesty's health in sack and claret, at the charge of Mr. Halliwell, giving a volley and shout. Then marching through several streets, still firing and rejoicing until the evening, they lodged their colours; discharging the company until the 29th of May instant, being his majesty's birthday, and the day of his glorious return to Whitehall, which is intended with thankfulness and all manner of rejoicing to be observed.'

Heyricke's loyal sermon, with an epistle dedicatory signed by six leading Royalists of the town, was printed apparently without his authority.* While it contained much which greatly pleased the Royalists and induced them to print it, there was also in it quite as much which probably Heyricke soon afterward wished he had never preached. But at the time the Presbyterians had not recovered from the ill effects of their strange paroxysm of loyalty.

Of the extraordinary texts which the presbyterian ministers prefixed to their loyal effusions, none was more extraordinary than that of Nathaniel Heywood, the vicar of Ormskirk. Having been one of the king's preachers who received an annual grant of 40*l.* for preaching in the Catholic parts of the county, and had hitherto retained it through all the changes of government, he lost his appointment at the restoration. On the thanksgiving day he selected for his text the words, 'Mephibosheth said unto the king, Yea, let him take all, forasmuch as my lord the king is come again in peace unto his own house.'† He was reminded by one of his parishioners both of his text and of his extravagantly loyal sermon, when, on the passing of the Act of Uniformity, 'the king took all,' not only his annual grant, but his parsonage, glebe, tithes, church, and graveyard. His uncomplaining resignation to his heavy loss of all things furnished a beautiful illustration of his loyal sermon.

Some of the episcopal clergy were quite as forward as their presbyterian neighbours in expressing their political feelings by the texts they chose and the sermons they preached. Mr. Johnson, who had lost his fellowship in the collegiate church for refusing to take the engagement, preached his first sermon after the recovery of his benefice from the words, 'The ploughers ploughed upon my back: they made long their furrows. The Lord is righteous: He hath cut asunder the cords of the wicked.'‡ In his discourse, the preacher, who I doubt not had been ill treated, took occasion not only to assert the goodness of his own cause, but to exult over those who had taken the opposite side in the late controversy as over bad men punished for their rebellion. As the presbyterian ministers with whom he was associated had at that time a legal title to their benefices, and conducted themselves with exemplary loyalty, his intemperate proceed-

* This discourse is extremely scarce. A copy exists in the British Museum, from which were taken the extracts that appear in Hibbert's *History of the Collegiate Church*. Even the Chetham Library is destitute of a copy.

† 2 Samuel, xix. 30.

‡ Psalm cxxix. 3, 4.

ings gave offence to moderate men of all parties. Complaining of persecution, he gathered around him a party of High Churchmen, whose influence seems to have grown, especially by the adhesion of the young men of wealth and fashion, until Manchester entirely changed its political and religious character. By a strange and sudden revulsion the puritan town of 1660 became in a few years one of the most Jacobite towns of England. The sermon of the restored fellow supplied the young Tories of the town with the motto which they used on all public occasions, *Vincit qui patitur*.

No sooner had the restoration of the monarchy been securely accomplished than the Presbyterians became sensible of their mistake, by observing the ascendancy and feeling the resentment of their implacable enemies. The bishops who had recovered their revenues and the courtiers who had suffered for their loyalty were incessant in their demands to compensate their losses and to inflict just punishment upon the rebels. Although the Presbyterians would not acknowledge that they had made any mistake in promoting the unconditional restoration of the king, for their loyalty had marvellous power of endurance, they must have felt, if they would not say so, that they ought to have taken some precaution, while it was in their power, to protect their liberty and religion. They had soon to suffer severely for putting confidence in princes.

Their first troubles, however, came neither from prelates nor from courtiers, but from 'certain lewd fellows of the baser sort,' who in many places 'gathered a company and set all the city in an uproar.' The morris-dancers, the pipers and fiddlers, the bear-wards, the wrestlers, the rush-bearers, and the players, came forth in extraordinary gaiety and strength, as if they had been refreshed by their long repose. The restraint which puritanism had imposed upon boisterous mirth and Sunday sports having suddenly yielded to the popular excitement, the people of Lancashire were determined to enjoy their newly acquired liberty and obtain some compensation for the gravity and dulness of their last twelve summers. The month of May, associated with the restoration as well as with the nativity of the king, more than recovered its former merriment and festivity. Maypoles, the old standards of the enemy, were never before so numerous, so gaily adorned, or surrounded by so great crowds of noisy dancers. In many instances the ministers were insulted, as if in revenge for the rigid and ungracious exercise of the power which they had long possessed. People would be merry at the expense of those who had compelled them to refrain from the sports of their boyhood. The old times had returned, and the merry-makers resolved to invest them with more than their old honours. The Maypole was sometimes raised opposite to the parsonage, or between it and the church, on purpose to annoy the puritan preacher. The morris-dancers sometimes danced before or behind him, when on Sunday he was going to church or returning from it. Loose people went down upon their knees as a preacher passed, drank the king's health, and asked the parson to drink it with them.* Adam Mar-

* 'May 27, 1660. We found Maypoles in abundance. I saw a morris-dance,

tindale says: 'The rabble of profane youths, and some doting old fools that took their part, were encouraged to affront me by setting up a Maypole on my way to church.' Adam preached against the pole, and told 'the doting fools' that 'learned men were of opinion that a Maypole was a relic of the shameful worship of the strumpet Flora.' This sermon 'so nettled' the fools that they asked Mr. Brooks of Congleton to preach on the next Sunday. He came, says Adam, and observing the Maypole, 'called them by most opprobrious names, as the scum, rabble, and rife-rafe of the parish, insomuch that my words were smooth as oil in comparison of his, so full of salt and vinegar.'

Adam's wife worked more effectually with her saw than Adam with his sermon. She cut down the pole in the night, 'which made them almost mad.' They pieced it with another pole, 'but it was such an ugly thing, so rough and crooked, that it proclaimed the folly and poverty of them that set it up.'*

In these troubles, and even in the greater that followed, the puritan ministers had the solace of their own amusements. They comforted themselves with their shuffleboard. Their boys at Shrovetide had a grand 'cocking' in honour of the king. The following entries in Newcome's 'Diary' of this time show that he and his friends were not 'swallowed up with overmuch sorrow.' 'I was at billiards with Mr. Heyricke and Mr. Holbrooke,' the presbyterian minister of Salford. 'After dinner I was fetched out to the billiards.' 'I was sent for to Mr Poole's for the billiards.' These billiard-players might have looked a little more pleasantly upon Maypoles and morris-dancers.

But greater troubles than Maypoles and morris-dancers soon came upon the Presbyterians. Parliament enacted that in all instances in which a clergyman had been ejected while the royal supremacy was suspended, he might immediately recover possession of his benefice. Of this enactment the Puritans had no good reason to complain. The Episcopalians who had been illegally ejected had certainly a just claim to recover their homes, whatever may have been the consequences to their successors. It is difficult to explain how, of the great number who for one cause or another had been ejected, comparatively few claimed restoration. Baxter says, 'almost all the Welsh clergy were ejected.' It has been asked, if they were, what became of the survivors at the restoration? My answer is that, as I find in Lancashire, so I doubt not it was everywhere else, many who were ejected on one occasion were restored on another, or found

which I had not seen for twenty years before. It is a sad sign; the hearts of the people are poorly employed when they can play the fool as they do.—Newcome's *Autobiography*.

* *Life of Martindale*, p. 157. In some other counties, ministers were treated more ignominiously than in Lancashire. Newcome notices, in his *Diary*, 'a sad story about a play wherein Mr. Baxter and other divines were acted.' He refers to the revival of Ben Johnson's comedy of *Bartholomew Fair*, which, says Pepys, 'had not been acted for forty years, it being so satirical against the Puritans.' It is said that on its revival 'the Rabbi Bury was dressed to resemble Richard Baxter.' Newcome's *Diary*, p. 7; Note by Heywood.

their way into another parish. Several, for instance, who had been ejected for refusing the covenant, obtained induction into vacant churches by favour of Cromwell's triers, especially after the covenant had fallen into disrepute with the governing powers.*

The Presbyterians acquiesced in the proposal, so far as it referred to those who had been ejected on political or ecclesiastical grounds, but they strove hard to exclude from its benefit all who had been expelled as ignorant or scandalous. Although the greater number of the excluded clergy were either incompetent or immoral, yet to continue on that ground their exclusion would have been to acknowledge the authority of the courts or commissions by which they had been tried and condemned. One inducement which the parliamentary friends of the Presbyterians had to pass the Act was, that it gave validity to the titles of all ministers for whose benefices there was no prior claimant.

Heyricke's position was peculiar, and caused his friends some anxiety. He had been warden before the breaking out of the war, and he had obtained his office, as he asserted, by a payment made to the king in purchase of it for life. But although he had lost his office, he had not been ejected by either parliament or protector. The collegiate charter had been violated, and the college dissolved. It was said to be within the king's prerogative to renew the charter and restore the college on what conditions he pleased. In the uncertainty of the law, there were not wanting some to remind the king that Heyricke had been a violent enemy of his father; that he had done everything short of taking arms against the royal cause; that if he had promoted the restoration, he had done so because he had quarrelled with the usurpers; and that in restoring the college the king had an opportunity of conferring the vacant benefice upon some deserving Royalist. Such a man was easily found. One Dr. Woolley had considerable influence at court; his loyalty was beyond suspicion; he had not the slightest taint of puritanism; he was orthodox in all things. Possibly, like Heyricke's father, he had some money to spare, and if he had, he had good reason to purchase, for the office would be very lucrative through the fines for renewing the leases. Dr. Woolley was nominated; but Heyricke was not to be quietly ejected from a position he loved so well, and the influence and dignity of which he had contrived to retain through so many changes. Even while the charter was in abeyance, he was generally acknowledged in Manchester as the rightful warden. He went to London and pleaded his own cause; he urged that he had lost his office by the act of the usurpers as certainly as by their act the late king had lost his crown; he engaged the powerful influence of Sir George Booth, whom the king's ministers were unwilling to offend

* Of twelve clergymen who were ejected at various times from benefices in Lancashire, two recovered their livings at the Restoration; two were previously restored by Cromwell's triers and were sad troublers of the Presbyterians; two obtained higher preferment and eventually became bishops; three had died, and one had gone abroad. Of the other two I can discover no traces. See the Lancashire names in Walker's *Sufferings of the Lancashire Clergy*.

so soon after the great service which he had rendered to royalty. He pleaded that cathedral dignitaries had been restored where the chapters had been not more illegally dissolved than his own college. The king, although at first determined to support Woolley, was compelled to yield, and Heyricke returned to Manchester to resume the office of warden of the collegiate church.*

With Newcome the result was different. As the college had been dissolved before he was invited to Manchester, he had never been installed as a fellow, and therefore could not establish his claim to an office which he had never held. He had been only a stipendiary preacher, whose office was superseded by the restoration of the regular staff of clergymen. It was pleaded in his favour that he had discharged the duties, although he had not received the emoluments, of a fellowship; that of the four fellowships, three were vacant, and that according to the spirit, if not the letter of the Act, he had a good claim to fill one of the vacancies. Newcome, unlike Heyricke who acted with little consideration, considered a long while before he acted. While he was considering what he should do, and what friends he should engage, and what he should write to Sir George Booth, and what sort of a petition he should procure from the townsmen, 'shortly it came to pass that all the fellowships were snapped up, and I was ousted of my place.'† With Heyricke as warden were installed the four fellows, Johnson, Western, Mosley, and Birch.

The people of Manchester were sorely disappointed with the failure of their application to secure a fellowship for their favourite preacher. On Friday, September 21, at their request he preached what he feared would be his last sermon in their church. An immense crowd filled the spacious edifice. 'Hugely they were affected, and likely to have spoiled me when I first went into the pulpit by the passion they showed at the sight of me.' 'The steward, in the evening, and some of the head burgesses came to me, and gave me forty shillings for my sermon.' Two days after they returned the sermon in a printed form, which was eagerly purchased and read by the townspeople. The excitement was such that the new fellows were glad to make a compromise, which would gratify the people and excuse their own indolence or incompetency. Indisposed to preach, they

* Dr. Hibbert and other writers following him have supposed that the attempt to promote Dr. Woolley occurred on the passing of the Act of Uniformity. Hence a strange mistake has widely prevailed, that Heyricke refused to conform, and retained his place in defiance of the requirements of the Act, and the authority of the king. It is distinctly stated in the *Diary* of Newcome that the attempt to introduce Woolley into the place of Heyricke was made at the Restoration. We shall hereafter see Heyricke in his old age recanting the profession of his long life. So prevalent, however, is the misunderstanding, that Heyricke has been frequently called the nonconforming Warden of Manchester.

† *Autobiography*, July 20, 1660. Secretary Morris undertook the business for Newcome, and promised him an order to fill the vacancy, for which his fees amounted to 23*l.*, although 'it signified nothing and was not worth one penny.' The crafty secretary knew very well there was no vacancy, as the appointments had been previously made.

were willing that Newcome should be engaged as a sort of curate or chaplain until more satisfactory arrangements could be made. His remuneration was miserably inadequate, and grudgingly paid by these rapacious Churchmen, who gained great profits by the renewal of the leases. Newcome, however, thankfully accepted the proposal. He lovingly served a loving people, and though always poor was always contented and grateful in his poverty.

So far as I can ascertain, the only incumbents in Lancashire who, in 1660, were ejected to make way for Royalists claiming their benefices, were Mr. Joseph Thompson, the rector of Sephton, and Mr. Robert Eaton, the vicar of Walton. The latter received the appointment of chaplain to Sir George Booth on his elevation to the peerage.

In the interval between the Restoration and the passing of the Act of Uniformity, the government of the Church was very unsettled, and its services were very far from uniform. The liturgy was restored by royal authority; but the Presbyterians had the king's promise of toleration in the exercise of their ministry. Many of their leaders retained their benefices, although they were avowed nonconformists in their manner of conducting public worship. Whether to allow the irregularities of the nonconformist clergy or to prohibit them was a perplexing question, the solution of which involved very serious consequences. Parliament must decide what should be done, and until its decision was made it was difficult to prevent any man from doing 'that which was right in his own eyes.' The restored clergy brought with them their old prayer books, and in many instances with a consequential air and tone announced their purpose of conducting public worship in the manner approved by royal authority. The Presbyterians generally observed the order of the Westminster directory, although some of them made considerable use of the Book of Common Prayer. Where the minister and people acted in harmony, there was little danger of the interference of strangers, unless a busy magistrate or pragmatical lawyer showed his loyalty or his self-importance by insisting upon exact conformity with the ritual. Churchwardens were sometimes troublesome, and old sinners, who had some grudge against a minister for the exercise of discipline, would occasionally retaliate by complaining of his irregularity in discharging his public duties. Mr. Thomas Jollie, the minister of Altham, was cited at the instigation of a neighbouring magistrate to appear in the ecclesiastical court of Chester, where he was suspended for refusing the Book of Common Prayer, although the court, as if not satisfied with the legality of its own proceedings, did not venture to publish his suspension. Prohibited from preaching, he was silenced one week sooner than he would have been ejected by the Act of Uniformity.*

* Vexatious persecutions of this sort were not infrequent in many parts of the country. The chief man of Oliver Heywood's chapelry brought the prayer book and laid it upon the cushion of the pulpit as the minister was commencing the service. Mr. Heywood quietly laid it upon 'the lower pulpit,' and 'was wonder-

What the Presbyterians expected to gain from the restored monarchy it is not easy to say, for their expectations must have fluctuated with the vicissitudes of every day. At first they had reason to expect great things from the promises of the king, the influence of their leaders in both houses of parliament, and the acknowledged services which they had rendered to the cause of royalty. But they soon observed that their worst enemies were raised to the chief offices of authority, that the king was subjected to the influence of men whom they utterly distrusted, that Prelatists and even Papists had claims for good service quite as strong as their own, and that some of the new bishops, as Sheldon and Morley, were as bitterly opposed to puritanism, though for different reasons, as had ever been Laud himself.

The new parliament was the cause of more serious apprehensions. It was summoned to meet on May 8, 1661, and to it was entrusted the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs. Considering the number and influence of the Presbyterians in the country, it may seem difficult to account for the great preponderance of the High Church party as it appeared in the result of the elections. The courtiers had employed all their influence with no small skill and management in securing the return of their most zealous adherents. Churchmen exerted themselves, and in the reaction the stream of popular favour flowed everywhere as they directed it. Discouraged by the cry of disloyalty which was raised wherever they opposed the candidates of the court, the Presbyterians made in many places no effort to support their own friends. The Independents and other sectaries, insulted as Republicans and regicides, had lost much of their power, and scarcely dared to use the little which they retained. A house of commons was returned ready to carry any measures which the court or bishops might recommend, and to humiliate the Presbyterians by treating them as prostrate enemies of the Church and State. The Nonconformists found more consideration and tolerance in the house of peers than in the house of the people.

I pass, however, as having only a remote connection with Lancashire, the repeated attempts of the London Presbyterians to obtain some modifications of the public service, the plausible and courteous behaviour of the king, by whom their hopes were sustained, and the opposition to their proposals made by Clarendon and the prelates, until eventually they were left to the tender mercies of the parliament, whose tender mercies were cruelty. In the dull and wearisome conferences of the Savoy, happily for me and my readers, no Lancashire divine took any part.*

Whatever the Presbyterians may have expected, the Independents fully assisted that day in prayer so that many were amazed.' For this refusal of the prayer book he was cited by a troublesome attorney before the consistorial court of York, and suspended, apparently in a very irregular and arbitrary manner, from the exercise of his ministry.

* The Presbyterians engaged in the conference requested to be allowed to consult their country brethren, but this reasonable request was peremptorily refused.

could have had no hope of being comprehended in the Church. They ventured to solicit nothing more than the toleration of their churches. When their petition was presented to the king, they were allowed to plead their own cause. The bishops wisely kept silence and allowed the Presbyterians to make their objections. Baxter said, 'It would lead to a toleration of Papists and Socinians.' The king angrily replied, 'The Presbyterians cared for none but themselves.'* We may easily understand why the king, secretly wishing to tolerate the Papists, allowed the Independents to plead for toleration, and rebuked the intolerance of the Presbyterians.

The clergy of Lancashire were again brought under episcopal rule by the consecration of the celebrated Brian Walton as Bishop of Chester. On account of his infirmities he was not able, even if he had been willing, to do much for the restoration of episcopal discipline in his extensive diocese. Complaints of irregularities in the discharge of clerical duty were made by some of the prelatical party, but as he had grown irritable and impatient, it was always uncertain whether he would express his displeasure with those who made the complaint or those of whom it was made. He occasionally scolded and even threatened, but he did little else for the correction or punishment of nonconformity. He died in the first year of his episcopate, and Dr. Fearn, his successor, lived to occupy his place only five weeks.

Without episcopal interference the cathedral service was soon restored in the collegiate church of Manchester. It may seem strange that it should be so easily restored in the stronghold of Puritanism, which Manchester had been under the ministry of Bourne, Heyricke, Hollingworth, and Newcome. But the change is easily explained. On the restoration of the collegiate establishment, the ordering of the service belonged to the warden and fellows. The four new fellows were zealous Churchmen, who by their unanimity overruled the two votes claimed by the warden. Besides, Warden Heyricke, though a Presbyterian, approved of the Book of Common Prayer, loved solemnity, perhaps magnificence in worship, and enjoyed the chant of the choristers and the peal of the organ. Even Newcome speaks temperately of the restored services: 'November 28, 1660. The choir service began at Manchester. My thoughts of it were these. They tell us they set candles upon the altar to mind us of the persecution of former times, when all service was done by candles, and so the sight of them may induce us to bless God that now we do not need them. So this service may mind us what pitiful service hath been used, and is still doated upon by many, and bless God that ever we knew what better service meant.' Candles on the altar accomplish very good service in a very strange way, if they induce us to thank God that we do not want them.

Of the next Bishop of Chester, Dr. George Hall, no one could complain for remissness or undue lenity in the exercise of discipline, especially when Nonconformists were concerned. Of him Adam

* NEAL, vol. ii. p. 564.

Martindale says: 'What favour could I expect, or rather what violent proceedings might I not expect, from a prelate who preached so violently against us, was so brisk with his *significavit*, and was linked so fast in his interests to the patron?'* The son of the celebrated Bishop Hall of Norwich, without a particle of his contemplative father's sweetness, he seems to have regarded it as a filial duty to retaliate and avenge the wrongs of his persecuted sire upon all Presbyterians who came under his power. As he was elevated to the bishopric of Chester in May 1662, he was responsible for the manner in which the Act of Uniformity was enforced in Lancashire.

* *Life*, ch. vi. sect. xviii.

CHAPTER XVI.

EXCLUSION.

THE Act of Uniformity received the royal assent on May 19, 1662. It required that 'every parson, vicar, or other minister whatsoever,' should, before the feast of St. Bartholomew, 'openly and publicly before the congregation assembled for religious worship declare his unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained in, and prescribed by, the book entitled the Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies according to the use of the Church of England;' that 'it was not lawful on any pretext whatever to take up arms against the king;' that 'there is no obligation upon any person from the oath commonly called the Solemn League and Covenant;' that 'the same is itself an unlawful oath.' It further enacted that 'no person should be capable of any benefice, or presume to consecrate or administer the Holy Sacrament, before he be ordained a priest by episcopal ordination.' All ministers who did not comply with the requirements of the Act were *ipso facto* deprived of their benefices, and if they officiated in any church, even as lecturers or occasional preachers, they were subject to heavy fines and imprisonment.

Nothing could have been devised more offensive or humiliating to the puritan ministers. They had publicly to profess their assent and consent to many things from which they had avowed their dissent, and so to contradict their public professions before their own people. Most of the older men had taken the covenant, which they were required publicly to declare to be an unlawful oath, and most of the younger had received presbyterian ordination, which they were compelled to repudiate. By complying with the requirements of the Act they would not only have done violence to their own consciences, but have done so in the presence of many who must have known the falsehood of their declarations; and thus they would have lost not only their self-respect, but the respect of their people. The Act was evidently intended to dishonour the puritan ministers, or to drive them out of the Church. In a few instances it accomplished the former purpose; in a great many, the latter.

What the ejected ministers were, some of the best, wisest, most patriotic men of their time have told us. The testimony of Locke is well known and is especially important, as few men had better opportunity of forming an unprejudiced and accurate estimate of their character. He did not accept their theology; he was not on terms of intimate friendship with many of them; to his calm and contemplative mind their fervent and unreasoning excitement must have been distasteful; but he says, 'Bartholomew day was fatal to

our Church and religion in throwing out a very great number of worthy, learned, pious, and orthodox divines, who could not come up to some things in the Act of Uniformity.'

Although the eulogium of Dr. John Taylor has been often cited, it may be here appropriately introduced on account of its reference to the sufferers of Lancashire: 'The principles and worship of Dissenters are not formed upon such slight foundations as the unlearned and thoughtless may imagine. They were thoroughly considered and judiciously reduced to the standard of Scripture and the writings of antiquity by a great number of men of learning and integrity; I mean the Bartholomew divines, or the ministers ejected in the year 1662, men prepared to lose all, and to suffer martyrdom itself, and who actually resigned their livings, which with most of them were, under God, all that they and their families had to subsist upon, rather than sin against God, and desert the cause of civil and religious liberty; which, together with serious religion, would, I am persuaded, have sunk to a very low ebb in the nation had it not been for the bold and noble stand these worthies made against imposition upon conscience, profaneness, and arbitrary power. They had the best education England could afford; most of them were excellent scholars, judicious divines, pious, faithful, and laborious ministers; of great zeal for God and religion; undaunted and courageous in their Master's work; keeping close to their people in the worst of times; diligent in their studies: solid, affectionate, powerful, lively, awakening preachers; aiming at the advancement of real vital religion in the hearts and lives of men, which, it cannot be denied, flourished greatly wherever they could influence. Particularly, they were men of great devotion and eminent abilities in prayer, uttered, as God enabled them, from the abundance of their hearts and affections; men of divine eloquence in pleading at the throne of grace, raising and melting the affections of their hearers, and being happily instrumental in transfusing into their souls the same spirit and heavenly gift. And this was the ground of all their other qualifications; they were excellent men, because excellent, instant, and fervent in prayer. Such were the fathers, the first founders of the dissenting interest. And you here in Lancashire had a large share of these burning shining lights. Those who knew them not might despise them, but your forefathers, wiser and less prejudiced, esteemed them highly in love for their work's sake. You were once happy in your Newcomes, your Jollies, your Heywoods, &c., who left all to follow Christ; but Providence cared for them, and they had great comfort in their ministerial services. The presence and blessing of God appeared in their assemblies, and attended their labours. How many were converted and built up in godliness and sobriety by their prayers, pains, doctrine, and conversation! How many days, on particular occasions, were set apart and spent in warm addresses to the throne of grace, and how much to the comfort of those who joined in them! But now, alas! we are pursuing measures which have a manifest tendency to extinguish the light which they kindled, to damp the spirit which they enlivened, and to dissi-

pate and dissolve the societies which they raised and formed! Let my soul for ever be with the souls of these men!''*

Of the two thousand ejected or silenced ministers, nearly a hundred resided in Lancashire. Of these some were only 'expectants' of the ministry. As they had neither subscribed the covenant, nor received presbyterian ordination, they might have conformed without subjecting themselves to the dishonour of repudiating their own professions, which, it has been said by their enemies, deterred their fathers and elder brethren from complying with the requirements of the Act. We cannot but mention with respect these conscientious youths, who were disqualified by their nonconformity from exercising their ministry, when they might, in the difficulty of providing ministers for the numerous vacancies, have easily obtained by conforming some of the richest benefices of the country. Two of the nonconforming 'expectants' of Lancashire afterwards became eminent ministers in their own county. One of them, John Crompton, says Matthew Henry, 'was a man of great worth and great humility. Indeed it were easy to enlarge upon the characters of Mr. T. Jollie and Mr. Crompton; men of the first rank, both for ministerial gifts and graces, steadfast to their principles in trying times, and an ornament to their holy profession. But I forbear, their praise is in all the churches of that country.' The other, Mr. John Parr, who preached at Preston and its neighbourhood, was, according to the same author, distinguished for 'his affectionate, searching, and profitable preaching.' He suffered at different times fine and imprisonment. When the Duke of Monmouth landed in Devonshire, he, although a peaceable man, was apprehended in Lancashire, and, without any charge brought against him, was imprisoned for several weeks, first in Warrington, and afterwards in the horrible dungeon of Chester, where the martyr George Marsh had been immured a century before him.

Of the ejected ministers of Lancashire about thirteen afterwards conformed, some forced by persecution, others tempted by preferment. With these, except with Mr. William Cole of Preston, I have no further concern. I except him on account of an anecdote which is worth telling, and which may remind the reader of something similar in the account I have given of Dr. Pendleton, a Manchester preacher in the time of Queen Mary. A meeting of several ministers was convened at Bolton, not long before the passing of the Act, to consider what course they should take in the event of its becoming law. Isaac Ambrose intimated his willingness to read the greater part of the Book of Common Prayer, although he could not profess his assent and consent to every part of it. Cole, displeased with the weakness and indecision of his neighbour, asserted with some warmth that he was determined never to conform. When the time of trial came, Ambrose, ejected from Garstang, consistently maintained his moderate nonconformity until his death; but Cole, if ejected at all, was

* *Scripture Account of Prayer*, a pamphlet which I shall have occasion hereafter to notice.

among the first of the ejected ministers to conform.* He obtained the living of Dedham in Essex.

Several nonconforming ministers in Lancashire contrived in one way or another to retain their places without complying with the requirements of the Act. This could be done only where the minister was so much respected that no one would lay an information against him, where the patron of the living had no desire to present another incumbent, and generally where the stipend was so small as to excite no desire in any other clergyman to appeal to authority to have the church declared vacant.

Of these nonconforming incumbents, the most distinguished was JOHN ANGIER, the beloved minister of DENTON, a chapelry in the parish of Manchester. To his continuance in the benefice all the circumstances were favourable. The two principal families of the chapelry were avowedly and decidedly Puritan. The stipend was small; the 'chapel wage' twenty pounds a year, the legal claim to which was doubtful, and neither the Hollands nor the Hydes, who together contributed thirteen of the twenty pounds, would willingly have paid 'the wage' to any conformist who might have occupied the place of their beloved pastor.† Besides, the common people heard him gladly. The farmers and labourers of the chapelry were as fond of him as Colonel Holland or Squire Hyde. As he had ever acted with kindness and consideration towards the Episcopalians, they were ready to treat him leniently, or to avoid the odium of disturbing so peaceable and quiet an old man.

John Angier was born at Dedham in Essex. His early religious impressions were produced by the affectionate and powerful addresses of John Rogers, the celebrated puritan preacher of the place. Being of a studious disposition, he was early admitted to Emanuel College, Cambridge, at that time the favourite resort of Puritans from the eastern counties. Having obtained his degree in Arts, he resided for some time with Mr. Rogers, and, as was not uncommon with young Puritans, occasionally preached before he was ordained. From Dedham he removed to Boston, and continued his preparations for the ministry under the instructions of the celebrated John Cotton, afterwards of Boston in New England. While resident there he became acquainted with Ellen Winstanley, 'the mirror of her age for accomplishments and piety,'‡ whom he married. After the birth of a son in 1629, he began to think about providing for a family, and obtained ordination from a Welsh bishop, who kindly dispensed with his subscription to the formularies. With the care of a family coming upon him, he contemplated removal to New England, where some of his relatives had founded a new Dedham and would gladly have wel-

* How often in ecclesiastical history we learn that the man who is the first to say, 'Though I should die with Thee, yet will I not deny Thee,' is the first to deny Christ!

† The commissioners in 1650 valued the benefice at 5*l.* 16*s.* a year. The two families paid the deficiency. In 1704, a valuation was made of house and garden 2*l.*, interest of stock 8*l.*, and surplice fees 2*l.*

‡ So she was called by Oliver Heywood, who married her daughter.

comed him as their minister. Before he quite determined to leave his native land, he visited his wife's friends at Wigan, where his preaching excited considerable interest. While there he accepted an invitation to become minister of Ringley chapel, in which he officiated for about two years. Complaints of his nonconformity were made to Bridgman, bishop of Chester, who then resided at Great Lever, in the neighbourhood of Ringley. The bishop was disposed to treat the good pastor with leniency, but he was in a position of no ordinary perplexity. Archbishop Laud had heard of Angier, and remonstrated with Bridgman for tolerating a Nonconformist so near his residence. But Angier had a friend whom the bishop, we may believe, loved more, even if he feared less, than the metropolitan of all England. The bishop's wife, as I have already observed, interposed on his behalf.* It was therefore arranged that Angier should remove to Denton, where he might practise nonconformity unobserved by his diocesan, and probably by any emissary from Lambeth.

In Denton he secured the esteem and love of all whose esteem and love were worth securing. His plain, earnest and affectionate preaching attracted devout people from the neighbouring villages. He was, says Calamy, 'of a sweet, moderate, catholic, healing spirit, an excellent casuist, a man mighty in prayer, a hard student, of an exact conversation, very affable and courteous, and in general a pattern of holiness.' Although, as I have observed, his stipend was very small, he had always something to spare, especially for hospitality to the poor, who every Sabbath from a great distance frequented his kitchen as well as his church. In his humble residence, as it must have seemed even in those days, he maintained the courteous hospitality of a south-country gentleman.

In 1642 he lost his beloved wife, who before her departure very considerably provided him with a good successor. Her dying request was that, as soon as decency would allow, he would marry Margaret, daughter of Squire Mosley of Ancoats. Their marriage was solemnised on November 15, 1643, when two celebrated ministers preached, Mr. Horrocks of Dean, and Mr. Roote of Gorton. By this marriage Angier became related to some of the best families of the county, who received him with the respect which was due to his manners, his learning, and his character. His domestic troubles were severe. His eldest daughter, the wife of Oliver Heywood, died of consumption soon after her marriage. His eldest son was at college a worthless spendthrift, and was little improved by the discipline of the presbytery, to which I have already referred.†

On the passing of the Act of Uniformity, it was observed that Mr. Angier said very little about it. To conform would have been to contradict all the professions of his ministerial life, and yet he made no preparations for his removal. He attended no conferences of his brethren, who often met to consider what they should do in the time of trial. He spent little time in conversation with his friends, much in prayer to God. He intimated his purpose to no one; probably he had no purpose to intimate, but silently waited to

* See p. 143.

† See p. 250.

see what the day might require. On the Sabbath preceding St. Bartholomew, when several ministers preached their farewell sermons, he said nothing about coming events. As the week passed on he seemed to be taking no thought for the morrow, for the Master had said to him, 'Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.' Bartholomew Sunday came and went, but it was to him, so far as the people could observe, very like the other Sundays of the year.

At the hour of public worship the bell sounded, as it had sounded on Sunday mornings from the coming of Mr. Angier. The people, as they usually did in the summer time, gathered in groups in the churchyard, waiting for the commencement of the service. The good minister walked without noticing anyone from his parsonage to the church, ascended the pulpit, conducted the service in the presbyterian manner, and retired on its completion to his humble residence. So passed the black Bartholomew, scarcely casting its dark shadow over Denton; and so passed very like it fourteen other Bartholomews, until, in 1677, the fifteenth found him within a week of his peaceful departure to the heavenly sanctuary.

Those fifteen years were spent in comparative tranquillity. Occasionally he was troubled by reports of informations and other proceedings, but they never caused any serious injury to himself or interruption of his ministry. His wife's connections did something to protect him; the universal esteem in which he was held did much more. Even the officials of the ecclesiastical courts spared him in executing their warrants. The neighbouring magistrates often said, 'He is an old man, and will not live long. Let us not trouble him.' When Wilkins succeeded Hall in the see of Chester, he readily accepted this excuse, and often enquired about the health of the good old man.

Mr. Angier's curate, James Holm, had not the quiet confidence of the incumbent, for he retired from Denton, and after several changes became the minister of a non-conforming congregation in Kendal.

Mr. Angier, however, obtained other nonconforming curates, who, notwithstanding the heavy penalties which they incurred, quietly discharged their ministerial duties under his superintendence. They are said to have 'tabled' with him in the parsonage; but how Mrs. Angier, a lady by birth and education, could have provided board and lodging for them, in addition to her family, in his little house, all who have seen it may well wonder. Ministers and their wives in those times must have been without conveniences which seem to us indispensable to endurable existence.*

The first nonconforming assistant whom he obtained after the passing of the Act was Mr. John Jollie, a son of Major Jollie, the provost-marshal of the parliamentary army. After serving Angier for some time, he obtained, without conforming, possession of Norbury chapel, apparently because no one else cared for so poor an incumbency.

* The little parsonage adjoining the graveyard was standing in my younger days. On looking over it I wondered where the 'tablers' lodged, for it seemed too small for a decent family.

After this Mr. Angier engaged the services of his nephew Samuel, who had received his early education in Westminster School, under the care, and probably the correction, of the most renowned of pedagogues, Dr. Busby. From Westminster he removed to Christ Church, Oxon, where he formed an intimate friendship with Dr. Owen, with whom he resided for some years after they were both expelled from the university. In 1667 he settled in Denton, and received ordination from 'the heads of the presbytery,' that is, from several nonconforming ministers who met in the house of Mr. Robert Eaton of Deansgate, Manchester. As I shall have occasion hereafter to notice this ordination as the first which the nonconforming ministers solemnised after their exclusion from the Church, I at present only call attention to the remarkable fact that a candidate was ordained in a private house, according to the simple forms of the early Nonconformists, to officiate in a parochial chapel, the incumbent of which was one of the ordaining ministers.*

Samuel Angier continued assistant in Denton until the death of his uncle in 1677. A petition that he might succeed to the vacant chapelry was numerously signed by the inhabitants, but the warden and fellows of Manchester refused to allow a Nonconformist to be appointed, and presented their nominee to the Bishop of Chester for induction. Samuel Angier fought with more determination than dignity for the chapel and afterwards for the little parsonage. Being compelled to retire from both, he preached to his adherents in a barn, and afterwards in a meeting-house, which was erected chiefly at the cost of the Dukensfield family.

In the chapelry of BIRCH the proceedings were more remarkable even than those at Denton; for although a timid nonconforming minister retired, a bolder nonconformist was appointed in his place. The 'chapel wage' was very small. In 1636 it amounted to 17*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.*, which was increased in 1640 by a subscription of 'the principal gentry' for 'the charges of the ministry.' Ralph Worsley, Esq., subscribed eight shillings; Mrs. Birch five shillings and three-pence; Mr. Birch five shillings; Mr. Siddall three shillings and fourpence; and Mrs. Edge two shillings and sixpence. In the excitement of the civil war the subscriptions were considerably increased. According to the chapel book of a few years later, Mrs. Birch subscribed twenty-five shillings; Mr. Birch twenty shillings; Oliver Edge twenty-five shillings; Ralph Worsley twenty-eight shillings. These generous subscribers were 'of the congregational way.' Other names are appended for smaller sums, down to those of the village blacksmith, who gave two shillings, and of some others who gave one shilling, the smallest sum mentioned. The whole amount of the subscriptions was nearly twenty pounds.

On the passing of the Act of Uniformity the minister was Robert Birch, who, like the rest of his family, was 'of the congregational way.' A meek and quiet man, apparently afraid of incurring the penalties of the Act, he retired from his ministry, and applied himself to the practice of physic. Although the chapelry was vacant,

* Hunter's *Life of Oliver Heywood*, p. 244.

the old Roundheads, Squire Worsley, Colonel Thomas Birch, and Captain Oliver Edge were not disposed to give their money to maintain a conforming, prelatial, surpliced minister. Without their subscriptions, the 'chapel wage' was insufficient to support even such a poor incumbent as might then be found, unable to preach, scarcely able to read, doing some sort of ecclesiastical duty for the rustics of Lancashire.

While the chapel was left without an incumbent, Colonel Birch procured the occasional services of various nonconforming ministers. On one occasion the Conventicle Act was enforced, and Colonel Birch, Mrs. Worsley, and other attendants were fined. When it was found that no conformist could be supported, the magistrates ceased to take any notice of these irregular proceedings, and Colonel Birch, with the approval of the congregation, invited the Rev. Henry Finch, the ejected minister of Walton, to officiate regularly in the chapel. At the risk of heavy penalties, Mr. Finch accepted the office, and, supported by the voluntary contributions of his hearers, continued in the discharge of his duties until the Revolution.* The Act of Toleration, which gave liberty to his surviving brethren, was the means of ejecting him from his situation. On his appearing before the magistrates to certify, as required by the Act, his 'preaching place called Birch chapel,' the warden, who was in court, objected that Birch chapel was 'one of the consecrated places appertaining to the warden and fellows of the collegiate church of Manchester.' The magistrates very properly refused to license the chapel as 'a meeting place for his majesty's subjects dissenting from the Church of England.' We may meet with Mr. Finch hereafter as a dissenting minister preaching in the licensed houses of Ralph Worsley and Oliver Edge, and living respectably upon 'his wage of sixteen pounds a year.'

The ancient chapel of TOXTETH PARK, near Liverpool, was not only retained by nonconforming ministers after the passing of the Act of Uniformity, but licensed under the Act of Toleration as a preaching place for dissenters.

This building, often called the Dingle chapel, had been, until the subversion of episcopacy, subject to the authority of the Bishop of Chester. On the removal of Richard Mather, who, as we have seen, was so persecuted for his nonconformity that he fled to New England, the chapel was occupied by a conformable minister whose name was Huggin. The report of the sequestrators of 1643 was that 'Mr. Huggin, an episcopal minister, received the tithes of Toxteth, valued at 45*l.* a year, that he also obtained 10*l.* of the rector of Walton, and that Toxteth Park ought to be made a parish.' On the passing of

* On the issuing of the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, in the register of licences preserved in the Record Office is the following entry: Licensee for 'Private Oratory of Thomas Birch of Birch Hall near Manchester for a congregation of Presbyterians.' Another entry is 'Henry Finch of Manchester, general Presbyterian minister, a private oratory belonging to Thomas Birch, Esq., of Birch Hall, licensed for a congregational meeting place.' These entries were copied by Joshua Wilson, Esq.

the Act the Rev. Thomas Crompton was the minister, and continued to be so without conforming, apparently undisturbed until his death. That he should have retained so respectable a living may be explained partly by the uncertainty of the minister's claim to the tithes, as it was contended that Toxteth was an extra-parochial place, partly by the feeling of the people, who would, if the tithes failed, contribute nothing to the support of a conformist, and partly by the acquiescence of the patron, Lord Molineux, who, being a Papist, was indifferent about the occupation of the chapel. With Mr. Crompton was associated, soon after the passing of the Act, Mr. Briscoe, who had been ejected from Walmesley Chapel, in which he had gathered a congregational church. The two ministers preached alternately, and although one was presbyterian and the other congregational, they worked harmoniously in a chapel legally belonging to the Episcopalians and subject to the patronage of a Papist. Mr. Briscoe continued his ministry at Toxteth until his death in 1685, when Mr. Crompton, unequal to the labours of his office, retired to Manchester, where he died in 1699.*

In the parish of St. Michael-le-Wyre is the chapel of ELSWICK, which came into the possession of the Nonconformists in a still more extraordinary manner. The first chapel in this village was erected a short time previously to 1650, for the parliamentary commissioners reported in that year that 'the inhabitants being fifty families, and five miles from their parish church, have lately, with the voluntary and free assistance of the neighbouring towns, erected a chapel.' A grant had been made by the committee of plundered ministers to support a preacher in Elswick, but as the commissioners reported that no minister had been appointed, the grant was not claimed.

In the 'Notitia Cestriensis' is the following communication from the Vicar of St. Michael's to the Bishop of Chester, dated 1722: 'Divine service was performed in the chapel of Elswick in the memory of several now living, but for many years together it was used for a school until King James's toleration, when the Presbyterians seized it and have used it for a meeting-house ever since.'

The facts are these: Cuthbert Harrison had been ordained by the seventh presbyterian classis minister of Singleton chapel, in the adjoining parish of Kirkham. He is sometimes called the ejected minister of Singleton, but erroneously, as in 1662 he was settled over a presbyterian congregation in Ireland. Returning soon afterwards to this neighbourhood, where he had some property, he was allowed by the tolerant bishop Wilkins to preach in his own house

* In Biahop Gastrell's *Notitia Cestriensis* is the following note: 'Park Chapel in Toxteth, supposed to be extra-parochial, or in the parish of Lancaster, possessed by dissenters, held by a lease from Lord Molineux, and given as a house belonging to his lordship by his agents when they registered his estate. It is strange that Lord Molineux's agents should be able to grant a lease of a chapel which had been endowed with tithes.' From the Register of Licenses granted in 1672 it appears that, on May 8, 'The meeting-house Toxteth near Leverpoole was licenced,' for Mr. Crompton for Presbyterians, and on May 29, for Mr. Briscoe for Congregationalists. In the register Mr. Crompton is called 'Trumpton.' The register has several similar mistakes.

of Bankfield in Kirkham. After preaching there for some time he obtained, I know not how, the king's permission to license the chapel in Elswick Lees, 'for the use of such as did not conform to the Church of England, commonly called Congregational.' As the license is dated 1672, it must have been King Charles, and not James, who consented to this alienation of Church property. The vicar of St. Michael's was also wrong in attributing the 'seizure' of the chapel to the Presbyterians, for it was 'seized' by those 'commonly called Congregational.'* The neighbouring clergy seem to have been chiefly troubled by the solemnising of marriages in the chapel, as by that means Harrison deprived them of their fees. The vicar, having attempted in vain, first to eject him, next to prevent him from celebrating marriages, and finally, on his death, to exclude his body from the family grave in the church porch as too honourable a resting-place for a schismatic, was content with having the following inscription put upon his gravestone:—

'Here lies Cud
Who never did good
But always was in strife
O! Let the knave
Lie in his grave
And ne'er return to life.'†

ELHILL Chapel, in the northern part of the county, was the scene of the extraordinary labours of Peter Atkinson, called, on account of his zeal and great success, the Apostle of the North. According to Calamy, 'he had so much favour with the gentry that he preached quietly for a considerable time after the Act of Uniformity was passed.' It is added, 'his income was small;' probably if it had been large he would have lost it. He was assisted by his son, named like himself Peter.

At ST. HELENS, Mr. Thomas Gregg continued to preach in the chapel, which was occupied by the Nonconformists until 1710, when Matthew Henry preached in it a funeral sermon for Mr. Naylor, the last nonconforming minister. It was soon afterwards surrendered to the bishop.‡

RAINFORD Chapel, in the parish of Prescott, was retained for the Nonconformists by an ingenious contrivance of Mr. Bradshaw, the ejected minister of Hindley. Removing after his ejection to Rainford, he preached to his neighbours in the vacant chapel, no man forbidding him. Having some friends among the conforming clergy, he procured their occasional services, when they read the Book of Common Prayer, which he could not conscientiously read himself.

* In the *Congregational Year Book* the chapel of Elswick is represented, I suppose on the authority of Calamy, as founded in 1672. In that year Harrison obtained the use of it, but it was built, as we have seen, before 1650.

† I have given this ridiculous epitaph upon the authority of Mr. Baines, *Hist. of Lancashire*, vol. iv. p. 384. It is, however, due to the memory of the vicar to say that the doggerel was probably written with chalk, and attributed to him without good reason.

‡ Gastrell's *Notitia Cestriensis*, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 206.

The scruples of some conscientious men, and the expedients by which they are satisfied, are sometimes very perplexing to other people. The churchwarden appeared at the episcopal visitations, and to the question, 'Have you the Common Prayer read in your chapel?' replied, 'Yes.' Several attempts were made to disturb Mr. Bradshaw, but Bishop Wilkins always managed to protect him.

The vicarage of DEAN supplies another instance of the unlawful occupation of both the parish church and the district chapel by non-conforming ministers. If an arbitrary king sometimes exercised a dispensing power, a tolerant bishop occasionally imitated his example. That active, but not very tolerant, Presbyterian who has often crossed our path, John Tilsley, was vicar of Dean on the passing of the Act of Uniformity. He is said by Calamy to have 'possessed prodigious abilities,' and he certainly made 'prodigious' use of them. When Wilkins succeeded to the see of Chester, he obtained the sanction of the good bishop to an arrangement by which he was to preach regularly in the church as lecturer, while the new vicar was to read the prayers.* This arrangement, as agreeable to the vicar who could not preach, as it was to the lecturer who would not read the prayers, continued until after the death of the good bishop, when Tilsley was finally ejected by the Tory magistrates of his neighbourhood.† While he was lecturer, another nonconforming or at least nonsubscribing minister was presented to the vicarage by the king, who exercised on the occasion a sort of dispensing power. Although Richard Hatton was willing to read the prayers which Tilsley refused, he would not renounce the covenant. A minute inserted in the register of the incumbents says of his induction in 1673: 'The induction was void by Richard Hatton not renouncing the covenant, but the bishop on the presentation of the king instituted him to the vicarage aforesaid.‡'

In the parish of Dean is the chapelry of HORWICH, concerning which James Rothwell, the successor of Hatton in the vicarage, wrote to the warden of Manchester in 1717: 'The chapel has been above twenty years past in the hands of the dissenters through the contrivance of the late Lord Willoughby, and the connivance of my predecessor Richard Hatton. One illegal appointment led to another. The nonsubscribing vicar of the church appointed a nonconforming

* Calamy. *Nonconformist's Memorial*, abridged by Palmer, vol. ii. p. 90.

† Tilsley was thrice ejected from Dean: first, by the Republicans for refusing the engagement; secondly, from the office of vicar, although by the connivance of the trustees he continued to reside in the vicarage; and thirdly, from his place as lecturer. After his last ejection he resided in Manchester until his death. His loving friends buried him under the old yew tree in the graveyard of Dean, and inscribed upon his tomb, 'Here lyeth the body of John Tilsley, clerk, Master of Arts, and sometime vicar of Deane, which was interred the 16th day of December, 1684.' His 'dear and pretious wife, a most virtuous woman, in price far above rubies,' was a niece of Humphrey Chetham.

‡ Baines, *History of Lancashire*, vol. iii. p. 24. The bishop was the learned Dr. Pearson, who has been charged with obsequious submission to the king. The loyalty must have been very strong which induced so high a churchman to institute a nonconforming vicar.

minister to preach in the chapel.' The nonconforming minister was John Walker, who, after keeping possession of the chapel for some years, was induced to avoid expensive litigation by surrendering it to the ecclesiastical authorities. The vicar then complained to the bishop that, although he had recovered the chapel, he could not obtain possession of the endowment, which the presbyterian trustees appropriated to the support of a dissenting teacher. 'Against justice and honesty these trustees will build a meeting-house, and apply the remaining part of the money towards supporting a presbyterian minister.' In Gastrell's 'Notitia' it is said: 'This is an ancient chapel and consecrated; but the money in stock, that yields ten or twelve pounds per annum, is in a Dissenter's hands.'*

From RIVINGTON, near Bolton, Samuel Newton was ejected, but returning some time afterwards and finding his place unoccupied, he was allowed 'to preach in the church without disturbance.' The editor of the 'Notitia' thinks that he conformed, as he died incumbent of Rivington; but there is no reason to doubt the truth of Calamy's statement, that while a Nonconformist he 'continued to preach without disturbance.'

To ASTLEY, in the parish of Leigh, Thomas Crompton, although ejected for a time, returned, according to Calamy, on the invitation of the inhabitants, and preached in the church without subscribing, 'reading some few prayers.' Although I can find no local confirmation of this statement, I have not the slightest doubt of its truth. The chapel had been founded and endowed by Adam Mort for a preaching minister, because the inhabitants 'were very rude and ignorant of good things.' For a long time violent disputes prevailed respecting the appointment of a minister for these rude and ignorant people. The right to appoint was claimed by the heir of the founder, by the vicar of Leigh, by the bishop of Chester, and by 'the rude and ignorant' people themselves. After prolonged litigation the patronage was declared to belong to the vicar of Leigh. In this uncertainty and contention Mr. Crompton kept possession of the chapel and endowments until his death.†

In LONGRIDGE Chapel, near Preston, Mr. Timothy Smith, although he did not conform, continued to preach, for, says Calamy, 'this being an obscure place with a small salary, there was no great striving for it.'

Of COCKEY MOOR, John Leaver is represented by Calamy as 'silenced' in 1662. He was certainly the minister in 1663, when

* See the notes appended to the *Notitia Cestriensis*, printed for the Chetham Society, vol. ii. part i. p. 41. The money retained by the dissenting trustees is said to have been recovered (that is, so much of it as was not lost in expensive litigation) for the church in 1724. The chapel is called an ancient chapel. It certainly existed in 1565, for in that year 'the commissioners for removing superstitious ornaments' informed the bishop that they had taken away the 'vestment, albe, altar cloth, and other idolatrous gear.' I fear these commissioners of Queen Elizabeth, as well as the bishop, if not the queen herself, were in the opinion of some modern Anglicans guilty of sacrilege.

† Mr. Crompton's 'chapel wage' amounted to 16*l.* a year.—*Notitia Cestriensis*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 188.

articles were exhibited in the Consistory Court of Chester against the chapel-warden, for allowing, 'contrary to his oath, nonconforming ministers to preach in the said chapel of Cockey, and draw together several disaffected persons from their respective ministers.'*

Similar instances of nonconforming ministers retaining their benefices, or being allowed as lecturers to preach in their churches, may be found in the adjoining counties of Cheshire and Yorkshire. I have been the more careful to notice them, because it is not generally known that many Nonconformists in obscure situations, and especially in poor benefices, continued to discharge their official duties, notwithstanding the rigorous provisions of the Act of Uniformity. As they would endeavour to conceal their nonconformity from their enemies, it would be vain to attempt to form any estimate of their number.†

Of the Lancashire ministers actually and permanently ejected, the more eminent were Henry Newcome of Manchester, Richard Holbrooke of Salford, John Harrison of Ashton, Robert Constantine of Oldham, Robert Bath and Zachary Taylor of Rochdale, Henry Pendlebury of Holcomb, James Hiet of Croston, Henry Welch of Chorley, Richard Goodwin and Robert Park of Bolton, Robert Eaton of Walton, Robert Yates of Warrington, Charles Hotham of Wigan, John Wright of Billing, James Bradshaw of Hindley, Samuel Mather of Burton Wood, William Bell of Huyton, Isaac Ambrose of Garstang, Nathanael Baxter of St. Michael-le-Wyre, Nathanael Heywood of Ormskirk, and Dr. William Marshall of Lancaster. Above forty others of less celebrity, but not on that account of less worth, having most of them but scanty provision for their families, resigned their livings, not knowing what would befall them nor where they would be allowed to exercise their ministry.

Of these ejected ministers no one has left materials so ample for forming a correct judgment of the various influences and motives which produced the great secession as HENRY NEWCOME, especially in his 'Diary' extending from September 1661 to September 1663. We may there trace the fears and hopes, the anxieties and encouragements, the conflicts and comforts of a Nonconformist who might, in the talk of our times, be called 'a representative man.'‡

* The glebe granted to this chapel was, on the erection of the presbyterian meeting-house in 1672, transferred to its minister, and is still held by his successor, who is bound to pay a yearly acknowledgment of 2*l.* 1*s.* to the episcopal minister of Cockey chapel.—*Notitia Cestriensis*, vol. ii. part i. p. 105.

† The Act of Uniformity required the subscription of assent and consent from the masters of public schools as well as from the incumbents of ecclesiastical benefices. In Lancashire, at least one schoolmaster, Mr. Charles Segar, master of the public school at Blackburn, was allowed to retain his situation without subscribing as required by the Act. We shall meet with him again as the first minister of the Nonconformists in Darwen.

‡ Newcome's *Diary* is to be distinguished from his *Autobiography*. The former contains a minute account of the incidents of his eventful life. The *Autobiography* is an abstract of the *Diary*, made for the instruction of his family. The part of the *Diary* belonging to the two most important years of his life has happily been preserved, and edited for the Chetham Society by Thomas Heywood, Esq.

Newcome, as I have observed, held no recognised office in the collegiate church, for he received, for preaching in the place of the indolent men who had secured the fellowships, only a small stipend augmented by the benevolence of the congregation. The Act, however, by prohibiting him from preaching, deprived him of his only means of maintaining his family. Under date May 31, 1662, he wrote: 'At night, late, I saw the Act of Conformity, and it answers expectation to the full. The Lord show his poor servants what He would have them do.*' From the first hour he saw the Act, he never contemplated the possibility of submitting to its conditions. To assent to what he did not believe, to consent to what he did not approve, by doing so to humiliate himself publicly for the sake of a livelihood, to deal falsely with his God and bring scandal upon religion—to do this great wickedness he seems never to have been subject to the slightest temptation. He might have indulged some hope that the Act would not be rigorously enforced, that in the extremity some indulgence would be granted, that the Nonconformists would be so numerous and influential as to compel the government to modify the Act; but to conform was with him simply and certainly an utter impossibility.

In the interval between the passing and the enforcing of the Act, various reports were prevalent respecting the indulgence which non-conforming ministers might obtain from the king, and the opposition of the bishops to any such exercise of his leniency. In their several conferences, the ministers of Lancashire were perplexed by these and other uncertain and contradictory reports, and apparently prevented from coming to a good understanding respecting the manner in which they should act in the emergency.

August 3 was the last sacramental Sunday on which, if the Act were strictly enforced, Newcome would be able to commemorate the death of Christ with the people who were so devotedly attached to him. He 'preached about the sacrament;' and after the sermon he and Mr. Richardson, the early morning lecturer,† 'administered it to a very great company.' In the afternoon he preached long, for he 'did not know whether he would ever preach on the subject again.' . . . 'The people were sad and much affected.'

August 17, the Sunday preceding St. Bartholomew, was the last day on which the ministers could comply with the requisitions of the Act. Newcome preached in the afternoon on Eph. v. 16, 'Redeeming the time, because the days are evil.' As he still cherished some hope that an indulgence would be granted, he did not avowedly preach a farewell sermon, although he painfully felt the probability that it would prove his last address to the crowded congregation of the collegiate church. 'The Lord did wonderfully help me in the duty, and it was sweet to me. I was long at it. I was affected with

* Newcome under his ill-treatment retained his loyalty unimpaired. Only two days before he saw the Act, on May 29, he preached a thanksgiving sermon for the Restoration, and drank wine at the conduit, 'but not in a health, for which I am glad.'

† Puritans in those days went to church at six o'clock in the morning.

the sight of the people who are dear to me, to whom I knew not when I should preach again.'

On Wednesday, August 20, meetings of pious people were held in Manchester and in several other towns of the county for the purpose of offering prayer on behalf of their ministers. Newcome spent the greater part of the day praying with different companies of his friends in the several houses in which they were assembled.

On the festival of St. Bartholomew he went to the church with a heavy heart, but prepared to preach as usual if he were not obstructed. 'To the great joy of my heart and of the poor people, I had liberty to preach in the forenoon.' To preach on that day was a courageous act. His text was Exodus xx. 24: 'In all places where I record My name I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee.'

Towards the end of the week he visited Lord Delamere at Dunham Park, and preached at Bowden church on the Sabbath which followed St. Bartholomew.* Although his preaching was illegal, he had no reason, under the protection of Lord Delamere, to apprehend any annoyance. Together with 'my lord' the Dean of Chester was present, and in the evening he 'had much discourse with them.'

On Sunday, September 7, Newcome, having returned to Manchester, went to church, 'prepared as well as I could for the public.' He found most of the fellows in the church, the pulpit occupied by one of them, Mr. Western, clad in a surplice. 'Mr. Browne consecrated in his surplice.' A great congregation had been brought together by the hope of hearing Newcome preach once more before his ejection. The multitude fixed their eyes upon their favourite preacher when, excluded from the pulpit, he quietly took his accustomed seat as an attentive auditor. It was long since a surplice had been exhibited in Manchester church. Many of the young people had never before seen such a thing. They looked curiously at the preacher in the pulpit, lovingly at the minister in the pew, as he devoutly worshipped when he could not officiate, and attentively listened when he could not preach. Of the service he wrote, 'I desired to apply myself to my God, and I found it a very sweet sacrament. We had a very sweet time of repetition in the evening.' What could be more beautiful than the spirit and demeanour of Henry Newcome on the day of his exclusion from his beloved pulpit? Ejected, silenced, dishonoured, he forgave the injury, overlooked the surplice, united in the prayers, listened to the preacher, enjoyed the sacrament, catechised the children—which duty the clergyman neglected—and spent the evening with his family in 'sweet repetition' of the sermon preached by the surpliced intruder.

Sunday, September 14, was a sad and humiliating day to Newcome and to many of the Manchester people. Warden Heyrick entered the desk clad in a surplice, and as a conformist read the new service book according to the requirement of the Act of Uniformity. He who had been the daring leader of the Presbyterians, who had presented the Lancashire remonstrance to Charles the First, who had

* 'This was the last time I was in a pulpit.'—MS. cited in a note appended to his *Diary*.

denounced Land from the pulpit, and roused the people to resist in arms the unconstitutional authority by which the ceremonies were imposed, who had signed the Solemn League and Covenant, and exhorted the people to append their signatures to his own, who had obtained the establishment of the presbyterian discipline throughout Lancashire, who went to prison rather than submit to the demands of Cromwell—that great preacher stood before his congregation to contradict the professions of his long life, and to renounce the covenant which many of his hearers had subscribed at his instigation. That day, although it was later than the time allowed by the Act, he conformed. He had evidently hesitated and delayed as long as he could, and at last conformed very reluctantly. Poor old man! The best excuse that can be made for him is, that the infirmities of age had oppressed his spirit and incapacitated him from acting with decision in so great an emergency. The best commendation that can be given to him is that, like a man conscious of dishonour, he never assumed a lofty or consequential manner towards his nonconforming brethren in their poverty and distress. His conduct towards them was like that of one who felt they had done better than he himself had the courage to do. He continued warden until his death, but after his conformity he never took any prominent part in public affairs. His work was finished, and he felt it, on the day he put on the surplice.

How remarkable was the contrast between Heyricke and Newcome! The warden had for years fiercely denounced every approach towards the popish ceremonial, vehemently urged the claims of the presbyterian polity, and passionately inveighed against the toleration of heresy as a renunciation of the national covenant. The lecturer had seldom mingled in the war of words; mild and gentle, he could easily bear contradiction; and if he found Episcopalians or Independents disposed to be reasonable and courteous, he would be reasonable and courteous in his intercourse with them. In the storm the stately tree broke, while the flexible reed bent and rose again. The fierceness of intolerance failed to assert its honesty, while the mildness of charity maintained its consistency. Until death Heyricke moved timidly and hesitatingly in his surplice; Newcome stood firm and erect in his Geneva cloak. The lecturer must have been far the happier man. Of his 'sweet repetitions' and grateful acknowledgments for strength in temptation the warden had no experience, nor did the lecturer know the humiliation and remorse of the warden, who had grace to acknowledge and respect, but not to imitate, the consistency of the Nonconformists.

I have already noticed the difficulty which Heyricke had in securing his office on the restoration of royalty. Dr. Woolley, who had then endeavoured to obtain his place, was on the passing of the Act waiting for the expected vacancy. That Heyricke should surrender the office which he had retained so long and loved so much would be distressing; but that he should surrender it in favour of a rival whom he hated would be most humiliating and mortifying. Under date July 29, 1662, when Heyricke evidently intended to vacate his place,

Newcome wrote : 'The warden brought me his news, which was that Dr. Woolley was sure to come in, at which he was much saddened.' 'I went with him to Strangeways, to make him merry ; it was well if I exceeded not in mirth.' A strange time for Puritans to 'make merry,' if not to 'exceed in mirth.' The warden visited his friend almost daily in the time of anxiety, and his friend engaged him for diversion in a game of billiards. But merry-making and billiards did very little to strengthen the warden for the discharge of his painful duty. Newcome wrote, August 5 : 'Mr. Heyricke being now gotten almost to conform, had discourse with me this day.' August 12 : 'The warden went towards Chester.' 'Heard of some things from Chester.' Newcome did not like to say what these unpleasant things were, but they doubtless referred to the measures which Heyricke was taking to secure his office. The warden appeared no more in church until the day when he read the service in his surplice, and preached without making the slightest reference to passing events. His conformity, however kindly it was excused by Newcome, who wrote respecting it, 'I will endeavour to reserve my love for them that are good and yet can conform,' was felt to be a severe stroke to the presbyterian interest. The common remark was, 'A standard-bearer fainteth.'

In connection with Heyricke and Newcome, there was a little negotiation which suggests an enquiry probably new to many students of nonconformist history. Did any of the ejected ministers, by arrangement with presbyterian patrons or accommodating successors, retain any part of their incomes ? or were they able by such an arrangement to obtain any compensation for their losses ? The instances were, I believe, very few in which such arrangements were made ; but several of the presbyterian patrons were truly or falsely accused of making them. The following account may suggest further enquiries : A benefice in the gift of Newcome's friend, Sir George Booth, recently created Lord Delamere, had become vacant by the ejectment of Samuel Fisher from the rectory of Thornton-on-the-Moor. As the rector was aged, and, as Newcome says, 'not seeking to propose any one for his interest,' Lord Delamere wished 'to give me the living, that is, to a friend of mine for me.' These words tell a tale. Ejected ministers were allowed to 'propose' to presbyterian patrons 'some one in their interest,' that is, a conforming friend who would make them some allowance from the emoluments. Had the old rector desired such an arrangement, Lord Delamere was willing to sanction it. On similar terms the patron would have conferred the living upon a friend of Newcome. It was proposed that Heyricke should have the rectory, that he should keep a curate at Thornton, and that, after deducting 'the curate's wage,' he should pay the remainder of the emolument to his friend Newcome. Although pluralities were not objectionable in those days, on other accounts 'the matter was difficult.' Two grave and godly ministers, Mr. Harrison and Mr. Angier, were consulted. They thought that, as the warden had brought great scandal upon his religion by 'subscribing for Manchester and renouncing the covenant there,' 'he would increase the scandal' by repeating the

offence at Thornton. To allow the old man to humiliate himself a second time was more than his friends who mourned over his fall could endure. Newcome therefore declined his proposal, and made another arrangement. One of Lord Delamere's chaplains, a Mr. Shaw, although he had previously professed his adherence to presbyterianism, announced his intention to conform. The rectory was given to him upon the condition of his signing a bond to resign it whenever his lordship might require him to do so. Shaw evaded his engagement, at first promising to pay Newcome 40*l.* a year, and after considerable delay, offering to pay 20*l.* Eventually, when Lord Delamere was in some trouble about similar arrangements made at Ashton in favour of Mr. Harrison, Shaw refused to sign the bond, and escaped his obligation by 'giving out that my lord engaged his livings for the Nonconformists.*' Newcome, unwilling to bring his noble patron into more trouble, gave up as hopeless all further attempts to secure any payment from the dishonest rector of Thornton. Cast penniless upon the world with his young family, he was, as he gratefully acknowledges, 'never left to want any good thing.'

Of the ministers who had belonged to the Manchester classis, no one was more influential, more respected, or more trusted, than JOHN HARRISON of Ashton-under-Lyne. Of good family, distinguished both at school and at college for his early proficiency, after having done good service as minister of Walmesley chapel, he received from Sir George Booth the presentation to the rectory of Ashton. As a parish minister he was universally respected for his grave and prudent carriage, his unwearied devotedness to the welfare of his people, and his acceptable and useful preaching. In the classical meetings he had been frequently appointed moderator, and invariably selected to serve on committees of importance. No minister had more completely obtained the confidence of the Booth family. Indeed, his intimate friendship with them produced some jealousy among the small-minded of his brethren, who regarded him as a creature of the great patron of the Presbyterians. In the political movements in which Sir George was concerned, he was generally consulted, and a wiser counsellor could not have been selected. On his ejection Lord Delamere offered to bestow the benefice upon his son, but the good pastor, fearing that his son was not competent to sustain so weighty a charge, 'conscientiously waived it, and made use of his interest on behalf of Mr. Ellison, a man of great worth and a good preacher, who enjoyed the living until his death.' His lordship was charged with 'engaging the living for the interest' of the ejected minister, with what truth I cannot ascertain. It is not improbable that the new rector, who lived on terms of intimacy with the ejected minister, may, with or without an understanding with the patron, have made some allowance to Mr. Harrison. Ellison preached a funeral sermon for his predecessor, and gave him 'a great character, but not beyond his desert.' †

* MS. of Newcome cited in a note to his *Diary* under date September 4, 1662.

† *The Nonconformist's Memorial.*

Another eminent minister who had served within the boundaries of the Manchester classis was ROBERT CONSTANTINE of Oldham. In his younger days he had laboured with much success among the hills of Derbyshire, whence he removed to the ancient chapelry of Oldham. While there he was prosecuted for refusing to take the engagement to the republican government, and compelled to remove to Yorkshire. In his absence the people, who seem to have been ever inclined to oppose existing authorities, elected a zealous Episcopalian, who gave the presbyterian courts a great deal of trouble.* Returning to his incumbency on the Restoration, he continued in the discharge of its duties until he was a second time ejected by the Act of Uniformity. Mr. Constantine, in the time of the indulgences, licensed a house for preaching on Greenacres Moor, and founded the dissenting interest which still exists in that neighbourhood.

The other ejected ministers of the Manchester district were, ROBERT BIRCH of Birch chapel, and RICHARD HOLBROOKE of Salford, son-in-law of Warden Heyricke, who, like some other nonconforming ministers, applied themselves to the practice of medicine; THOMAS HOLLAND of Blackley, who was soon disabled by sickness for the discharge of ministerial duties; WILLIAM LEIGH of Gorton, who died soon after his ejection; EDMOND JONES of Eccles; and JOHN RICHARDSON, the early morning preacher of Manchester. JOHN WALKER, ejected from Newton-Heath, succeeded Samuel Newton, already noticed as illegally gaining and keeping possession of Rivington Chapel.

Of the second presbyterian district, the ejected ministers were Richard Astley of Blackrod, Richard Goodwin and Robert Park of Bolton, James Walton of Horwich, George Thomason of Heywood, Henry Pendlebury of Holcomb, Peter Naylor of Houghton, Thomas Pyke of Radcliffe, Robert Bath and Zachary Taylor of Rochdale, — Dury of Bradshaw, and Peter Aspinwall of Heaton.† Thomas Crompton of Astley, John Leaver of Cockey Moor, John Tilsley of Dean, Samuel Newton of Rivington, and Michael Briscoe of Walmesley, I have already mentioned as having either retained their places, or obtained others, without conforming to the requirements of the Act of Uniformity.

RICHARD GOODWIN, M.A. of Emanuel College, Cambridge, had on the passing of the Act been vicar of Bolton about twenty years. An excellent scholar, diligent student, and able preacher, he was much beloved and trusted by his parishioners, although his retiring and studious habits prevented him from taking the prominent position

* As early as 1406 the litigious people of Oldham resisted the claims of the rector of Prestwich, who required them to contribute for the bread and wine of the sacrament. 'The Oldham chaps' maintained their reputation for legal fighting, as the records of the ecclesiastical courts of Chester and York testify, from 1406 down to 1865, when the opposing claims of an incumbent of one of the district churches of Oldham and the rector of Prestwich, respecting marriage fees, were in litigation in the court of Vice-Chancellor Kindersley.

† Calamy says Peter Aspinwall afterwards conformed. This (as Calamy elsewhere acknowledges) is a mistake, for he lived and died a consistent Nonconformist in Warrington. He may have been mistaken for William Aspinwall, the ejected minister of Formby, who afterwards conformed.

which his ability and character would have entitled him to occupy. In 1672 he obtained a license for a meeting-place in Bolton, where he founded what was known for several generations as the great nonconformist congregation. He was succeeded in his important charge by Mr. John Leaver of Cockey Moor.*

ROBERT PARK, also of Emanuel College, Cambridge, was lecturer in Bolton church and assistant to his friend Goodwin. He had been, before the civil war, vicar of Bolton, but being troubled for his non-conformity to the ceremonies he retired to Holland, and for some time preached to the English congregation at Rotterdam. After the fall of prelacy he returned on the entreaty of his old friends to Bolton, where he officiated as lecturer, and had the benefit of Mr. Gosnell's † bequest, considerably augmented by the contributions of the people. On the passing of the Five Mile Act he resided at Broughton near Manchester. After its repeal he returned to Bolton and preached as he had opportunity for his brethren in the neighbourhood. His friends, who had contributed for his support while he was lecturer in the church, continued to make their contributions after he was ejected, grateful for his occasional services and prayers 'on their private days.' His funeral sermon was preached by Oliver Heywood.

HENRY PENDLEBURY, M.A. of Christ's College, Cambridge, had the reputation of 'great learning, strict godliness, and every ministerial qualification. He was beloved by all who knew him, as especially by his brethren in the ministry.' He wrote a treatise on Transubstantiation, of which the manuscript, submitted to Tillotson, so pleased the archbishop, that he paid the expense of printing it. Holcomb, from which Pendlebury was ejected, was a very poor benefice in a bleak and inhospitable neighbourhood. Its chapel had originally been the prison in which the lords of the manor in feudal times confined their unruly villoins and sturdy vagrants. A comfortless jail,

* See an interesting account of this nonconformist congregation in *The Rise and Progress of Nonconformity in Bolton*, in Four Lectures, by Franklin Baker, M.A., Minister of the Chapel.

† This gentleman—Mr. Gosnold, as Calamy and Palmer call him, Goswell, as Brook designates him—was the Rev. James Gosnell, vicar of Bolton in the early part of the seventeenth century. In his will, dated January 9, 1622, he describes himself as 'by the gracious goodness of God a Minister of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, having exercised my said ministry above forty years in Bolton in the Moors, to God's glory and the comfort of my conscience, being now somewhat diseased in body.' He further says: 'Touching my ministry, I do give all the people of God to understand that I have delivered no doctrine but such as in my conscience I took to be agreeable to God's most sacred word, and I protest before God and men that I am verily persuaded the religion now established in this kingdom to be, concerning the substance of the Articles of the doctrine of faith and sacraments, the only true religion of God by which men shall be saved, and for the matter of formality I protest as before God that the main cause of my not yielding is, and hath been, for that I think the things urged to have been in themselves simply unlawful and inconvenient.' The nonconforming vicar conveyed his lands in trust to James Lever, Richard Fogg, John Bradshaw, Ellis Crompton, James Crompton, and John Norris, all members of puritan families, to divide the rents thereof into six parts, and 'to pay annually four of the same to a preacher, distinct from the Vicar of Bolton, to preach in the parish church every Lord's day and Monday.'—*Notitia Cestriensis*, vol. ii. part i. pp. 9-10.

it was thought good enough for a rural sanctuary. It was ten feet nine inches in height, and seated 'two hundred and thirty-four persons on the floor, and seventy-six in the galleries.' What sort of accommodation galleries afforded in a building 'ten feet nine inches in height,' people who are accustomed to the comforts of a modern chapel cannot easily understand. In the 'Notitia' it is 'certified that nothing certain belongs to it.' Yet from this poor place, from which any minister, conformist or nonconformist, might be glad to escape, both Walker and Calamy obtain materials for their 'Sufferings of the Clergy.' Walker tells us how good Mr. Gilbody was here sequestered by the Presbyterians, and Calamy how good Mr. Pendlebury was hence ejected by the Episcopalians. I believe that Pendlebury, and I hope the same thing of Gilbody, was much better off after his ejection than he had ever been before.

ROBERT BATH, vicar of Rochdale, had married a niece of Archbishop Laud, and obtained in consequence one of the best benefices in the patronage of the metropolitan.* Little did Laud know what sort of a vicar he was providing for the people of Rochdale. He is described by Calamy as 'a gracious, humble, meek, peaceable man, though he had not a ready utterance.' Probably his defective utterance disqualified him for becoming a popular preacher, and so prevented the fame of his puritanism from reaching the ears of his uncle. He had not been long settled in his comfortable vicarage when Laud was disabled from disturbing his puritanical relations. Although a firm and uncompromising Puritan, Bath had no objection either to episcopal government or to the use of the Book of Common Prayer. On the establishment of the presbyterian discipline in Lancashire, he united with the second classis, by the members of which he was greatly respected for his wisdom, moderation, and gentleness. Acknowledging the divine right neither of presbyterianism nor of episcopacy exclusively, he readily acted with his classis in the ordination of ministers according to the presbyterian directory.† On the passing of the Act of Uniformity, he had fewer objections to conformity, and more benefits to lose by nonconformity, than most of his brethren. Yet as he could not with a clear conscience subscribe his assent and consent to all and everything required, he honestly refused to conform, and cheerfully accepted the consequences of his refusal. From his vicarage he removed to a humble cottage. On the granting of the indulgences, he licensed a house for preaching in one of the hamlets of his extensive parish. The Puritans of Rochdale, who from the time of Mr. Midgley had been very numerous, gladly attended his ministry. He was the founder of the old dissenting interest in Rochdale, where he laboured with extraordinary zeal and energy until his death in 1674.

* 'The vicar has a large glebe, and all the houses of two of the best streets in the town belong to him, 130 houses.'—*Notitia Cestriensis*, vol. ii. part i. p. 123. According to the parliamentary inquisition of 1660, the glebe was worth 160*l.* per annum.

† He officiated at the ordination of Mr. Pendlebury at Ashworth Chapel.—*Life of Pendlebury*, by Robert Seddon of Bolton, 1696.

ZACHARY TAYLOR, Mr. Bath's assistant, was in many respects like his vicar. Throughout the civil war he had been not only a Royalist, but a chaplain in the royal army. Nevertheless, on the defeat of the king's forces, he quietly submitted to the existing government, and holding with the vicar that no particular form of ecclesiastical discipline was of divine authority, he readily co-operated with the Presbyterians. Quite as favourable to episcopacy as Mr. Bath (perhaps a little more so), he would not do violence to his conscience by professing his assent to everything in the Book of Common Prayer. He may with propriety be called an episcopalian nonconformist. Being an excellent scholar, he established a good reputation as an instructor of youth, and by some evasion of the Act of Uniformity obtained the appointment of master of the grammar school of Kirkham.*

In the hundred of Blackburn, which comprised the parishes belonging to the third presbyterial classis of the county, the ejected ministers were Thomas Jollie of Altham, Robert Town of Accrington, Mr. Sandford of Harwood, and Mr. Kippax of New Church; all of whom were incumbents of very poor chapelries.

THOMAS JOLLIE was a son of Major Jollie of Droylsden, whom we have before met with as provost-marshal of the parliamentary army. Thomas was educated in Trinity College, Cambridge, and in early life avowed himself an adherent of congregational principles. Elected by the inhabitants minister of Altham, he formed 'a gathered church' in the chapel, to which he preached with much comfort and success for thirteen years. He was described by the parliamentary commissioners in their report for 1650 as 'an able divine,' who received 10*l.* per annum from the tithes of Whalley, and 30*l.* from the committee of the county. 'The Committee of plundered ministers' assigned to him 50*l.* from the estate of 'that popish malignant' Mr. Clifton; but the popish malignant had been wise enough to encumber his estate with debts to Protestants, who had a prior claim upon its proceeds. Before the passing of the Act, as I have already noticed, Mr. Jollie was suspended from the exercise of his ministry, and silenced one week before it came into operation. He afterwards suffered grievous persecution. Residing with a family whose devotional habits were well known to their neighbours, he was troubled by a company of soldiers, who forced an entrance into the house at the customary time of family worship. Found, as they expected, conducting the worship with a Bible in his hand, he was dragged to prison under the charge of 'keeping a conventicle.' Soon after his release, he was again seized and confined for some months in a cold and comfortless cell in York Castle, having the lowest and vilest of rogues associated with him night and day. The next year he was confined eleven weeks in Lancaster Castle. He was again imprisoned in 1665; and in 1669 he was confined for six months. In 1674 he was apprehended and fined. In 1684 he was saved from prison by finding sureties for good behaviour to the amount of 200*l.*, which Judge Jeffreys said

* He has been often represented as the author of *The Lancashire Levite*, which was the production of his clever son and namesake, Zachary Taylor.

'ought to have been 2,000*l*.' His life of trouble was closed with an evening of comfort and peace. An old man at the Revolution, he often expressed his gratitude to God for the liberty which he had to preach the gospel; of which liberty he largely availed himself, for he often preached six or seven times a week after he was seventy years of age. Matthew Henry says: 'He was a minister of the first rank for gifts and graces.' He left a son, Timothy Jollie, who became the congregational minister of Sheffield, and, like his father, was a great sufferer for nonconformity.

Of the district of Warrington, including the parishes which had been subject to the fourth presbyterial classis, the ejected ministers were: James Woods of Ashton in Makerfield; James Woods, his son, of Chowbent; John Wright* of Billing; Samuel Mather of Burton Wood; James Bradshaw of Hindley; Roger Baldwin of Rainford; Robert Yates of Warrington; and Charles Hotham of Wigan. Thomas Crompton of Astley, and Thomas Gregg of St. Helens, as I have already observed, retained their chapels without conforming.

SAMUEL MATHER was the eldest son of Richard Mather, who, harassed for nonconformity, removed from Toxteth Park to New England. Samuel, when nine years of age, accompanied his father across the Atlantic. Having prosecuted his studies with much diligence and success in Harvard University, he obtained the first fellowship founded in that seat of learning. On the fall of episcopacy, he returned to England in order to complete his studies in the universities of his native country. Having graduated at Oxford, he became chaplain of Magdalen College, when Dr. Thomas Goodwin was its principal, by whom he was greatly respected for his learning and ability. After spending some time at Cambridge, where he also graduated, he accompanied Lord Henry Cromwell, as one of his chaplains, to Dublin, where he again graduated, and became a fellow of Trinity College. On his return to England, he obtained the little chapelry of Burton Wood, where one William Bagaley had ministered; who, according to the parliamentary commissioners, was 'not well qualified to teach, and made marriages contrary to the directory.'

The humble sanctuary of an obscure village in the midst of what remained of one of the great Lancashire forests is not exactly the place in which we should look for a graduate of four universities, who had been a fellow of two colleges and a chaplain to the lord protector's son. But there the Act of Uniformity found the great scholar preaching in a wooden chapel, which the parliamentary commissioners, who were not very particular about the convenience of the chapels scattered among the woods and wilds of Lancashire, pronounced to be an 'unconvenient' place. His benefice was not very tempting, for it brought him 4*l*. 19*s*. interest of money, and 2*l*. 5*s*. rent of a house and orchard, besides a few pounds which the villagers

* Mr. Wright was the grandfather of Dr. Samuel Wright, who was for nearly forty years the minister of the presbyterian meeting-house in Carter Lane, Doctors' Commons, and the author of a book once in high repute on *Regeneration*. The doctor, having lost his parents in his childhood, was brought up in Lancashire under the care of his widowed grandmother.

gave him. I can imagine only one inducement that could have brought Samuel Mather to select that village for his ministry—its contiguity to Lowton, in which his honoured father was born, and of which he might have had some childish recollections. Expelled from that quiet home, he was not treated as he had treated others; for when he was in Ireland he refused a commission to displace some episcopal ministers of Munster, and gave as his reason that 'he was called to preach the gospel, and not to hinder others from preaching it.' After he was ejected he returned to Ireland, and being, as Wood says, 'a congregational man and Nonconformist, yet civil to those of the episcopal persuasion,' he preached to a gathered church in his own hired house. There he was disturbed by the soldiery, and charged before the Lord Mayor with preaching in a conventicle to 'old discontented officers.' Although he was subject to frequent annoyance, he continued his ministry until his death in 1671. He left several 'learned treatises' on the popish controversy, a tract against 'stinted liturgies,' and an 'Irenicon to reconcile Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists.' His younger brother Nathanael, who succeeded him in his ministry at Dublin, published a volume of his discourses, which were in good repute among the early Nonconformists.*

JAMES BRADSHAW has already been before us as the popular preacher of Wigan, who at the siege of Lathom instructed the soldiers in the mysteries of the Apocalypse. He had been ejected from the rich benefice of Wigan in the time of the Commonwealth because, as the commissioners reported, 'although he was a painful, preaching minister, he did not observe the fast' appointed by parliament. He was, however, allowed to retain the chapel of Hindley until the Royalists finished the work which the Republicans had begun, and deprived him of the little which his former persecutors had left. He was afterwards allowed, as I have observed, to occupy the small chapel of Rainford.

After the Revolution his friends erected for him a meeting-house near the chapel from which he had been ejected, and instituted a suit in the duchy court to recover the endowments which had been given by the Presbyterians for the benefit of preaching ministers. After prolonged litigation, they were compelled to resign their claims, and to found a dissenting trust under the protection of the Act of Toleration. James Bradshaw died in 1702.†

ROBERT YATES, the rector of Warrington, was, like his friend Bradshaw, a zealous Presbyterian, and, like him, sorely troubled by Episcopalians on the one hand and Independents on the other. Several of his friends were ejected for refusing the engagement to support the Protector's government, but he so boldly opposed it, and dissuaded others from taking it, that he was tried at Lancaster on a charge of high treason. Being required to retract, he firmly refused, and was left for execution. By the clemency of the judge he was, however,

* Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*; *Life of Mather* in Clarke's *Lives*; Wood; and Calamy.

† Calamy; Palmer; and Gastrell's *Notitia*.

released and permitted to return to his rectory. Thence the Act of Uniformity expelled him. Having escaped the persecution of both Independents and Episcopalians, he licensed a private house for preaching, until in 1672 his friends erected a meeting-house for him, in which he officiated until his death in 1678. He was the founder of the presbyterian interest in Warrington, in the charge of which his son Samuel succeeded him.*

CHARLES HOTHAM had been appointed rector of Wigan on the expulsion of Mr. Bradshaw for refusing to observe the fasts appointed by the republican government. The son of the celebrated parliamentary officer Sir John Hotham, he had been for some time fellow of Peter House, Cambridge, and a proctor of the University. Calamy says he was a great scholar and 'searcher into the secrets of nature.' What else he was it is not easy to say, except that by the surrender of the rich benefice of Wigan he proved himself to be an honest man. Astrology seems to have been his favourite study, as he hoped by the teaching of the stars to interpret the prophecies of Scripture. After his ejection he does not appear to have prosecuted his ministry, nor to have associated with his nonconforming brethren. As the shadow of death was falling upon him, he seemed to become dissatisfied with his favourite studies, for he expressly required in his will that all his astrological books and papers should be burnt.

Within the boundaries of the fifth classis, which included the neighbourhood of Liverpool, the ejected ministers were: John Fogg of Liverpool; William Bell of Huyton; Nathanael Heywood of Ormskirk; Joseph Thompson of Sephton; Henry Finch and Robert Eaton of Walton; † and John Mallinson of Melling.

JOHN FOGG is omitted by Calamy, although he was held in great esteem by the Presbyterians of his time. He preached privately, as he had opportunity, after his ejection, until he was compelled by the Five Mile Act to leave the neighbourhood of Liverpool. He found shelter at Great Budworth in Cheshire, where he died in the forty-eighth year of his age.

WILLIAM BELL, M.A. Oxon, vicar of Huyton, was held in great reputation, both as a scholar and as a preacher. As he had been one of the king's preachers in Lancashire, his stipend of 50*l.* per annum was, on the fall of episcopacy, augmented by the parliament to 80*l.*, which was 'paid to him as a minister itinerant within the county, by Mr. Pollard, the receiver of the revenues of the duchy.' ‡ Although he had been episcopally ordained, and was willing to submit to episcopal government, he could not profess his assent and consent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer. After the passing of the Five Mile Act he resided near several other Noncon-

* Calamy; Palmer's *Nonconformist's Memorial*; and notices of him in the *Life of Nathanael Heywood*.

† Thompson and Eaton were ejected in 1660. See p. 348.

‡ *Report of the Commissioners*. The salaries of the itinerant preachers of Lancashire, which had remained stationary from their appointment under Elizabeth, were generally augmented under the protectorate. On the restoration of royalty they were reduced to the original estimate.

formists in Manchester, 'the godly town without a corporation,' and usually attended the ministry of John Angier. On the issue of the royal licenses he returned to Huyton, and registered a meeting-house for Nonconformists. According to Calamy he died in 1681, at the age of seventy-four; but, according to a brass plate affixed to a wall of Huyton church, in 1683, in the eightieth year of his age. The inscription is:—

'Here underneath lyeth the body of that worthy Divine, and Most Famous Preacher of God's Word, Mr. William Bell, M^r of Arts, whose Pithy and Sententious Sermons warmed the Hearts of all Good Christians who heard him, and whose Pious Life and Holy Conversation was a Continual Sermon to teach others Imitation. Hee Dyed or rather Begun to Live a Life of Glory, upon Monday the 10th Day of March, and was here solemnly Interred on Wednesday the 12th Day of March Anno Domini 1683, and in the 80th year of his Age, having been Pastor of this Church A Bove 20 years.'

NATHANAEL HETWOOD, vicar of Ormskirk, was a son of Richard Heywood of Little Lever and Alice his wife, one of the Critchlaws of Longworth near Walmesley. His mother was especially remarkable for the puritanical character of her piety, being ever ready, as her son tells us, 'to demolish relics of superstition,' 'to keep private days and fasts,' and 'to procure pious preaching ministers for the chapels' of her neighbourhood. Although her son Nathanael had not quite so much of the mother in him as his elder brother Oliver, that is, not so much activity and working power, he had more learning than his brother, and was probably of the two the abler preacher and more agreeable gentleman. With his brother he was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he received, if not his first, yet his deepest and most enduring religious impressions, under the preaching of Mr. Hammond, at that time the popular preacher of St. Giles's. On completing his collegiate course he went to London, to do what was then considered almost a necessary part of a 'preaching minister's' education, to 'hear famous ministers.' On his return to his native county he 'tabled' with the 'famous Mr. Edward Gee' of Eccleston, and by serving him in the ministry for two years, he 'became moulded in the same method, manner, and practice.' His first settlement was at Illingworth in Yorkshire, whence he removed, in 1657, to Ormskirk, to the vicarage of which he had the satisfaction of receiving, first, the unanimous call of the people; secondly, the presentation of the Countess of Derby; thirdly, the induction of the presbyterian classis; fourthly, the approval of the parliamentary commissioners; and, lastly, the welcome of the ministers and Protestant gentry of the neighbourhood. But even his unimpeachable title was annulled by the Act of Uniformity. Of a meek and quiet spirit, avoiding the controversies to which his mother and his elder brother were so prone, married to a bishop's niece, esteemed by the Countess of Derby, and beloved by his parishioners, it was thought by many that he would contrive by some means to retain his benefice. They who thought so knew only one side of the good man's character. If the objections to conformity did not seem to him so numerous as they

did to many of his brethren, or if he said less about them, he had a very sensitive conscience, to which, in the smallest particular, he could not do violence. His character is illustrated by an incident which seems to be well authenticated. 'Ah! Mr. Heywood,' said a parishioner, 'we would gladly have you still preach in the church.' 'I would gladly preach,' was the reply, 'if I could do it with a good conscience.' 'Ah,' said the rustic, 'many a man now-a-days makes a great gash in his conscience; cannot you make a little nick in yours?' That 'little nick' he could not cut. He was not the man to estimate the size of the wound to be inflicted, when he would inflict no wound at all.

After the good pastor had lost the emoluments of his office, he continued to reside in the parish; and as his successor, content with the tithes, cared little about the people, he employed himself in visiting the sick, preaching in private, often in the night, in the lonely homesteads among the mosses of the neighbourhood. On the granting of the indulgences he licensed two houses situate in remote parts of the extensive parish. At Bickerstaffe he obtained a license to preach in the chapel belonging to the mansion of Lady Stanley, who, to ensure safety, procured a conforming minister to read the prayers before he commenced preaching. After the recall of the licenses, a party of soldiers entered the chapel while he was preaching, ordered him to desist, and proceeded to apprehend him. Lady Stanley, with extraordinary promptness and decision, left her gallery, hastened to the pulpit stairs, and forbade the soldiers to ascend. As he was ordered to appear before the magistrates at Wigan, Lady Stanley accompanied him, stood by his side during the examination, and probably was the means of procuring his release.*

Nathanael loved preaching in his 'little Bethels,' which were, in his estimation, very pleasant substitutes for the Zion of the great congregation. He felt the disappointment so severely when he was prohibited from continuing to preach in private houses, that he wrote to his brother Oliver, 'I think this turning us out of our licensed places will cost Mr. Yatest and me our lives. This goes heavily. The casting us out of our great places was not so bad as the casting us out of our little places. Other afflictions are light compared with a dumb mouth and a silent Sabbath.' He died on December 16, 1677, in the forty-fifth year of his age. Amidst a crowd of his parishioners and neighbours, who made great lamentation over him, he was buried in the chancel of Ormskirk church, 'in the burial-place of the Stanleys of Bickerstaffe.' As the church was crowded with people expecting a funeral service, and as the vicar made no appearance, Mr. Starkey, an ejected minister, went into the pulpit, 'no man forbidding,' and preached what I suppose was the last sermon preached by a Nonconformist in the curious old church of Ormskirk. In the night (by which is meant what we should call after dark in the evening), Oliver

* Several of the Stanleys of Bickerstaffe, ancestors of the present Earl of Derby were more or less favourable to the Puritans, often in opposition to the older family of Lathom.

† The ejected minister of Warrington.

Heywood preached in the house of the widow to as many people as the room would allow. To the itinerant preaching of Nathanael Heywood, says Mr. Hunter, may be traced, 'in part at least,' the old nonconformist congregations of Wigan, Warrington, Liverpool, and Preston. His itinerant labours were undoubtedly very useful in these and many other places, but he cannot be regarded as the founder of any one of those congregations.*

Of JOSEPH THOMPSON, ejected from Sephton, all I know is, that he was born at Wigan, and educated at Oxford; that he was a good scholar, and a witty and ingenious gentleman; that he was very rich, and did much good with his money. After he was ejected from his pleasant parsonage he lived quietly in Ormskirk, and, I doubt not from the character given him by Calamy, contributed generously to the support of his poorer brethren. I allude to this, because it ought to be noticed in honour of the few ejected ministers who had private property, that notwithstanding their heavy losses, they very generally, though quietly, contributed to the relief of their brethren who were not so fortunate as themselves. In some instances their beneficence and hospitality were maintained by great self-denial and economy. Scarcely an ejected minister who could keep a house over his head was unwilling to entertain a travelling fellow-sufferer. Had Joseph Thompson been an exception, he would not have acquired the reputation for liberality with which his memory is associated in nonconformist narrative.

HENRY FINCH has been already noticed as occupying, on the invitation of the people, the chapel of Birch. He had been in great trouble on account of his connection with the rising of the Presbyterians under Sir George Booth. The parliamentary sequestrators had seized his estate and effects, and had it not been for the restoration of royalty, they would probably have deprived him of his benefice. Whichever party was in power, he acted conscientiously, and firmly refused both to take the engagement to the Protectorate and to submit to the Act of Uniformity. As the Republicans had confiscated his estate, and the Royalists had ejected him from his benefice, he was reduced from comparative affluence to poverty and dependence. While he was the nonconforming minister of Birch chapel, he received ten shillings a Sunday for his services. At the close of one year there remained a surplus of 1*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.*, 'out of which sum Mr. Finch had ten shillings gratuity, because he had been sicke, and eight shillings and sixpence were lost in bad and broken money.' † When, on the death of the proprietor of the estate, his heir required Mr. Finch to leave the chapel, his congregation, as we shall hereafter notice, erected for him a meeting-house, in which he officiated until his death in 1704.

His friend ROBERT EATON, like himself a devoted Royalist, became

* Calamy; Palmer; Hunter's *Life of Oliver Heywood*. A life of Nathanael Heywood was written by his brother Oliver, and long afterwards printed at the expense of Sir Henry Ashurst, who prefixed to it a dedication to Lord Willoughby of Parham.

† *History of Birch Chapel*, p. 139.

the family chaplain of Sir George Booth, created Lord Delamere. On liberty being granted to the Nonconformists, he ministered at Prestwich, where his congregation erected for him 'a fair and handsome meeting-house,' as no doubt it appeared to the eyes of its plain and homely worshippers.

In the hundred of Leyland, which had been under the government of the sixth presbyterial classis, the ejected ministers were: Henry Welch of Chorley; James Hyett, or Hiet, of Croston; and Paul Lathom of Standish.

HENRY WELCH was, I suppose, a preacher of no extraordinary ability, as it is said of him in 'The Nonconformist's Memorial,' 'Though he did not excel in gifts, it was made up to him in grace.' Whatever may have been the deficiency of his 'gifts,' he had 'grace' to secure in a remarkable degree the esteem and confidence of the principal gentry of his neighbourhood. No man in the county was more frequently sought to conciliate enemies, to settle disputes, and to arrange family interests. He was intrusted with the guardianship of the orphan children of Mr. Standish of Duxbury, and to the satisfaction of all parties concerned he discharged his difficult trust.

JAMES HYETT was one of the oldest and most honoured ministers of the county. He had been appointed the moderator of the provincial assembly at its first meeting, and had been frequently elected president of the presbyterian courts to which he belonged. Having a considerable income, he was long remembered for the generosity with which he expended it, during the civil war, in relieving the urgent distress of the people who had been harassed and plundered by both conflicting armies. Like several other Lancashire Presbyterians, he was twice ejected; first by the Republicans for refusing the engagement; secondly by the Royalists, for not submitting to the Act of Uniformity. Above seventy years of age on the passing of the Act, he did not survive his ejection more than two years, in which time he contributed largely to the relief of his poorer brethren, who frequently applied to him for help, and were seldom, if ever, refused.

PAUL LATHOM, rector of Standish, although a much younger man than his neighbour and friend, Mr. Hyett, like him did not long survive the loss of his benefice. Connected with many of the chief families of the county, he had been during the civil war chaplain to Colonel Assheton of Middleton. It is said of him in 'The Nonconformist's Memorial,' 'he had a good estate, and lived in a manner suitable to it,' by which I hope is meant that he, like his wealthy friend, made use of it for the benefit of his poorer brethren. He certainly resigned 'a rich parsonage' rather than do violence to his conscience. He died the next summer, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

In the district comprised within the boundaries of the seventh presbyterial classis, of which Preston was the principal town, two ministers of considerable eminence were ejected—Isaac Ambrose and Nathanael Baxter.*

* The reader of Calamy, on observing the omission of the names of Timothy

ISAAC AMBROSE was, on the passing of the Act, vicar of Garstang. Although his practical and devotional works were very popular among the early Nonconformists, few memorials of his life have been preserved. All who have read his devout meditations, his sweet experiences, or his fervent prayers, must unite in the regret and the wish expressed by Mr. Hunter in his preface to the 'Life of Oliver Heywood: 'Mr. Ambrose earnestly recommended the keeping of diaries, as eminently serviceable to those who made it a principal object of their lives to establish themselves in all the thoughts and ways of piety, and in the book which he entitled "Media," he gives a specimen of what, in his opinion, such diaries ought to be, by extracts from his own. With such specimens before us, we cannot but lament that the carelessness of later times should have suffered such a curious and valuable document to perish, for perished it is feared it is. There is a pathos and beauty in some of the passages which he has selected, as when he speaks of his occasional retirement to the sweet woods of Widdicre, which make one wish for more.'

This reference is to the tenth section of the fourth chapter of the 'Media,' in which Ambrose gives 'some example of a daily register of a poor unworthy servant of Christ.' The date of the year is not given, but the month of the extracts was May, in which it was his annual custom to retire to a little hut in a wood, and in entire seclusion to spend most of his time in meditation and prayer. There originated the meditations which long after his death refreshed and comforted the Puritans of Lancashire.

As the 'specimen' may interest others as it did Mr. Hunter, and as it affords a pleasing illustration of the most meditative Puritan of Lancashire, I give it at length:—

'May 13. I retired to a solitary and silent place to practise especially the secret duties of a Christian. My ground is that of Cant. vii. 11, 12: "Come, my beloved, let us go forth into the field, &c., there will I give thee my loves." The bridegroom of our souls (said Bernard) is bashful, and more frequently visits his bride in the solitary places.'

'May 14. In a pleasant wood, and sweet walks in it, the Lord moved and enabled me to begin the exercise of secret duties: and after the prolegomena, or duties in general, I fell on that duty of watchfulness: the Lord then gave me to observe my former negligence, and to make some resolutions. I found the Lord sweet to me in the conclusion of the duty. Allelujah.

'May 15. I fell on the duty of self-trial, and in the morning confessed my sins before and since conversion, wherein the Lord sweetly melted my heart. In the evening I perused my diary for the last year, wherein are many passages of mercies from God, and troubles for sin, &c.

'May 16. In the morning I went through the duty of experiences, Smith of Longridge and Cuthbert Harrison of Singleton, will remember that I have already mentioned them as occupying their chapels without conforming to the requirements of the Act.

and felt some stirrings of God's spirit in my soul. In the evening I fell on the duty of evidences, when I acted faith, and found my evidences clear. Oh how sweet was my God!

'May 17. This day in the morning I meditated on the love of Christ, wherein Christ appeared, and melted my heart in many sweet passages. In the evening I meditated on eternity of hell, and on eternity of heaven, wherein the Lord both melted, and cheered, and warmed, and refreshed my soul. Surely the touches of God's Spirit are as sensible as any outward touches. Allelujah.

'May 19. In the former part of this day, I exercised the life of faith, when the Lord strengthened me to act faith on several promises, both temporal, spiritual, and eternal; I had then sweet, refreshing, and encouraging impressions on my soul against all the fearful, sinful, and doubtful dreams I had the night or two before dreamed. In the evening I considered the duty of prayer, observed some workings of God's Spirit in my perusing the rules, and afterwards in the practice of this duty. Blessed be God!

'May 20. In the morning I fell on reading the word, perused the directions, and then searched into the common places and uses of my corruptions in nature and practice; of my comforts against the burthens of my daily infirmities; of establishing my heart against the fear of falling away; of directions in my calling; of comforts against outward crosses; of my privileges in Christ above all the wicked in the world: in every of these Christ appeared in some measure suitably to my soul. In the evening I proceeded in the common places and uses of sweet passages that melted my heart; of sensible comforts, and of places hard to be understood: in the first my heart was sweetly melted, in the second cheered; in the conclusion the Lord struck me with a reverence of His majesty and presence, filled my soul with spiritual refreshings, enlarged my heart with praises of Him, and desires to live unto Him, who hath given me in this time of love so many visits, and kisses of His mouth. Allelujah.

'May 22. Occasionally, though not in course, I fell on some parts of the duty of self-denial: the Lord in mercy wrought in my soul some suitableness to that spiritual gospel-duty; Lord, keep this fire up in a flame still. Oh it is a sweet, but a very hard lesson.

'May 31. I practised (as the Lord enabled) the duty of saints' sufferings; into which condition as I was cast, so the Lord gave me to see my sin and to bewail it, and to pray for the contrary, grace and God's favour. The Lord was sweet to me in the preparations to, but especially in the improving of, sufferings. Now the Spirit left in my soul a sweet scent and savour behind it. Amen. Amen.'

Through the loss of his diary, I can collect only a very imperfect biography of Isaac Ambrose. From his 'Media,' under the head of 'Experiences,' a few incidents of his life may be gleaned, and elsewhere a very few more.

According to Anthony Wood, he was 'a minister's son descending from those of the name living at Lowick, and they from the Ambroses of Ambrose Hall in Lancashire.' If this be true, of which I am very doubtful, it would be interesting to know how, as the Ambroses of

Lowick were among the most persistent Catholics of Lancashire, Isaac or his father, the minister, became a Protestant. Although there are in his writings many references to the Papists, he makes no allusion to his conversion from popery, or to any Catholic relatives or associations. There is, however, no reason to doubt that he was a minister's son, and a native of Lancashire. He entered at Brasenose, Oxon, in 1621, in the seventeenth year of his age. Having taken a degree in arts and obtained orders, he served 'a little cure' in Derbyshire.* This 'little cure,' like many others in that county, seems to have been very little indeed, for while serving it he was refreshed by some charitable relief of the Earl of Bedford. By the influence of that nobleman, as Wood tells us, he was appointed one of the king's itinerant preachers in Lancashire. Having served for a time a curacy in Garstang, he was selected by that patroness of godly ministers, Lady Margaret Hoghton, to occupy the important position of Vicar of Preston.† Wood says: 'He was then a zealous man for carrying on the beloved cause, and acting against the orthodox clergy, when he was appointed an assistant to the commissioners for the ejecting of such as they called scandalous and ignorant ministers and schoolmasters.' Isaac Ambrose was not likely to trouble any minister or schoolmaster who was competent and willing to discharge the duties of his office. On the contrary, the following certificate, found among the Ffarington papers, shows his readiness to assist those of the opposite party who were involved in trouble:

'The humble certificate of Isaac Ambrose, minister of God's word in the church of Preston, sheweth,

'That to his knowledge William Ffarington of Worden in the county of Lancaster was, before these unhappy times of war, a gentleman well affected to the Protestant religion, and a constant frequenter of our weekly lectures and other ordinances of religion. As also in the beginning of those times he was a man of peaceable disposition, bending all his counsels to the accommodation and quiet of the country; and in particular out of his love and respect for the ministry engaged himself for me (body for body and all his estate) when I was taken prisoner by the commissioners of array in the said

* Castleton. Mr. Bagshaw, the author of *De Spiritualibus Peccis* (Peccis means of the Peak of Derbyshire), says of him, 'I have not had the happiness to converse with, or indeed to see, this Lamb of the Lord, save once at Manchester. At that time his love of Casaleton, upon the mention of it, revived, tears shot into his eyes, and from his mouth fell this ingenuous acknowledgment, "It was my sin, and is my sorrow, that I left that place when the Lord was blessing my ministry."' p. 23.

† 'I speak my own loss. She was pleased to cast her affections upon me, unworthiest of all my Master's messengers. In her lifetime she preferred me to this place. The Lord made her the first wheel of His providence in bringing me hither, and it was some trouble to her that I left this pastoral charge before she left the world.'—*Sermon* preached at Preston, at the funeral of Lady Margaret Hoghton, by Isaac Ambrose.

Wood says 'he received the appointment to Preston in 1648,' but it must have been received earlier, as in the Ordinance for the establishment of the presbyterian classes, dated October 1646, he is included in the seventh class as minister of Preston, and in a certificate dated May 18, 1647, he calls himself minister of God's word in the church of Preston.

county. Whereupon he procured my liberty, and in his own person he brought me home to my wife and children, withal offering me and mine all the kindnesses in his power. And since that time he was never a soldier. Nor in the time of our exile did I ever hear that he was active against the king and parliament. To this certificate at his desire in very equity I cannot but subscribe.—ISAAC AMBROSE.

'Preston: May 18, 1647.'*

Amidst the incivilities common on both sides during the civil war, it is pleasing to meet with such instances of mutual courtesy and kindness. As the squire, though a Royalist, was 'well affected to the Protestant religion,' Ambrose was well affected to him. Had he been a Papist, Ambrose, if we may judge from a passage in his 'Experiences,' would not have been so ready to recommend him for a lenient composition. In his 'Media' occurs the following entry under the head of 'Experiences' (section vi.) :—

'1643. Feb. 6. Preston was taken by the parliamentary forces. Several Papists slain in it; some naturally of good disposition, and, therefore, many mourned their untimely death, but rejoiced in the accomplishment of the promise.

'Text. Rev. xvi. 6, 7. "They have shed the blood of saints, and thou hast given them blood to drink. . . Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous are Thy judgments."

'Rev. xviii. 20. "Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets; for God hath avenged you on her."

Notwithstanding this strange 'experience,' I am sure the 'naturally good disposition' of Isaac Ambrose would have saved even a Papist from death, if he had an opportunity.

So long as Ambrose continued in Preston he was favoured with the friendship of the Hoghton family, who were among his regular and admiring hearers. The beautiful woods of the tower provided him with sequestered places sacred to devout meditation,† while frequently within its hospitable walls he was refreshed by social intercourse with 'famous ministers.' Why he left his great congregation at Preston does not appear, but it is evident, from an extract

* The object of this certificate was to obtain a favourable consideration for Mr. Ffarington on his compounding for his estates before the commissioners who met in Goldsmiths' Hall, London. How far it prevailed to induce the commissioners to treat the 'constant frequenter of weekly lectures' with lenity I cannot say, but his composition was fixed at 531*l*. The list of Lancashire gentlemen assessed contains the names of one hundred and forty-six persons, of whom only seven were assessed at a larger sum. The head of the family to which Isaac Ambrose is said (though I think with little probability) to have belonged, William Ambrose of Lowick, was amerced 129*l*.—Baines's *Lancashire*, vol. ii. p. 35. After the Restoration, when it was proposed to create a new order of knighthood, the estate of William Ffarington of Worden, proposed to be one of the 'knights of the royal oak,' was valued at 1,000*l*. a year.

† Every spring, while he was minister of Preston, he paid a visit of some days to the tower, and passed much of his time in the woods overhanging the stream, where he found, as he said, 'his best school of theology.' The Darwen was then the resort of salmon and trout, not as now of madder and indigo.

already cited from his sermon preached at the funeral of Lady Margaret, that his leaving was not agreeable to the Hoghton family. On the occasion of his preaching that sermon, the interest excited was so intense, and the crowd so oppressive, that with great difficulty the funeral procession obtained an entrance into the church. The voice of the pathetic preacher was often interrupted and overcome by the lamentations of the people.

But Ambrose, for some good reason I doubt not, left Preston and became minister of Garstang. Elected during the Commonwealth in what was afterwards thought an irregular manner—that is, by the voice of the people—his name is not inserted in the approved lists of the Garstang vicars. But vicar he was, legally as well as ostensibly, on the passing of the Act of Uniformity. He could conscientiously have complied with many of the requirements of the Act; he was willing to read the Book of Common Prayer; he was rebuked for his feebleness in making concessions by Dr. Cole, his successor at Preston; but in the hour of trial the feeble grew strong, and the strong man fainted. We have already seen how Cole conformed, and we now see how Ambrose was ejected.*

We know but little of the subsequent life of the Nonconformist. He spent his later years in meditation and quietude among his friends in Preston. A lover of nature as well as of God, like his namesake the patriarch, 'Isaac went out to meditate in the field at eventide.' He spent a great part of his time every summer in Widdicre wood, where, seldom seen by any, except on the Sabbath, he communed with his own heart and his God. The last time he was seen alive was by some friends from Garstang, of whom he is said to have taken leave with unusual affection and solemnity. Immediately after they left him he retired to his place of meditation, where he was found by an attendant in the moment of death. He departed in 1664 at the age of sixty-one.†

Of the Lancashire Nonconformists Isaac Ambrose is better known as a practical writer than any other. His book entitled 'Looking to

* Calamy and Palmer refer to Cole as having subsequently conformed; but it is not certain that he was ever ejected. He favoured Ambrose with a commendatory letter which was appended to the treatise upon the *Ministration of Angels*. It is about as pedantic and pretentious a letter as was ever written even by a doctor in divinity. What worse can be said of it I know not. It is not surpassed in pedantry and pretence by any of Dr. Parr's letters.

† Under the portrait prefixed to his collected works, he is said to have been fifty-nine in 1663. Calamy says, 'He died *æt.* 72;' but this is certainly a mistake.

Wood had, I suppose, some reason for calling him a minister's son. I find two vicars of Ormakirk named Ambrose, Richard and Henry; Richard died in 1612, and Henry succeeded in 1615. As the intervening vicar resigned in favour of the latter, I suspect the Earl of Derby, who was the patron, made the arrangement for the benefit of Henry. If it were so, he was probably a son of Richard, not of sufficient age on the death of his father to take the vicarage. As Isaac Ambrose was born in 1604, he might have been a son of Richard and a younger brother of Henry. Among the ejected ministers of Lancashire were Joshua Ambrose of West Derby, who afterwards conformed, and Nehemiah Ambrose of Kirkby. I know nothing of the parentage of either, although I cannot but think that Isaac, Joshua, and Nehemiah Ambrose were somehow related.

Jesus' was at one time very popular with devout people in the north of England, and is still read by those who retain a relish for puritan divinity. Of the writers of his age and opinions, some who seem to me very inferior to him have been more highly recommended. Doddridge, in his account of nonconformist writers, does not notice him, although those who knew him would, I think, prefer him to Manton or Bates, whom Doddridge highly commends. He has been compared with Flavel, whom in some respects he resembles, but to whom in others he is very unlike. The great fault of Ambrose is found in the awkward arrangements and complicated divisions with which he wearies and perplexes his readers. Frequently he introduces materials remotely connected with his subject, and makes digressions of an intolerable length. Although more artificial (if it be artifice and not carelessness) in his method than Flavel, he is more easy, natural, and appropriate in his illustrations. More judicious than Flavel, he had a finer imagination and much more of true poetry. If not so sensitive, so plaintive, so ready to weep, as Flavel, there is in him deeper and more varied feeling, often restrained and often beautifully expressed. Flavel spiritualised the works of man's husbandry; Ambrose the works of God in nature. Flavel loved the garden and the corn-field; Ambrose the heath and the forest. Isaac loved to meditate in the evening in the quiet wood, and tell the people on Sunday morning what he had seen and felt in his lonely retreat. His meditations seem fragrant with the sweet hawthorn of Widdicre wood and the weeping birches of Darwen water. But at times he could leave his woods and streams, and present in their simple grandeur objects of infinite importance. Telling us to look to Jesus, how clearly and impressively he presents the Saviour alone in all the varied aspects of His character and changes of His life! Taking us to the palace of the high priest or the judgment hall of Pilate, he says, as few men ever said it, *Ecce Homo!* and *Ecce Deus!* and we see the man of sorrows and yet exclaim, 'My Lord and my God!' Many who have no love to puritan doctrine, nor sympathy with puritan experience, have appreciated with Joseph Hunter 'the pathos and beauty' of the writings of Isaac Ambrose.

NATHANAEL BAXTER, M.A. of Jesus College, Cambridge, was ejected from the vicarage of St. Michael-upon-Wyre. After leaving the university he resided some time in the family of Henry Newcome, that he might be fitted for the services of a working pastor. During his residence in Manchester he gained the confidence of Mr. Newcome, the esteem of the ministers of the presbytery, and the affection of the people of the town. In allusion to the simplicity of his life and manners, as well as to his name, they called him a true Nathanael, a man without guile. While under the care of Mr. Newcome he frequently preached, as was then customary with expectants, for the neighbouring ministers; his occasional services were very acceptable, and especially to the congregation of Mr. Angier. Being strongly recommended both by Newcome and by Angier to Isaac Ambrose, he was by the kindness of the latter introduced to the vacant church of St. Michael, where he preached as a candidate for the ministry.

On the invitation of the people, with the consent of the patron, and the approval of the commissioners, he was ordained by the presbytery, and instituted vicar of the parish.

After he was ejected he removed into Yorkshire, and found a home in the family of Sir William Middleton of Aldworth. While acting as chaplain to that gentleman, he was invited by Mr. Pegg, proprietor of Beauchief Abbey in Derbyshire, to preach in its unoccupied chapel. For this service Mr. Pegg allowed him sixteen pounds a year. So long as the old proprietor lived, that is, for seventeen years, Mr. Baxter continued to preach without molestation. But the young squire had not the courage of his father. Being alarmed at the penalties with which he was threatened for encouraging nonconformity and allowing a conventicle on his estate, he required Mr. Baxter to desist from preaching. When King James granted the indulgences to nonconforming ministers, Mr. Pegg invited his father's chaplain to return, and offered him thirty pounds a year if he would read the Book of Common Prayer. On his declining to do this, so desirous were the proprietor and the people to secure his preaching, that they offered to provide the expense of a person to read the prayers. Although he could not agree to this arrangement, he retained the esteem of the proprietor, who 'left him a handsome legacy on account of his pious and charitable services to the people of the village.'

In the neighbourhood of Lancaster, which had been comprised within the boundaries of the eighth presbyterial classis, the ejected ministers were, Mr. White of Melling, Mr. Nicholas Smith of Tatham, and Dr. William Marshall, vicar of Lancaster, who afterwards became a physician of some eminence in London.

In the mountainous, and, to the rest of the county, almost unknown district north of Morecambe Bay, were several of the most self-denying, laborious, and useful ministers of Lancashire. They had constituted the ninth presbyterial classis. Their little white churches were poorly endowed, and scarcely accessible to their remote parishioners in the inclement weather which often prevails among the fells of Furness and Cartmel. Yet in that bleak and ill-cultured region, scarcely ever visited by tourists (if such people then existed), good men were earnestly and successfully preaching the great doctrines of the Reformation. If their people could not go to their churches, they cheerfully went to their people, and preached in barns, cottages, and, in summer time, within the ruins of Furness Abbey and Cartmel Priory, wherever they could collect the rustics who, if they knew little else, knew 'the sweet sound of Christ's holy evangile.' Secluded from the world, they maintained Christian intercourse among themselves, and worked willingly together for the spiritual welfare of the rural population. The most distinguished for their itinerant labours were Mr. Bennet of Cartmel, Mr. Camelford of Staveley, Mr. Drinchal of Lindhall, Mr. Lamvet of Ulverstone, Mr. Whitehead of Dalton, and Mr. Nehemiah Ambrose of Kirkby-on-Duddon. On St. Bartholomew's day, 1662, not one of them could have seen the book to which they were required to give their assent and consent. While some of

their brethren, in order to make sure of a scanty livelihood, subscribed their assent to a book they had not seen, it was honourable to the simple integrity of a poor and remote clergy, who had no opportunity of consulting their better informed friends, that the majority of them refused to do what they were not sure would prove in accordance with their belief. In no other district of the county was the proportion of nonconforming ministers so great as in that beyond the sands. They had previously been, with scarcely an exception, opposed to the ceremonies. A surplice was almost unknown in their country. When the day of trial came, they left their churches, but they would not forsake the congregations they had gathered in the hamlets and farmhouses of their extensive parishes. Although they resigned their livings (small, indeed, but everything earthly they had), they continued in the country and preached in unobserved places, as they had opportunity. Protected from the informers by their almost impassable mountains, they were content with the hospitality of a poor but willing people. Several of the churches continued unoccupied; for few conformists cared to settle where their stipends would be small, their churches empty, and their neighbours looking upon them as intruders. At times the Nonconformists were compelled by some obtrusive magistrate to desist from preaching, but they soon resumed their itinerant labours. Their 'wage' was small, but their work was prosperous, and their hearts contented and grateful. An intruder had once the bad manners to tell one of them that his 'coat was too mean for a minister,' and the minister had the spirit to reply, 'It might have looked finer if I had turned it.' In the time of the indulgences they were so successful in gathering their people that, on the passing of the Act of Toleration, there were more congregations able to support their ministers in Cartmel and Furness than there have ever been at one time since the accession of the house of Hanover. Many of them attained a degree of stability which enabled them to provide successors after the ministers who founded them were removed by death. A summer visitor of their lakes, finding in their valleys only two or three small congregations of dissenters, may well enquire, What has become of the old nonconforming interests of that country? They are gone, and have left but scanty memorials of their history. One or two facts are worthy of preservation.

It has been disputed where was formed the first congregational church in England. Islington, Yarmouth, Southwark, Dukinfield, have claimed the honour.* Among the fells of Furness was founded the first CHRISTIAN Church in England. By Christian I here mean, not congregational, nor presbyterian, nor episcopal, nor baptist, but simply Christian in its unrestricted sense—Christian, not sectarian; Catholic, not denominational; a Church of people, acknowledged as Christians and as nothing else. A poor ejected minister over the sands had the wisdom and grace to form such a Church, and the poor mountaineers of his neighbourhood had the piety firmly to adhere to it and long to sustain it. I know the neighbourhood; I

* I refer not to Brownists, but to Congregationalists.

wish I could identify the exact spot where these Catholic Christians for many years worshipped the God and Father of all good people.

The little chapel from which the Rev. GABRIEL CAMELFORD was ejected was situate in the romantic village of Staveley, not far from Newby Bridge, near the southern end of Windermere. Although ejected, he would not be silenced, as he felt a woe upon him if he preached not the gospel. Beloved, not only in his own chapelry, but through all the lake country, he resolved to live and die preaching wherever he could find hearers, by the side of the lakes or in the shelter of the glens. He was 'an instrument,' says a correspondent of 'the Nonconformist's Memorial,' 'of converting many in Furness fells, beyond the sands.' His converts formed a Church upon the catholic principle: 'We declare ourselves willing and ready to receive into our communion all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth.' This Church, composed of poor and illiterate men, in an obscure corner of the land, imposed no terms of communion, and required no compromise of opinion. In form congregational, in reality Catholic, this Church, although unlike in its catholicity to any other in England, acquired considerable strength and stability, for after the death of Mr. Camelford, Mr. Sedgfield was its pastor more than forty years, and, during the whole of his ministry, the catholic principle was preserved inviolate.*

We have thus become acquainted with the fathers of Lancashire nonconformity. In the review of their character and conduct, we may confidently assert that Lancashire Nonconformists have no reason to be ashamed of their ancestors. May they ever act worthily of their ancestry and lineage, of their Newcome, and Heywood, and Harrison, and Jollie, and Ambrose, and Camelford, and their contemporaries and immediate successors!

* These particulars were communicated to Mr. Palmer by a son of Mr. Sedgfield, who had been a member of the Church, and had conversed with old people who remembered the famous itinerant preacher, Gabriel Camelford.

CHAPTER XVII.

NONCONFORMITY.

WE have now to consider nonconformity no longer as an irregularity tolerated, or persecuted, within the Church of England, but as an organisation formed without its limits, and governed independently of its rule. It appears as a great schism, which suggests the enquiry, Who were the schismatics? Who made the schism? Who tore to pieces the seamless robe of Christ?

Although it is easy to say the people of a schism are the schismatics, it is not always just to say so. Christian men may, without any fault of their own, be brought to a position in which they cannot with honour, with integrity, or with a good conscience, remain in communion with the Church of their country. It was so in the great schism of which we are speaking. Both the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities determined, for different reasons, to exclude the Puritans from the national Church. The terms of communion were purposely made so stringent that the Presbyterians could not comply without dishonour. It was resolved, by those who had the power to carry their resolution into effect, that the presbyterian ministers should be either ruined in reputation or expelled from their livings. The authors of the Act knew that many ministers could not honestly conform, and that if they did conform they would be despised by their people. Some Churchmen acknowledged that, if they had thought their old enemies would have conformed, they would have made the requirements of the Act more severe and oppressive. Some courtiers wished to promote a large Protestant nonconformity, by means of which they might obtain a toleration for Roman Catholics. It was not enough for a minister to observe the ritual of the Church; he must profess his assent and consent to many things which he had publicly denied. If a young man, he had to repudiate his ordination; if an old man, to renounce his solemn covenant. Who was the schismatic? The man who imposed the dishonourable condition, or the man who would not accept it? The latter was in the schism, but the former drove him into it; the latter suffered the schism, but the former made it. The latter was in no other sense a schismatic than the man who wears a coat is a tailor. Had nonconformity not been an organised schism without the Church, it would have been an organised hypocrisy within it, and the presbyterian ministers, guiltless of the schism, would have been guilty of the hypocrisy.

The ejected ministers, with almost entire unanimity, resolved to continue the exercise of their ministry as they could find opportunity. They had been appointed and ordained to their office, by such au-

thority and in such a manner as they believed to be sufficient to authorise their public ministrations. They had done nothing to discredit their orders, or to relieve themselves of their ordination vows. In the loss of their livelihood they could trust to the providence of God, in whose service they had sustained that loss in order to preserve their integrity and honour. They quietly waited to see what opportunity they might find for resuming their ministry, and what livelihood they might obtain by its exercise. They had not long to wait before the way of service was made plain, and support in it unexpectedly provided.

As to the hope of obtaining any public employment, the presbyterian ministers were alternately elated and depressed by the inconsistent and disingenuous policy of the court. Lord Clarendon and Bishop Sheldon were thoroughly understood by the Nonconformists. Their conduct was uniform, plain, and consistent. Intent upon crushing the Presbyterians as convicted enemies of the Church and the monarchy, they with no pretence of conciliation unscrupulously employed any expedients which were likely to accomplish their purpose. But the policy of the courtiers, of the queen mother, of her popish attendants, and of the king himself, so far as he had any policy at all, was not so easily understood by the Nonconformists. What could be the meaning, they might well enquire, of the promises of one day and the threatenings of the next, the blending of leniency and severity in a maze of perplexing alternations? There was much to encourage them, and quite as much to intimidate them. Was it the result of mere waywardness and humour on the part of the court? or was there, in the hearts of those who influenced the king, some secret purpose until the divulging of which they could not interpret these intricate and perplexing movements?

To the eve of Bartholomew's day the ministers were cheered with the vain hope of being allowed to retain their benefices, or of being in some other way employed in the public service. Letters of promise, apparently resting on good authority, were sent from London and eagerly read by the ministers of Lancashire. Some indulgence was undoubtedly contemplated by the king, and as undoubtedly prevented by Clarendon and Sheldon.

On August 27, only three days after black Bartholomew, a petition was presented to the king by several of the London ministers, who 'humbly cast ourselves and concerns at your majesty's feet, desiring that of your princely wisdom and compassion you will take some effectual course whereby we may be continued in the exercise of our ministry.*' The king gave them a favourable reply, and the

* To this petition twenty-seven names were subscribed. The sixth name is 'John Tillots.' No minister of that name can be discovered either in London or the country. John Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was at the time residing at Cheshunt, and was regarded as a Nonconformist. I suspect 'John Tillots' was no other than John Tillotson, although I cannot tell why he abbreviated his name. It is doubtful whether Tillotson ever conformed. It is remarkable that Birch, his biographer and intimate friend, could not discover by what bishop he was ordained. It is now ascertained that he procured ordination from a Scotch bishop who required no subscription to any articles. Nor is it known that

next day intimated in council his intention of granting 'indulgence.' Sheldon, however, defeated the purpose of 'princely wisdom' by a bold and resolute speech against an unconstitutional exercise of prerogative in suspending an act of parliament, to which the king in his 'princely wisdom' had given his assent. Sheldon was constitutionally right, but his constitutional right was grievous wrong to the Nonconformists. *Summum jus summa injuria est.*

The nonconforming ministers, deprived of the opportunity of engaging in the public service of the Church, devoted themselves, until better days might come, to such private ministrations as were prevalent among the Puritans and characteristic of the religious life of their families. Like the catholic priest, though with different purpose, the puritan pastor was concerned in all the passing events of the several families placed under his spiritual charge. In sickness and sorrows, in festivities and congratulations, the minister had his appropriate duties; and if he were worthy of his office, his services were rewarded with many expressions of grateful acknowledgment. The baptising of infants, the catechising of children, the welcome of the young to their first communion, the departure of sons to places of business, the espousals and the marriages of daughters, recoveries from sickness, removals to new habitations, intrusions of death in their families; these and other incidents of social life were appropriate occasions for the spiritual assistance of the pastor in the form of congratulation or condolence, of thanksgiving or humiliation. Special times of devotion were observed, and the presence of the minister was as naturally expected as at a baptism or a funeral. The diaries which the nonconforming ministers have left teach us how much of their time was occupied in 'keeping private days' with their friends, and in 'sanctifying' the several occurrences of domestic life by the performance of religious services. In return for these services the voluntary offerings of friends were more liberally presented, because the ministers were unjustly deprived of their regular incomes. Newcome often in his 'Diary' refers to the 'private days' he kept with his friends, and to the pleasant expressions of their gratitude which he received in the time of his poverty.

In the urgency occasioned by so many churches becoming vacant at one time, the ecclesiastical authorities were compelled to admit very incompetent persons into the benefices, rather than leave the parishes entirely destitute of religious ordinances. Uneducated men, some of whom could scarcely read the liturgy, irreligious men who had no concern for the spiritual interests of the people, immoral men who were a scandal to their office, often occupied the places which had been worthily filled by learned, holy, and devoted pastors. Some could not preach, some would not preach, some had better not have preached; very few preached like their predecessors. Where the new incumbents could with propriety conduct their ministry, they often remained but a short time, amidst the many opportunities

in any of his subsequent promotions he ever complied with the provisions of the Act of Uniformity. I am indebted for a copy of the signatures to Joshua Wilson, Esq., which copy he carefully made from the original manuscript.

which such men found to obtain more lucrative situations. In this deficiency of pastoral oversight, some people favourably disposed to the Episcopal Church resorted in their spiritual anxieties and conflicts to the devout men whom an act of oppressive power had ejected from their livings.

The deficiency of religious instruction, lamentable in the towns, was still worse in many of the rural villages. The successors of Oliver Heywood at Coley Chapel were not favourable samples, but certainly not unusually bad ones, of the kind of conformists who were introduced into the churches of the north of England. The first 'was not liked, being a wild man.' The next came under a false name, and, after officiating a month, 'carried away' (let us hope by mistake) 'some things which he had borrowed of his neighbours.' The third 'left, not much regretted.' The fourth 'gave little satisfaction.' The fifth 'stayed but a short time.' The sixth went away, 'ashamed to remain.' These six men were in the course of twelve years the successors of one of the best ministers of the north of England.* It is not a grateful subject, but it would be easy to produce from all parts of Lancashire instances of the occupiers of the numerous vacancies, of whom the complaints were that they were unable to preach, that they were negligent of their duties, that they frequented ale-houses, that they did not pay their debts, that they quarrelled with their people. In a few instances the vacant churches were filled by exemplary ministers, and they were often the best friends of their ejected predecessors. Under these circumstances the nonconforming ministers were induced by the urgent wants of the people, and encouraged by the contributions of their friends, to continue their ministrations in such places and in such manner as they might find opportunity.†

As they were forbidden to preach publicly in the churches, they conducted such religious services in their own houses, or in the houses of their friends, as they hoped would not expose them to the

* Hunter's *Life of Oliver Heywood*, p. 149.

† 'I saw that the danger of separation from the public worship would be heightened by the general dislike of my successor, his voice being weak and lisping, that multitudes could not at all understand him, and those that could thought him a very mean preacher.' 'A gentleman conformable to the very bone cursed me one Lord's Day for not keeping the place from such a bungler.'

'Being young and sociable, always either tabling in an ale-house or very near one, he was laid open to the temptation of wild company, and got such a habit of loving strong ale and brandy, that it prejudiced his studies and at last killed him.' —*The Life of Adam Martindale*, p. 169.

Adam used in his own house to have 'repetitions' every Sunday evening of the sermons of his unworthy successor with remarks of his own, 'and the people would say that they liked the sermons better in the repetition than in the preaching.' Adam says of his successor that he 'had good texts and good matter,' having the MSS. of a dead brother; but 'that which was good in itself in delivering seemed to freeze in his mouth, when as I repeating it with as much vigour as I was able, one note seconded another, yet warm upon the hearers' hearts, and helped to raise their affections to a higher degree.'—*Life of Martindale*, p. 178. The preaching at church in the afternoon and its repetition in Adam's house in the evening, must have formed a very curious, if not an edifying, contrast.

penalties of public preaching. In devotional exercises they introduced what they called 'repetitions.' They had been accustomed, before they were ejected, to repeat the outlines of their discourses or of the discourses of others to their families and friends on the evening of the Sabbath. When churches were seldom illumined with candles or lamps, the long evenings of winter Sundays were in this manner often spent pleasantly and profitably. The phrase 'sweet repetitions' is found in the letters or diaries of Newcome, Heywood, Angier, and many other Lancashire Puritans. After the ejection their 'repetitions' were often conducted on the evenings of week-days, as well as on those of Sundays. It is pleasing to observe such a minister as Harrison of Ashton going on Sunday morning or afternoon to the church from which he had been ejected, and finding good material in the sermons of his successor for 'sweet repetition' in the evening. So Newcome thanked God for good sermons from unworthy ministers because they suggested to him 'sweet repetitions.' Frequently, however, the 'repetitions' were the outlines of their own sermons, which the nonconforming ministers had preached in former days, and which their friends were glad to hear again expressed in a more simple and colloquial style.

Many of the ejected ministers soon obtained wider space for the exercise of their ministry than their own houses or the houses of their people afforded them. Invited to visit distant friends, they found many opportunities of conducting religious services in different towns and villages through which they travelled. They arranged preaching tours, and often included in their itinerancy a considerable extent of country. In places where no puritan minister resided, and especially whence persecution had compelled one to remove, the travelling preacher often found a comfortable lodging, as well as an attentive congregation. As notice of these visits was sometimes previously given, their audiences became larger, and their religious services assumed a more popular and formal character. Domestic exercises grew into public services, social meetings into large gatherings, 'sweet repetitions' into long sermons, and the principles of an organised nonconformity were gradually developed and brought into public notice. These services, conducted by many of the ejected ministers and encouraged by the liberality of their friends, excited some apprehension and more opposition among the conforming clergy. Some of the more diligent were angry because many of their parishioners resorted to the conventicle instead of attending the church, and even the negligent were ashamed that the work which they neglected should be done by their rivals or by strangers.

The parliament, instigated by the clergy, determined to suppress the conventicles in a more effectual manner than the magistrates, even when willing, were able to do by means of the existing laws. It passed one of the most severe and cruel acts which ever disgraced English legislation. In 1664 it was enacted that 'if any person above the age of sixteen shall be present at any meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the Church of England, where

shall be five more persons than the household, he shall for the first offence suffer three months' imprisonment, or pay a fine not exceeding five pounds; for the second offence six months' imprisonment or pay ten pounds; and for the third offence be banished to some of the American plantations (excepting New England or Virginia) for seven years, or pay one hundred pounds, and in case they return, or make their escape, such persons are to be adjudged felons and *suffer death without benefit of clergy.* Magistrates were empowered to dissolve conventicles, to imprison such as they found attending them, and to send married women to prison for a year unless their husbands paid forty shillings for their release.

The consequences of the Conventicle Act were terrible. Any magistrate could enforce its severest penalties upon the oath of a common informer, without the formality of a trial by jury. As the ministers would not desist from preaching, nor their friends from hearing them, the common gaols were filled with quiet, moral, religious men and women. The Quakers took no care to conceal their meetings, and as even their silent exercises were accounted religious services, they were the greatest and most frequent sufferers. But no nonconformist worshippers were safe. Fines were enforced, furniture was sold, cattle were seized, ministers and people were immured with felons in dungeons, the wretchedness and filth of which are scarcely credible in these civilised times.

If these severities deterred some persons from attending the meetings of the Nonconformists, they on the other hand prevented many from frequenting the services of the Established Church. They did more than anything else to discourage the occasional conformity which the Presbyterians were willing to practise. They gave occasion for many bitter reflections upon the clergy, who were known to have promoted the passing of the Act, and they invested the suffering Nonconformists with something of the glory of martyrdom. The fortitude with which the ministers exposed themselves to danger and submitted to suffering, the integrity and honour with which they maintained their cause amidst the vacillation of their rulers and the treachery of their enemies, endeared them to their friends, conciliated some of their opponents, and gathered round them a powerful party, determined at all risks and consequences to help, protect, and support them.

Under the terrors of this rigorous law the Nonconformists were compelled to maintain secrecy respecting their religious services, to meet in unknown and obscure places, in barns, or in woods, or on the mountain side, to keep watch against the approach of informers, or soldiers, or magistrates, and to confine the notice of their meetings to trusty friends who would take every precaution against dangerous publicity.

Of the manner in which the foundations of Lancashire nonconformity were laid, the diary of Oliver Heywood affords our best illustration. Although he was settled in Yorkshire, he never forgot that Lancashire was his native county, that his nearest relatives and most intimate friends resided there, that they being Nonconformists

like himself were always glad to see him on his itinerant missions, and ready to succour him in his urgent necessities. The descendants of the old puritan families of Bolton and its neighbourhood had not degenerated from the original stock, and therefore in the Geneva of his party he loved to labour and to acknowledge the kindness with which his labours were rewarded.

As Mr. Heywood was ejected from a chapelry in Yorkshire, I have hitherto had little to say about him, but some notice of his labours becomes necessary here on account of their connection with the rise of Lancashire nonconformity. As he had been suspended from the exercise of his ministry in the diocese of York, and as his suspension had been published in the parish of Halifax, he was silenced a few weeks before the coming of black Bartholomew. The suspension was soon followed by his excommunication, which was published in Halifax church on November 2, 1662. By this terrible sentence he was rendered liable to severe punishment, if he partook of the communion or even attended worship in any church in the diocese of York. On one occasion, when he attended as a hearer, the chapel-warden ordered him to leave the sanctuary in which he had long ministered. On another, the same official called aloud to the minister to desist, because an excommunicated man was present. In a private house, where he was invited to dine, the rector of Halifax refused to sit at the table, under the pretext that he would violate the canons of the Church by dining with an excommunicate man. As the sentence of excommunication was not published in the diocese of Chester, Mr. Heywood resolved to exercise his ministry, as he could find opportunity, in the open houses of his Lancashire friends.

There we find him keeping 'private days,' having 'sweet repetitions,' and even obtaining occasional admission into churches and chapels through the solicitations of his friends and the permission of pious and liberal conformists. He preached twice on a Sunday in the chapel of Shaw in Prestwich, and on one occasion delivered a funeral sermon for an intimate friend in the parish church of Bolton.

The most effectual means of silencing Mr. Heywood was to publish in the diocese of Chester the sentence of excommunication which had been pronounced in the ecclesiastical court of York. This would make it perilous not only for him to preach, but for any one to encourage, or even to attend, any religious service which he might conduct. George Hall, then Bishop of Chester, with his usual severity, lost no time in endeavouring to suppress the preaching of the popular Nonconformist. On December 7, 1662, the citation of Oliver Heywood was read in Bolton church, and on the fourth of the following month the sentence of his excommunication was publicly announced in the same place. His friends were stricken with consternation, but he heard it very calmly, and 'desired to make some spiritual use of it, and to get so much nearer to God as men drove him out from them.' It was not easy to silence such a man.

After making preaching itinerancies in other counties where we need not accompany him, he soon resumed his work in Lancashire, and quietly waited the consequences. He again found people willing

to hear him, and, strange as it may seem, churches and chapels were occasionally open to the excommunicated man, and crowded whenever he was expected to preach. At Mottram the churchwardens accompanied him to the church, and the vicar attended both the services which Heywood conducted on the Sabbath. In Denton church, old John Angier publicly and lovingly received the excommunicated man to the communion of the Lord's Supper, and, notwithstanding their fears, neither Angier nor Heywood was troubled for this bold defiance of episcopal authority.

The 'private days' he kept at Denton were long remembered for the deep impressions of his solemn services. Although the days were called 'private,' the congregations were considerable. Referring to a service in the house of the venerable Angier, he says: 'I continued about three hours in prayer, pouring out my soul before the Lord, principally on behalf of His Church.' The houses of the puritan gentry were open to him for such services. He kept a private day at Colonel Holland's, preparatory to the marriage of the old parliamentary soldier.* The anniversaries of black Bartholomew were observed with great solemnity by him and his friends.

This zealous evangelist was not to be silenced even by the severities of the Conventicle Act. Of his seasons of preaching and praying, he says, 'They are worth a prison.' On occasion of a double service, after the first minister had finished preaching, he 'took it up about eleven o'clock with abundant enlargement until half-past three.' On another occasion when the rector of Radcliffe endeavoured to induce the magistrates to enforce the law against him, he conducted a religious service in his father's house 'from ten until six in the evening.' His prayers seem to have had more influence with the magistrates than the rector's arguments.

If few of the Lancashire Nonconformists travelled as much or preached as often as Oliver Heywood, many of them did, according to their strength, very much of the same kind of service, and so maintained in the worst time a very intimate and endearing connection with the pious members of their congregations. Although we have not so detailed an account of their devotional exercises, we have quite enough to show that the 'private days' of Newcome, Harrison, Constantine, Ambrose, and many others, were very like the 'private days' of Oliver Heywood. In the same devout spirit they laid the foundations of Lancashire nonconformity.

An interesting enquiry is here suggested. How were the ejected ministers and their families supported until they were allowed to license their meeting-houses and gather their congregations? Some of them suffered many privations, but one who knew them well could say, 'Although many of the ejected ministers were brought very low, had many children, were greatly harassed by persecution, I never knew nor heard of any in prison for debt. Providence was instead

* The proposed marriage never took place. The colonel was suddenly stricken with sickness, and his funeral was solemnised on the day fixed for his marriage. A puritan minister preached on the occasion from the text, 'Behold, the bridegroom cometh.'

of livings to them who left their livings for the sake of their consciences. They were driven first out of their freeholds, and afterwards from all corporations, on purpose that they might be separated from their kind neighbours. Cautions were entered against them in all ways of livelihood they were capable of; and yet they lived comfortably and maintained their families creditably. Many of them bred up their sons to the ministry in which they were useful, and they at last died in peace, and were laid in their graves with honour.*

So far as Lancashire is concerned, this statement is correct and appropriate. I do not know that any nonconforming minister of the county was allowed to sink into debt or squalid poverty. Some of them were poor and dependent upon the bounty of their friends, but so far as I can discover, not one was left destitute of the necessities or even of the ordinary comforts of life. Sad stories are current of ejected ministers reduced to menial situations or day labour, but they did not live among the generous people of Lancashire. This is the more honourable to those people, for many of the benefices were so miserably poor that their ministers could have taken very little with them from the parsonages which they were compelled to leave. They went out, not knowing whither they went, but God and God's people provided for them in a manner they never expected. The most urgent pressure upon many of them was in the dark interval between their ejection and their toleration, but even in that emergency God wonderfully provided for them and their families.

The few ministers who, like Mr. Hyett of Croston and Mr. Thompson of Sephton, had anything worthy the name of private property, were ever disposed, as they were often solicited, to contribute to the support and comfort of their poor brethren. Even those who had nothing more than a comfortable home and small income were glad to afford hospitality to itinerant preachers. Such hospitable abodes as that of Philip Henry of Broad Oak might be found in other parts of the country. After the severe losses which the ministers who had anything to lose had sustained, their contributions for their destitute brethren would be found, if an approximate estimate could be formed, to reflect the highest honour upon their kindness and generosity.

A few devised means of obtaining a livelihood, and made their new occupations more or less subservient to their ministerial labours. Some, like Mr. Birch of Birch, practised medicine.† Several of the younger men became tutors in the families of wealthy Presbyterians. Some gave private instruction in classics and mathematics to youths preparing for the universities. Although the Act of Uniformity required schoolmasters to subscribe a declaration of conformity on the penalty of three months' imprisonment for refusing, that

* Cited in Palmer's *Nonconformist's Memorial*, Introduction, vol. i. p. 36.

† Mr. Hunter says of the ejected ministers, 'Three or four became physicians.'—*Life of Heywood*, p. 143. If by physicians he meant those who practised physic, thirty or forty would have been a more correct estimate. If we were to include such as occasionally administered medicine to their friends, and received gratuities for doing so, the number would be considerably larger.

provision seems in the north to have been seldom enforced. At all events some ejected ministers did establish schools. Adam Martindale, for instance, obtained from fifteen to twenty shillings a week 'by schooling and tabling of young gentlemen.*' Some betook themselves to farming or gardening, and probably a few (although I do not know an instance in Lancashire) to some sort of small trading or handicraft.†

As the ministers were legally ejected on August 24, a perplexing question arose—What claim they might have upon their successors for the services which they had legally rendered from the beginning of the year? I am not aware that any ejected minister ever brought an action at law to recover any part of his stipend, but several attempts were made in various ways to obtain payment for service done previously to the ejection. They were, I fear, generally unsuccessful. In some few instances kind and thoughtful clergymen may have taken into their consideration the claims of men into whose unpaid labours they had entered; but most of the new incumbents were too bitterly opposed to the ejected ministers to be willing to make them any compensation, or too poor to do so, even if they had been willing. That some allowance was occasionally made, I infer from a remark of Martindale, who says that the refusal of the new vicar to make him any allowance from the tithes of the year, of which his share would have been 22l., 'raised the spleen of the people against him.' Instead of reasoning with the parson, who was not very sensitive to argument, or going to law with him in an uncertain matter, Adam took the more sensible course of sending his wife (the woman who cut down the Maypole while her husband was vainly preaching against it) 'to get what she could out of the man,' and she

* Martindale was afraid to take any boys old enough to be examined on oath lest they should be compelled to give evidence against him, or to allow his maid servant to enter the schoolroom while he was teaching.—*Life of Martindale*, p. 173.

† The most credible account I know of extreme poverty among the nonconforming ministers is in *The Conformist's Plea for the Nonconformists*. The writer says of them: 'Though they were as frugal as possible, they could hardly live; some lived on little more than brown bread and water; many had but eight or ten pounds a year to maintain a family, so that a piece of flesh has not come to one of their tables in six weeks' time. Their allowance would scarce afford them bread and cheese. One went to plough six days and preached on the Lord's day; another was forced to cut tobacco for a livelihood.' These must have been extreme cases and far away from Lancashire, where, although I cannot find a nonconforming minister cutting tobacco, I find several, like Newcome, smoking a great deal too much of it. Contrast with this account the testimony of Oliver Heywood: 'O what a day have I lived to see this last twenty years! near two thousand ministers turned out of public maintenance for their consciences, living only on God's providence, strangely preserved, maintained; none that I know reduced to debts or extreme want; many of them in a better condition than when they were turned out; whereas many conformists that stretched their consciences for a livelihood, or preferment, are reduced to such exigencies as drive them into prisons or dangers, or a-begging to hard-hearted men. God hath found employment for some, friends for others, or cast in real or personal estates on others, and given credit and good repute to all conscientious suffering ministers, that, though they were sent without staff or scrip they have lacked nothing. *meipso adhuc testificante*.'—*Diary*, 1681.

'with much importunity wrangled him out of ten pounds.* In a few instances, I suppose very few, either by reasoning or by wrangling, by solicitation or by threatening, some small proportion of the year's stipend was obtained. Few ministers' wives managed these things as cleverly and resolutely as Mrs. Martindale.

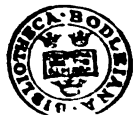
I have already adverted to instances in which, by favour of the patron, arrangements were made with the new incumbents for the benefit of the ejected ministers. I cannot say that any such arrangement was carried into effect in Lancashire, although it is probable that Mr. Harrison of Ashton had the benefit of something of the kind through the influence of Sir George Booth.† In other parts of the country presbyterian patrons may be found offering to make similar arrangements, although they were not carried into effect, or if they were, the parties concerned, for obvious reasons, took care to conceal them.‡

But the ejected ministers had, under God, to depend chiefly upon the generosity of their friends. The religious exercises to which I have referred were remunerated according to the ability of their hearers, who for the most part were in humble circumstances, or with limited incomes. Voluntary contributions were sometimes liberally made, where no spiritual services were rendered or expected in return. Wealthy men, as Lord Delamere, Sir Henry Hoghton, Colonel Holland, and many others, sent frequent presents to ministers who were their neighbours or acquaintances. Funds were raised in large and wealthy towns, to relieve the necessities of the poor and thinly peopled districts. Baxter, in his funeral sermon for Henry Ashurst, Esq., who having left Lancashire in his youth acquired considerable property in London, says that in addition to other donations the good man contributed 100*l.* annually for poor ministers of his native county. Newcome, in his 'Diary,' has several entries of monies given to him by his wealthy friends: 'Mrs. Haworth was with us this afternoon and gave ten guineas from the justice.' 'My dear friend Mrs. Grant left me by will one hundred shillings.' 'I received after supper 10*l.* of Mr. Alexander. It is a mercy that I have supply ready, and am forced into no straits as yet for living.' Mr. Hartley, a draper of Strangeways, 'showed me much kindness in giving me 3*l.*, a pair of gloves and escutcheon.' 'Came home to Mr. Hartley,

* Although Adam received 10*l.*, he never forgot that more was due to him. When the vicar was dangerously ill, he sent to request the prayers of the ejected minister. Martindale thought it a fine opportunity to bring the vicar to repentance for his sins in general, and particularly for his sin in not paying the twelve pounds still due for unrequited service. For this interference Adam was severely blamed, but he shrewdly replied, 'He did not know how to do a sinner good without making him sorry for his sins.' Ill-natured people said the poor vicar died through Adam's unseasonable importunity, but the apothecary, who ought to know, attributed his death to 'gills of brandy.'—*Life*, ch. vi. sect. xxi.

† We have seen how such an arrangement on behalf of Mr. Newcome failed through the treachery of the incumbent of Thornton.

‡ At Tarrant Hinton in Dorsetshire, Timothy Sacheverel, the ejected minister, was requested to nominate a friend who would hold the living and allow him the profits, but he declined the offer.—*The Nonconformist's Memorial*.



who gave me 40l.* 'Mr. Worthington paid me 6l. and odd money.' 'Lady Booth of the Mill House sent me forty shillings' He also notices 'tokens,' 'gifts,' and 'favours' which he received from his friends, and thanks God that supplies came to him in a manner he never expected. It is pleasant to read that the good wife of the conforming warden sent him 'a token of linnons of considerable value.'

It is not possible to ascertain how much Newcome received in these several ways. Although he had no private property, he obtained many comforts and some luxuries. He spent many evenings at a quiet tavern, entertained his friends, and occasionally made them 'very merry.' He purchased books, took journeys, bought new clothes, and 'paid for his fine breeches.' Although he enumerated 'tobacco' among his 'besetting sins,' he never stinted himself or his friends in the use of it.†

Newcome speaks of recreations which, if not expensive, seem strange for a puritan minister. He would sometimes draw 'valentines in bands,' and 'write in Wilde's comedy of "The Benefice."'‡ Amidst his billiards and shuffleboard, his comedy and tobacco, he made himself comfortable, and, though he had good wine, was very careful to drink to the health of no one.

Respecting the livelihood of an ejected minister in a rural district we obtain some good illustration from Adam Martindale. Although he had not the same opportunity of procuring assistance from the wealthy Nonconformists as his distinguished friend in Manchester, he got through the worst of times with tolerable comfort. In reply to some who accused the ejected ministers of getting rich by nonconformity (a strange accusation), he gives an account of his income. Referring to three years which had elapsed since his ejection from

* A misprint, I suspect, for 4l. 0s.

† 'This base tobacco! Take it before secret duties, then it prevents them; put it off, and then my base heart will count of it all the time of duty.'—*Diary*, p. 199.

‡ This may require some explanation. Graceless prelatists ridiculed nonconforming ministers, and introduced some of them on the stage. Dr. Robert Wilde, rector of Aynhoe in Northamptonshire, 'a fat, jolly, and boon Presbyterian' as Wood calls him, fought the Prelatists with their own weapons. He wrote a comedy, of which a manuscript copy may have been entrusted to Newcome, who corrected it or annotated upon it, for in his *Diary* several references occur to his writing in the comedy. This puritan Doctor bequeathed an orchard in his native parish, St. Ives, Huntingdonshire, to the incumbent, that the produce might be spent in bibles to be raffled for by the school boys. As a game of chance, raffling would seem very unpuritanic. But it may be made puritanical, and so unobjectionable. A game of chance was usually considered to be a breach of the third commandment, being a profane appeal to Providence. The good puritan directed that the appeal should be made not carelessly, but solemnly in the church, after prayer by the minister that the lot might fall on the right boys. The field is still known in St. Ives as the Bible Orchard. Some proposal was mentioned a year or two since of instituting a suit in chancery to secure the appropriation of the orchard to the object for which it was given. It is, however, doubtful whether raffling would not be considered an immoral practice, unless the Chancery Judge should approve of the puritanic distinction between careless, profane raffling, and solemn, devout, religious raffling. An edition of Wilde's poems has been recently published, and strange exhibition they make of puritan fun or of funny puritanism.

his vicarage, he says : ' I had sent me from London at four several times 24*l.*—that is, 10*l.*, 7*l.*, 5*l.*, and 2*l.* ; from Chester, 11*l.*, viz., 5*l.*, 3*l.*, and 3*l.* ; and from a noble friend in the country, 6*l.*—that is, 5*l.* and 1*l.* : all which comes to 41*l.*, and it is probable I had so much more in small parcels, now forgotten, as made up 50*l.* The 10*l.* my wife wrangled out of my successor, together with a table, forms, and ceiling, and rent detained, after paid me, made up some 20*l.* more. And then for my yearly subsistence I had the house in Leigh and about 10*l.* per annum from some of my people, abundance of French wheat and rye out of my ground at Tatton amounting to 12*l.*, and what I got for tabling and schooling young gentlemen for two of the first years, and teaching mathematics afterwards, bringing me in sometimes fifteen shillings, sometimes twenty shillings, a week, besides my own diet and keeping my horse. Thus, though my condition seemed threatening, and far from such as could invite me to throw up 60*l.* a year for the hopes of it, as the counterminer names, yet I acknowledge that this, with God's blessing upon what I had and did, was a very comfortable supply to us.*

It appears from these and other statements of the ejected ministers that although they were exposed to much suffering, the liberality of their friends, which must have been very great to supply the necessities of more than a thousand families, prevented them from being reduced to anything like the extremity of destitution. In their faithful adherence to their principles they trusted in God for the supply of their wants, and God rewarded them by inducing their rich friends, and even their poor friends, according to their ability, to act nobly in providing a liberal supply for them in the time of their need.

There was another source of supply about which I should like to have more definite and satisfactory information than I have been

* *Life of Martindale*, ch. vi. sect. 21.

In reading the *Life of Oliver Heywood*, as he says little about his receipts, we wonder how he procured a livelihood for his family, the good education of his boys, his travelling expenses, and money for the purchase of land at Little Lever, and a house at Northowram. On this subject Mr. Hunter observes : ' None of Mr. Heywood's accounts of receipt and expenditure have been preserved ; but it is evident that he cannot have lived all these years, conducting these frequent religious services, without gratuities from those who benefited by them. It is true, not many great, not many noble, were called ; but he cannot have visited such families as the Fairfaxes, Arthingtons, Dyneleys, Rawdens, Rhodeses, or the Sootwells, Cottons, Wordsworths, and Riches, without receiving from them gratuities which would bear some proportion not only to their estimate of the value of his very acceptable services, but also to their sense of the sacrifices which he had made in what they deemed a just and holy cause. His other friends were, for the most part, the lesser gentry, or the better kind of yeomanry—men whose names are not perhaps in the heralds' books, but men of substantial property, and whose sober and religious habits of life gave them the better power of being liberal and generous with their less affluent means. However, certain it is, that in the year of which we are speaking, he added to his estate at Little Lever by a purchase of land adjoining to it. " I must confess 'tis strange I should buy land in such a day as this ; but my case is almost like the prophet's, I was necessitated to buy it, and that God that cast it unsought-for on me can tell how to see it is discharged, though I had never so much money together in all my life."—*Life of Oliver Heywood*, chapter x.

hitherto able to obtain. The ejected ministers had some 'taste of the royal bounty.' Of the fact there can be no doubt. Of the extent of the bounty I am unable to speak with confidence.

What induced King Charles to bestow his bounty upon the nonconforming ministers is a question that may be answered by another: What induced him to vacillate so strangely in his conduct towards them—to promise and to threaten them, to encourage and to persecute them, to drive them from their congregations and to grant them indulgences, to prohibit their conventicles and to license their meeting-houses? He did these inconsistent things, but in doing them he preserved a consistent policy. He evidently desired, by means of an influential nonconformity, to obtain a legal toleration for Roman Catholics.

There were prevalent reports that pensions of 50*l.* to 100*l.* a year were granted by the court to the principal nonconforming ministers. These pensions were called hush money, by which, as their enemies insinuated, they were bribed to promote the design of the court, or at least not to oppose it, in conceding toleration to the Papists. That illiberal Churchmen, admirers of Clarendon, should have credited these insinuations is not surprising; but that liberal clergymen like Stillingfleet and Burnet should countenance the scandal shows how little Nonconformists were understood by some of their professed friends. In reply to Stillingfleet, Dr. Owen called the insinuation 'a frontless, malicious lie,' as it undoubtedly was; and he added 'never did any person in authority, dignity, or power in the nation speak to me or advise with me about any indulgence or toleration to be granted to Papists.'* Although Owen indignantly denied that he was consulted about tolerating Papists, he could not deny that he had received the royal bounty for the benefit of the ejected ministers.

The first intimation of the kindly intentions of the king towards the Nonconformists seems to have been made to Owen through the Duke of York. In an interview at Tunbridge Wells, the duke assured him that the king would like to converse with so eminent a divine. On his return to London the king sent for him, graciously intimated his good intentions towards the Nonconformists, and gave him a thousand guineas to distribute among his necessitous brethren. This gave rise to the ungenerous assertion of Burnet, 'The court hired the Dissenters to be silent, and they were very compliant.'† Matthew Poole is also mentioned as having received from the king considerable sums of money, which, I doubt not, he as well as Owen very honestly distributed.

* Preface to the *Answer to Stillingfleet*.

† *Life and Times*, vol. ii. p. 16. Orme's *Life of Owen*, p. 378. Orme considers this grant 'the beginning of the series of grants afterwards called *regium donum*,' I suspect that they began earlier, and that the stern independence of Baxter was not agreeable to the yielding spirit of Bates, Manton, and others. In Mr. Thomson's admirable *Life of Owen*, prefixed to the Edinburgh edition of his works, it is stated that Owen had the interview with the king in the royal tent at Tunbridge Wells. Our only authority is in the *Memoirs of Owen*, prefixed to the folio edition of his *Sermons*, from which it appears that the interview with the king was in London.

Baxter, however, acted the wiser, if not the nobler, part, in refusing, or as the reports of the time said, returning the king's money. His high feelings and stern integrity rendered him perhaps unduly sensitive, for I believe he would have seen the Dissenters starve rather than endanger their independence by becoming pensioners of the royal bounty.

I do not suppose that any 'taste of the royal bounty' refreshed the thirsty lips of the Lancashire Nonconformists. Baxter was their great example and adviser. With Owen they had little intercourse. Of no nonconformist leader does Newcome, Ambrose, or Heywood speak so reverently as of Richard Baxter.

So, in 1665, when the Oxford Act prohibited nonconforming ministers from residing within five miles of the places wherein they had exercised their ministry, or of any corporate town, unless they qualified for residence by taking an oath 'that it was not lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king,' none of the Lancashire ministers would take 'the ensnaring and slavish oath.' Although Bates, Howe, and others like them, on one pretext or another purchased their peace by taking the oath, it was enough for the Lancashire ministers to know that Richard Baxter had uttered his honest and indignant remonstrance against it, to induce them to leave their homes as nobly as they had resigned their benefices, and rather than submit to an unconstitutional exercise of arbitrary power, to retire to country villages, or to go, as several of them went, to 'the godly town without a corporation.' They did not understand the spirit of Howe or Bates, neither did Howe or Bates understand the spirit of the Lancashire Nonconformists.

For nearly ten years, during which the crooked and vacillating policy of the court excited their alternate hopes and fears, the ejected ministers persevered in the exercise of their ministry, exposed to the danger of fines, imprisonment, and even exile from their country. How much suffering they endured, and how meekly, patiently, bravely, they endured it, it is not within my purpose to relate. They found relief in a manner they little expected, and could scarcely approve. The declaration by which King Charles, in the unconstitutional exercise of his prerogative, suspended the execution of the penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, is dated March 15, 1671-2.

Clarendon, the persecutor of the Nonconformists, had fallen from his high estate, and found better employment in writing good history than in persecuting good people. He had made for himself enemies more powerful than the Nonconformists, and far more resentful. He hated the Papists, and the Papists conspired for his downfall. His unbending constancy and inflexible resolution, unbending and inflexible in manner as well as in purpose, had raised a powerful party against him in parliament as well as in the court. Vigorous, stern, hard, lofty, he never conciliated any of the numerous enemies whom he had made by his arbitrary measures and his rigorous execution of them. His good qualities as well as his bad ones combined to make him an object of dislike to the courtiers and favourites of the sovereign. His proud and lofty independence unfitted

him to be the utensil of a dishonest king or the manager of a profligate court. The king cherished preferences and purposes to which Clarendon had too much honour and integrity to become subservient. His insatiable ambition which he could not conceal, his extravagant magnificence which excited popular complaint, his rapid elevation, his relations to royalty, and the court intrigues—both those contrived against him, and those believed, truly or falsely, to be of his own contrivance—all contributed to hasten the fall of the great pillar of the established Church.

Soon after the passing of the Act of Uniformity his power began rapidly to decline. In the next year he was impeached for high treason, and though the impeachment failed, he was soon afterwards deprived of the great seal. Impeached a second time, he dared not to meet his accusers, but fled from his country, and was compelled to choose his residence among either Papists whom he passionately hated, or Presbyterians whom he had cruelly persecuted. He left England lamented by none, unless, strange to say, by the persecuted Nonconformists, who, in their dread of popery, feared lest a worse than even Clarendon should guide the policy of the government.

During the ten years of persecution which elapsed from the passing of the Act of Uniformity to the Declaration of Indulgence, the Lancashire Nonconformists had their share of the afflictions of their brethren. Although some of them were sheltered under the protection of powerful friends, or overlooked in the obscurity of their situations, or spared through the prudence with which they stooped before the storm, others were severely fined, cruelly imprisoned, or driven from their families and homes. Mr. Jollie of Altham, whose several imprisonments I have already noticed, seems to have been the greatest sufferer. He never recovered from the ill effects of the severe winter he spent in York Castle, exposed to bitter winds and driving rains in a dilapidated room without the comfort of a fire, nor from the disease contracted in his close confinement in Lancaster for preaching within five miles of Altham chapel. Mr. Bradshaw of Hindley, Mr. Yates of Warrington, and others, were imprisoned for preaching in private houses.

Before we welcome the approach of better days under the administration of the Duke of Buckingham, it is due to the memory of Charles Earl of Derby, the son of James, who was beheaded at Bolton, to observe that, instead of showing any disposition to avenge the death of his father upon the Nonconformists, he was rather disposed as lord-lieutenant of Lancashire to protect them, and to execute the severe laws of which he was the reluctant minister with as much leniency and forbearance as possible. In the 'Diary' of Henry Newcome is found honourable mention of several instances of the earl's kindness to the Nonconformists. On one occasion when his neighbour, Sir Roger Bradshaigh, complained to him of the conventicles which were held as near to his residence as St. Helens, the earl replied that if he was compelled to enforce the laws against the Presbyterians, he must with equal severity enforce them against the Papists whom Sir Roger protected. On another, when the rector of

Walton requested him to suppress a conventicle which was held at Toxteth Park, the earl enquired what the people did at the conventicle; 'Pray and preach,' was the reply of the rector, who was not remarkable for his own attention to such duties. 'As,' said the earl, 'you neither pray nor preach yourself, you might thank others who pray and preach for you.' *

The elevation of the Duke of Buckingham promised better times for the Nonconformists. Having married a daughter of Lord Fairfax and appointed a nonconforming minister to be her chaplain, he was not likely to continue the persecuting measures of Clarendon, whom he had long and resolutely opposed. The Nonconformists had to fear, not his dislike, but his strange inconsistency and his willingness to concede what little principle he had at the call of expediency. Previously to what the ministers called his 'conversion,' none of them, except Baxter, had a word to say in his favour; after that extraordinary event, they spoke of him, as they well might, with strange alternations of hope and fear, confidence and suspicion. He was to them as good a friend as any politician of expediency and pleasure could have been, and probably had he been a statesman of principle and integrity, he would not have had the opportunity of serving them at all. †

Although for five years neither the converted duke nor his unconverted master could obtain from parliament a toleration of nonconformity, the penal laws in many places were executed with little severity, and the nonconforming ministers found many opportunities of preaching in comparative safety and peace. Where the people were favourable and the magistrates lenient, they collected

* The character of Charles, the eighth Earl of Derby, is not very easily interpreted. Although he was no persecutor of the Nonconformists, he seems to have inherited his mother's dislike of the Papists. On some occasions he betrayed a profane and scoffing disposition, as when Bishop Wilkins preached at Knowsley one Sunday morning on the observance of the Sabbath. After dinner the earl, as if to show his appreciation of the bishop's arguments, 'called for tables to play with his guests.' Oliver Heywood says of him: 'The Earl of Derby is dead, having endured a long, pining disease. His body was opened, and the physicians found not one drop of blood in it, except a drop or two at his heart. It calls to my mind his commanding Mr. Christian to be shot to death in the Isle of Man, upon his mother's instigation, for delivering the castle to the parliament many years before. This was upon the king's coming in, for which his majesty frowned upon him. Christian's blood shed left no blood in a noble's body. There is a loss of him in Lancashire as being a great bulwark against Papists.' If all this be true, the 'instigation' of Charlotte de la Tremouille is the worst thing I know of her, the command of her son Charles the worst thing I know of him, the remark of Oliver Heywood about Christian's blood the worst thing I know of him, and the frown of King Charles nearly the best thing I know of him.

† The 'conversion' of Buckingham, however unfortunately it terminated, excited great interest at the time. A puritan minister wrote to Newcome: 'The Duke of Buckingham is become a most eminent convert, hath had a solemn day of prayer for the completing and confirming the great work upon him. Dr. Owen and others of the like persuasion were the carriers on of this great work. He grows more and more in favour and power.' Some time afterwards this 'most eminent convert' appealed in the House of Lords, in words which must have sounded outrageously puritanical in the ears of the court bishops, to 'the express doctrine and example of Jesus Christ.'—Hunter's *Life of Heywood*, p. 198. Neal, vol. ii. p. 703.

large congregations in private houses and sometimes even in the churches. Thus Oliver Heywood preached, not only as before, in churches with the approval of the clergymen or churchwardens, but even occasionally in his old pulpit at Coley chapel. Adam Martindale, in 1670, writes: 'In the interim there was so great connivance at public and private preaching in Bolton parish and in several other parishes adjacent, that except it was now and then to gratify some great person or special friend, I did not practise teaching mathematics at all. Yea, even such high episcopal men as Dr. Howorth and Mr. Mosley, justices of the peace, were engaged to me, and paid me nobly to teach in their houses, though they knew I preached publicly in two neighbour chapels, Gorton and Birch, and possibly might hear that I did the like at Cockey, Walmesley, Darwin, &c., and for all this, I never fell into any considerable trouble but only once.'

The exercise of the royal prerogative in 1672, by unconstitutionally suspending the penal laws, placed the Nonconformists in a position of great perplexity, and produced among themselves some diversity of opinion as well as alienation of feeling. That they should have liberty to preach seemed to them certainly right, however unconstitutional may have been the manner of giving them their rightful liberty. But most of them had made loud professions of their devoted allegiance to parliamentary government, with which professions it seemed inconsistent to acknowledge the prerogative of the king in suspending the laws of parliament. It was also evident that the king and his courtiers intended to favour the Papists under the pretext of tolerating the Dissenters. Although in our time all parties acknowledge the right of the Catholics to religious liberty, that right was acknowledged by no party when every town and village in the country preserved many traditions of the fierce conflict between Papists and Protestants. The times were threatening, the signs of the future were ominous, popery was showing its strength, the heir to the throne was a Papist, as were many of the officers of the court. Emissaries from Rome were working in many parts of the kingdom, and in no part more actively than in Lancashire; Jesuits and seminary priests appeared there in greater numbers than had been known since the time of the Spanish invasion; popish plots, real or counterfeit, disturbed the minds of patriots as well as of Puritans. I do not wonder that, in the uncertainty of the times, Protestant Dissenters were greatly perplexed to know the right and wise course for them to pursue.

They generally acted with much caution, perhaps with more caution than courage. Their liberty was to be obtained, provided they would ask for it; but how could they ask for a dispensation from penal laws, without acknowledging the dispensing power of the king? To men among whom parliamentary government was a superstition, almost a gospel, their liberty seemed opposed to parliamentary authority, and if, under the perplexing circumstances of the time, they acted with some inconsistency, they are not to be severely blamed. The common-sense view of the subject taken by that plain, strong-minded man, Adam Martindale, does not appear to have

presented itself to any of his neighbours: 'I have done no more by the king's permission than I would, if I could, have done without it.'*

In London the Independent ministers resolved to accept their liberty, and presented to the king an address of thanks for his 'gracious clemency and indulgence.' After some days the Presbyterians overcame their reluctance, and followed the Independents with a more moderate and cautious address, in which, notwithstanding its extreme moderation and caution, Baxter would not unite with his brethren.

In the country many of the presbyterian ministers were almost as difficult to please as Baxter himself. Philip Henry was put into what he calls 'a trilemma, either to turn Independent in practice, or to strike in with the conformists, or to sit down in silence and suffering.' He, however, managed to get out of his 'trilemma' by procuring a license.

In Lancashire the ministers were not so scrupulous as many of their London brethren. Intelligence of the king's declaration, which was published on March 15, reached Manchester on the 18th of the month. The ministers resident or sojourning in that neighbourhood immediately held a conference, and agreed to write to their friend Alderman Ashurst in London, for further information and advice. Their first thought was that, as they were promised so much by the king, they might obtain a little more from the bishops. They requested the alderman to wait upon the bishops, and solicit liberty to preach 'in void chapels and churches, where the incumbent would give leave.' By this time they might have known the bishops better; but they were good, confiding people, who had over their own diocese the most liberal bishop of the bench. This letter was signed by Holbrooke, Richardson, Leaver, Scoles, Risley, Finch, Bell, Angier, Newcome, Constantine, Eaton, and Jones. Ashurst, in reply, informed them how they might take advantage of the king's declaration. Permission to preach in the churches was positively refused, but any minister might apply for a license for his own or any other house in which he intended to conduct religious services. Every applicant was required to state the denomination, Presbyterian, Independent, or Baptist, to which he belonged. Baxter, who was always scrupulous about doing anything he was required to do, was

* In connection with the dispensing power, Martindale refers to an extraordinary movement of the good Bishop of Chester, of which I should be glad to obtain more information. 'About this time Bishop Wilkins, observing what a great company of drunken ministers there were in his diocese, and especially near Wigan, his residence, was resolved to turn such out, or at the least to suspend them, and to fill their place with better men, and having a good opinion of some of us that he took to be moderate Nonconformists, he proposed terms to us, to which we returned a thankful answer, showing our willingness to comply in anything that would not cross our principles, and instancing in particulars what we could do. But the Archbishop of York at his visitation took all power out of his hands for a year, soon after which Bishop Wilkins died.'—*Life*, ch. vii. sect. 7. The bishop, like the king, seems to have claimed 'a dispensing power' in employing 'moderate Nonconformists.' Wilkins died in London, Nov. 19, 1672, in the house of his friend Dr. Tillotson.

suddenly troubled with a scruple about calling himself, what he had often called himself before, a Presbyterian. He procured by special favour a license as a Nonconformist. In Lancashire the ministers had no difficulty in that particular.

On April 19, eighteen ministers met in Manchester, 'to consult about the use of the king's declaration.' Although the meeting was professedly convened for the ministers of Lancashire, Oliver Heywood, who considered himself almost a minister of his native county, was present, and took part in the consultation. The proceedings were conducted with perfect harmony, and the ministers took a more decided course in separating from the Established Church than their brethren in any other of the northern counties, perhaps I might say in any other county of England. In the first place, the Presbyterian ministers joined with the Independents in one address to the king, indicating their united course of action, while the ministers of the two denominations, even in London, could not arrive at any common understanding upon the subject. In the next, they gave no countenance to any such purpose as that avowed by the ministers of Yorkshire and of Derbyshire, of opening their licensed meetings only in the hours in which the churches were closed. And in the third, they made no such profession as that of their Yorkshire brethren who, at a conference in York, agreed to 'endeavour to persuade the people who came to hear, that they pay all their accustomed dues and duties to their parish minister, and that they withdraw not any part of them or of their wonted respect on any account.'

The address eventually signed by thirty-six presbyterian ministers and six Independents was:—

‘ TO THE KING’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,

‘ The most humble and dutiful acknowledgment of the Nonconforming Ministers in the county of Lancaster.

‘ May it please your most excellent Majesty,

‘ We, your most loyal and faithful subjects, being deeply sensible of your princely clemency and favourable inclination towards us, manifested in your most gracious Declaration of Indulgence, dated March 15, 1671-2, make this our most humble and grateful acknowledgment thereof, sincerely promising our constant and cordial endeavours, to the utmost of our capacity, to promote your majesty's honour, interest, and authority, as also our peaceable and inoffensive deportment in the exercise of the liberty so freely vouchsafed to us; whereby as (by God's assistance) we shall evidence that our nonconformity was not out of any disaffection or disloyalty to your majesty's person or government, so we shall give your majesty such cause to be confident of our loyalty as we hope may encourage you to continue your royal favour, and to confirm your gracious indulgence and clemency towards us.’

It is remarkable that Mr. Angier, although he retained the episcopal chapel of Denton, signed this address as a nonconforming minister;

as did also his nephew Samuel, who at the time was serving as his curate. Indeed, in all the proceedings of the Lancashire Nonconformists both the uncle and the nephew took an active part.

The ministers of Lancashire were not long in obtaining their licenses. On April 21 Mr. Newcome received information that a license for him, as a presbyterian minister, to preach in his own house, was obtained, and without waiting for its arrival he opened his house for public preaching. As he had no room which could accommodate many persons, he procured, on May 13, a license for a barn, in which he preached on Sabbath evenings after the church services had closed, and on Wednesday evenings. His observant enemies thought they had obtained some advantage over him. The intolerant magistrates of Manchester, presuming that he had no other license than that which he had obtained for his private house, sent the constable to bring him to account for preaching in an unlicensed place. He had been more careful than they supposed, and having produced his new license, declared his intention of preaching a weekly lecture in the barn.

Several ministers licensed their own houses or houses of their friends in which they could obtain a commodious room. They went to little expense for furniture, providing no other conveniences than benches, a table, and a desk. When considerable numbers attended, they occupied school-houses, barns, hay-lofts, and temporary wooden buildings. In Bolton one of the licensed meeting-places must have been large, for in it Mr. Leaver 'administered the Lord's Supper every month to some hundreds.' The liberty of the Nonconformists was too precarious, and their prospects too uncertain, to encourage them to erect durable and expensive buildings. The only building worthy the name of a chapel, erected by the Dissenters during the time of the indulgences in the north of England, was one at Mill Hill in Leeds. It was, according to Thoresby, the first chapel erected by the Dissenters '*more ecclesiastico*, with arches.'

Before the granting of the 'Indulgences,' several of the ejected ministers of Lancashire had fallen asleep in Jesus. John Harrison of Ashton, Samuel Mather of Burton Wood, Henry Welch of Chorley, James Hyett of Croston, Isaac Ambrose of Garstang, William Leigh of Gorton, Joseph Thompson of Sephton, and probably one or two others had gone beyond the reach of their persecutors. Some had removed to other counties; two or three, induced by various motives, had relinquished the ministry; two or three in the time of distress had returned to the Church; and two or three were incapacitated for preaching by the infirmities of sickness or age. The following, who obtained licenses for different buildings, deserve honourable mention as the principal founders of the dissenting interest in Lancashire: *—

* From the Register preserved in the Record Office, extracts from which have been made by Joshua Wilson, Esq., it appears that fifty-one licenses were granted for Presbyterian ministers, some in houses specified and some 'in any allowed place,' and seven for Congregational ministers. I notice almost all the ministers in the course of the narrative. Many of their names are strangely spelt.

Mr. Newcome, as I have already noticed, obtained a license, first for his own house, and, soon afterwards, on account of its incapacity to accommodate his numerous hearers, for a barn in the neighbourhood of Shude Hill. Mr. Richardson, who had been the early morning preacher in the collegiate church, licensed a house in Chorlton, and preached to as many as its largest apartment would contain. Mr. Pyke of Radcliffe licensed a house at Blackley, and collected a considerable congregation. Mr. Constantine of Oldham licensed a barn* on Greenacres Moor, and founded the dissenting interest which still adheres to its old faith and maintains a good position in the village. Mr. Bath of Rochdale opened a commodious house at Underhill in the same parish. Mr. Robert Eaton preached to a congregation in Prestwich. Mr. Goodwin of Bolton took out a license for a private house† in that town, where he soon collected a very large and influential congregation. Mr. Leaver had also a licensed place in Bolton sufficiently capacious to hold some hundreds of people. Mr. Wright of Billing licensed the house of Mary Lyon of Prescott. Mr. Whitehead preached to his old congregation at Dalton, who had deserted the church after he was ejected, and now heard him gladly. Mr. Jollie of Altham licensed several houses in the hundred of Blackburn, where the independent churches of Darwen, Hesketh Lane, Egerton, and Wymond Houses originated chiefly from his labours. Mr. Heywood of Ormskirk licensed a house at Bickerstaffe and another in Scarisbrick, and preached in them alternately. With these meeting-places should be associated the chapels of Birch, Cockey Moor, Toxteth Park, St. Helen's, and Elswick, for which the ministers who kept possession obtained the king's licenses. Besides these meeting-places intended for the regular services of 'stated' ministers, many private houses were licensed for occasional preaching, and were frequently occupied by ministers on their itinerancies, and on special occasions.

Thus in 1672 was founded, amidst many fears, anxieties, and prayers, what may be called the Old Dissent of Lancashire. It was chiefly, but not exclusively, Presbyterian, for from the time that the Presbyterians and Congregationalists united in their address of grateful acknowledgment to the king they acted together with uninterrupted harmony. Their mode of conducting public worship was the same; they often preached for one another; Oliver Heywood and Thomas Jollie resorted to the same licensed houses in their preaching tours. In one instance, as we have seen, the two parties occupied the same chapel. They kept private days together, occasionally united in sacramental communion, and even co-operated in ordination services. Indeed, presbyterianism as an organised government of the Church by classes and synods was no longer practicable. Presbyterian congregations practically and necessarily in most parti-

* It is called a 'barn' in the register, but in all other accounts it is represented as a house.

† The house of John Okey, brother-in-law of Oliver Heywood. The memory of Okey has been perpetuated by a very long epitaph, which has been printed so often that I do not think it worth printing any more.

culars became independent, and if new jealousies had not been fomented, and new controversies excited, the old distinction would long since have been obliterated and forgotten.

Uncertain as was their toleration, and precarious their livelihood, the nonconforming ministers resolved to perpetuate their ministry. Satisfied with their church order as scriptural, they began to contemplate it as worthy of preservation for a testimony to the truth and a blessing to the people. The question of ordaining young ministers was one of some difficulty, and therefore brought under careful consideration. The times were unfavourable, the obstacles formidable, the old modes of ordination impracticable, the provision for the ordained uncertain, and the induction to a pastorate difficult. While some leading men hesitated, others resolved to proceed, although they were compelled in doing so to act upon independent principles. The first ordination among the nonconforming ministers seems like a compromise between the two parties, and many subsequent ordinations in the north of England were solemnised in the same manner.

On October 29, 1672, in the house of Mr. Robert Eaton of Deansgate, in Manchester, was conducted what I have no doubt was the first ordination in England of nonconforming ministers.* The candidates were Mr. Joseph Dawson, a young friend of Oliver Heywood, Mr. Samuel Angier, the nephew of John Angier of Denton, and Mr. John Jollie, a younger brother of the independent minister of Altham. The ministers who conducted the solemnity were Mr. Heywood, Mr. Angier, Mr. Finch, Mr. Newcome, and Mr. Eaton; of whom it is remarkable that Mr. Finch was the pastor of a congregational church, and Mr. Angier, the incumbent of Denton, was in some sense subordinate to episcopal authority. Of the candidates, Mr. Dawson was a Presbyterian, Mr. Jollie an Independent, and Mr. Samuel Angier an assistant to his uncle in the episcopal chapel. The solemn service commenced with three prayers, offered by Mr. Eaton, Mr. Finch, and Mr. Heywood. Mr. Angier then received the confession from Mr. Dawson, proposed to him some important questions, and received satisfactory answers. Mr. Newcome performed the same service with respect to Mr. Samuel Angier, and Mr. Eaton with respect to Mr. Jollie. Mr. Newcome then delivered a charge to the three young men, and closed the service with prayer and benediction. It must have been a solemn and impressive service, the auspicious precursor of many similar, continued to this day among Protestant Dissenters. It designated also a great change in the relation of nonconformity to the Church; a recognition of a ministry permanently and avowedly separated from the episcopal communion. Oliver Heywood says, 'It was a sweet, solemn day, a hopeful budding of Aaron's rod after a sharp winter. Blessed be the Lord!'*

* In calling this 'the first ordination of nonconforming ministers,' I mean the first after the passing of the Act of Uniformity. There were previously several ordinations of both pastors and teachers in the 'gathered churches' of the Independents.

* In Wilson's *History of the Dissenting Churches in London*, under the article

Affecting as are the accounts of the ordination of young men to the nonconformist ministry in the unsettled times of the indulgences, far more affecting are the accounts of poor persecuted ministers, religiously devoting their most promising sons to the sacred service in which they had suffered so much, and which promised very little comfort to their successors. As soon as they had resolved that their ministry should be perpetuated by succession, many of them were ready to bear their full proportion of the responsibilities incurred by their decision. Within a year after they had obtained their licenses, some of them consecrated their sons to the self-denying service of their humble sanctuaries, and expended considerable sums in providing for those sons a liberal and appropriate education.

In 1673, Oliver Heywood, who knew as well as any man then living the sufferings of the nonconformist ministry, solemnly by prayer and fasting dedicated his two sons to that laborious service, and sent them to the Rev. Mr. Hickman, a scholar of high reputation, who at that early date had opened an academy in Worcestershire for the education of youth for the nonconformist ministry. With these boys were associated the sons of two intimate friends of Mr. Heywood, Mr. Richardson, an ejected minister, and Mr. Cotton, probably the first layman who ever trained a son for the ministry of Protestant Dissenters. It would not have been consonant with the habits or feelings of a puritan family to allow an event of so much domestic interest to pass without being hallowed by religious solemnities.

How affecting is the account which Mr. Heywood gives of these solemnities in his 'Diary!' 'My sons being to go abroad for their learning, I took them with me to three private days this week. One was at Halifax, May 14; one at home, May 15; the last at Mr. Dawson's, May 16. But Thursday at home was such a day as we have seldom had. I purposely appointed it to seek God on their behalf,

'Presbyterian Meeting House in Little St. Helens,' it is said: 'The first public ordination held by the Nonconformists after the Bartholomew Act was performed in this place, June 23, 1694.' The ordination in Manchester was twenty-two years earlier. An ordination was celebrated in 1678 in a house in Craven, where Mr. Heywood was engaged. In 1680 another was solemnised in the same house. Two others were observed in Yorkshire in 1681. Indeed, several took place in the north before that mentioned by Walter Wilson. Nor is it correct to say it was the first *public* ordination. At the ordination of Timothy Jollie, in 1681, the people were present and were 'strangely affected.' During the examination of the candidate the ministers were left alone, but afterwards the people returned, for towards the close of the service those not of the church were desired to withdraw, but the members remained. See several references in the *Life of Oliver Heywood*. As early as 1688 an ordination was held in the private house of Dr. Annealey in Spital Fields. Joseph Hussey of Cambridge was then ordained 'with examination, confession, fasting, prayer, and imposition of the hands of the Presbytery.' Hussey had to 'dispute with the Doctors in Latin on the theme, *Papam esse illum Antichristum*.' His testimonials were signed by S. Annealey, S.T.P., S. A. Slater, John Quick, Robert Franklin and Richard Turner. In the Latin copy mention is made of a sixth person concerned, 'Domino Anonymo.' Of this Dominus Mr. Hussey says, 'The sixth man was *siue* because of the cloudiness of the times, and would neither subscribe nor be known to me.' A full account in the handwriting of Mr. Hussey is inserted in a kind of church-book preserved by the Independent church in Cambridge.

and God wonderfully helped all His servants to plead for them. About the middle of the day I called them both before the company, and asked them several questions, as "What calling they chose?" With tears they both answered, "The ministry." I asked them, "For what end? they might suffer persecution; must not dream of honour therein, and to live like gentlemen," &c. They told me, "Their only end was to glorify God and win souls." I marked John's words: he said, "He desired to do God more service than any of his ancestors." I asked them, "What they desired Mr. Dawson and the rest of God's servants might pray to God for on their behalf?" They spoke openly, both of them. Eliezer spoke first, and said, "That God would give them grace and gifts, forgive the sins of their childhood and loss of time; would make them studious, keep them from temptation and sinful company." John's answer was much what of that nature. They both wept exceedingly; tears dropped down apace; the whole company wept. Then I gave them up solemnly to God in His work. They that went to prayer read also a scripture. W. B. read 1 Samuel i., of dedicating Samuel to God; Mr. Dawson read Genesis xxviii., of Isaac's sending away his son Jacob; R. R. read Proverbs iii., about getting wisdom; Mr. Hodgson read the latter end of Genesis xlviii., and when he came to those words, "The angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads," tears stopped him; we all wept. The scripture I read, and expounded briefly, was 1 Chronicles xx, of Solomon's charge by David about building the temple. In prayer God helped all; but God wrought strangely in my heart: oh, what a flood of tears! what pleadings with God! I can scarce remember the like. Blessed be God! it's a token for good. At night, after the young men's conference, I set my two sons a-praying. Eliezer began, and wept and prayed very feelingly; but John exceeded, both in strong scriptural expostulations and sobbing and weeping, that sometimes he could hardly speak; and such an evening of such a day I have seldom had in all my life. I watch to "hear what the Lord will speak" to all these; surely "He will speak peace;" but oh, that I and mine might "not return to folly!"

It is remarkable that in the time of the indulgences the ministers of Lancashire seem to have been more scantily supplied with the comforts of life than they had been in the time of persecution. On examining the memoirs and diaries of several, we find references to their circumstances which induce us to conclude they were not so well provided for in the regular discharge of pastoral duties, as they had been when they looked, under God, to the casual but liberal contributions of friends, or even strangers, who sustained and cheered them in their ten years of wandering and trouble. Whether the sympathy felt for them in their suffering had become weakened in their enjoyment of liberty, whether the efforts strenuously made to provide a supply of their wants were thought no longer necessary, or whether their friends, subjected to heavier expenses in providing places of worship, were unable to maintain the rate of their contri-

butions for the ministers, I do not know; but I hear at this time expressions of poverty and want which I have not previously heard from the lips of the ejected ministers. They have hitherto had to complain of persecution and imprisonment rather than of neglect and destitution. When fined for preaching, they appear more easily to have found friends to pay their fines than they could to feed and clothe their families, while they were preaching to respectable congregations. At least it was so in some instances.

On consulting the 'Autobiography' of Newcome to ascertain how he fared in the year of his liberty, I find him writing: 'Several times this summer I was hard put to it for outward supplies; oft brought almost to the last dust in the barrel. As before April 5, so now June 17 and 20, August 30, October 22 and 28, I had much trouble by adversaries and by friends who would overdrive me. Fain I would do what good I could, and yet keep also the esteem of the public. I did what I could, and thought the Lord saw the mercy and content of liberty too great for me, unless balanced with these burdens.' Referring to his neighbour Edmond Jones, the ejected minister of Eccles, he writes: 'I find in poor Mr. Jones's case, and it is well if it prove not so with me, that the indulgence as to outward things will have done great prejudice.' When Newcome made this entry, his 'dear friend and brother in the work and patience of the gospel, Mr. Edmond Jones,' was within six days' journey of his Father's house. According to the next entry, intelligence of his death came on May 1, 1673.

Martindale, our other authority in these matters, being at that time chaplain to Lord Delamere, was provided for somewhat more comfortably, though not very liberally. His autobiography supplies an interesting account of the position and services of a nonconforming chaplain in the family of a presbyterian nobleman. His official duties confined him to residence at Dunham Park from May until October, which time 'my lord' spent at his country house, according to the custom of the noblemen of his day. The rest of the year he was at liberty to live where he pleased, and to obtain some addition to his income by teaching mathematics. He tells us, 'My salary was after 40*l.* per annum; for so much of the year as the family was at Dunham; that being usually about half the year (sometimes a little more, sometimes a great deal less), that which was called 40*l.* would be dwindled to 21*l.*, 20*l.*, or 15*l.*, or thereabouts, out of which there were divers defalcations, as fees to many officers in the family, which without paltry nigardise, or the repute of it, could not be avoided. The charge of having one in constant pay to wait upon me in my chamber, and bring me necessaries; for though the groom of the chambers ought by his office to do it, his ordinary employment, morning and evening to make clean the dining-rooms, and his extraordinary business with guests, would not give him time for it. As for the remainder, a great part was necessarily squandered in apparel, for gentlemen's chaplains about us, as the bishop's, Sir Willoughby Aston's, Sir Peter Leicester's, &c., were single men and conformists, that had every one of them a benefice, or a chapel, or a fellowship.

This enabled them to go very fine. I, being in regard to my lord's honour and mine own age, to take place of all these, or all but one, must needs be somewhat answerable to them. Yea, it was expected of me that my wife and children too should in their habit bear some proportion. Add to this that some that got twice as much in private as I got at Dunham had great gifts and tokens sent them, as I had when I was first ousted of my vicarage, but now it is thought my place is so beneficial that I was passed by, my friends in London and elsewhere thinking I had no need, and I could not well undeceive them for fear of reflecting upon that noble family.*

But whatever may have been the effect of the Declaration of Indulgence upon the temporal or spiritual condition of the nonconforming ministers, the king was compelled by the constitutional vigilance and pressure of his parliament to rescind it. Adhering firmly to it until the Commons refused to pass the Money Bill, he then yielded, contrary to the advice of his ministers, but in compliance with the wishes of his mistresses, who were sadly in want of money to support their extravagance. In parliament no man spoke more resolutely against the indulgences than Alderman Love, the presbyterian representative of London, who was cheered by the other presbyterian members when he made his patriotic avowal that 'he would rather go without, his own liberty than obtain it by the destruction of the liberties of his country.' On March 8, 1673, the king, in the presence of the Commons, broke the seal of his Declaration of Indulgence, by which act the licenses granted under its authority became unavailing in every court of law. The Commons promised to grant relief to Protestant Dissenters, but their promise was never fulfilled, as the dissenting representatives were unwilling to promote a legal toleration, in which Papists, Quakers, and other intolerable people might be included.

Three days after the event, the news reached Manchester of the rescinding of the king's indulgences. It was received by the populace with great delight. The bells were rung, the bonfires were lighted, the streets resounded with shouts of joy, the whole town seemed revelling in festivity and mirth. It is not easy to say why the people received the intelligence with so much rejoicing and acclamation. Their applause could not have been the expression of sympathy with the triumph of constitutional principles, in opposition to the arbitrary purposes of the court, for Newcome says of the populace, 'They expressed much joy and scorn over us.' The tide of popular feeling was evidently turning in Manchester. A reaction was commencing against puritanism, which proceeded until it produced a complete change in the political and religious character of

* *Life*, chap. viii. sec. 1. If any are curious to know what the chaplain did for his salary, Adam will satisfy them. 'My employment (besides accompanying my lord often abroad) was family duty twice a day, which before dinner was a short prayer, a chapter, and a more solemn prayer, and before supper the like, or a psalm or part of one after the chapter. When it was my lord's pleasure that the Lord's days or the king's days should be kept at home, I officiated; and when on the Lord's days we went to Bowdon, I catechised in the evening, and expounded in a doctrinal and practical way.'

the town. Manchester, having been a few years earlier distinguished above all the great towns of the north for its love of puritanism and constitutional liberty, became, a few years later, the stronghold of intolerance and arbitrary power. Newcome observed the transition at its commencement. Neither popery nor unlimited prerogative was as yet generally popular in the town, but the austerities, and I fear the good morals, of puritanism had become unwelcome to the new generation. Newcome frequently and sorrowfully refers to the young men, whose fathers he honoured and loved, having fallen into shameless irreligion, intemperance, and profligacy. Under the demoralising influence which, since the restoration of royalty, had been widely spreading over the country, they despised the virtues which their fathers honoured, and indulged in the vices which their fathers abhorred. In the next generation Manchester became one of the most prelatical and Jacobitical towns in England.

On the revocation of their licenses, the ministers of Manchester, to whom their brethren in the neighbourhood looked for example and advice, convened a meeting at the house of Mr. Newcome, to consider whether they should continue their preaching or desist from it for a time.* After considerable debate they agreed to desist for the present, induced by the hope that parliament, according to its resolution, would do something for their relief. Having waited some time in vain for the interposition of parliament, they began, not by concert, but as they were severally inclined, to resume their preaching. On April 30, Newcome wrote: 'Others having begun before me, I began again. And the Lord heard me in this thing, for we have had our liberty for above half a year without any molestation at all.' Under the circumstances all political parties were perplexed, and, in their perplexity, they hesitated to enforce the law. The king's friends knew that he had reluctantly suspended the indulgences, and therefore were unwilling to act as supporters of his enemies. On the other hand, the friends of parliamentary government were also the friends of the nonconforming ministers, and had expressed their admiration of the manner in which the Nonconformists had to their own injury opposed the exercise of an unconstitutional prerogative. Here and there an ignorant or bigoted justice might fine or imprison a nonconforming preacher, but influential magistrates of both parties, though for different reasons, were reluctant to punish peaceable ministers. For some time, therefore, in Lancashire, they preached with little interruption from the public authorities. Their most troublesome enemies were noisy, drunken mobs, too often instigated by profligate gentry and hostile clergy, who, unhappily, could plead on their side the majesty of law and constitutional authority.

After a few months the Nonconformists found that quietude dependent upon arbitrary power was not to be trusted. The courtiers complained that the Dissenters had not supported the prerogative of the king as a regard to their own interests might have suggested, or

* The meeting was held on May 11. Oliver Heywood, to whom we are indebted for the information, being in Manchester at the time, was invited to assist in the consultation.—*Hunter's Life of Heywood*, p. 248.

gratitude to their benefactor have required. It became known that they were not in favour with the court. Informers went through the country; prelatial magistrates were stimulated to activity; the hopes which had been excited in the minds of Nonconformists, at one time by the king, at another by the parliament, alike failed, and the closing years of the reign of Charles were foreboding and disastrous to the cause of protestant nonconformity.

Amidst the uncertainty and gloom of that time, it is remarkable that several candidates for the dissenting ministry appeared, and that academies for their appropriate training were opened and encouraged.

I have already alluded to the academy which was opened in 1673, for the education of dissenting youth contemplating the ministry, at Bromsgrove, in Worcestershire. About the same time Mr. Richard Frankland, who had commenced an academy for the sons of nonconformist gentlemen on his hereditary estate at Rathmel, in Craven, on the borders of Lancashire, began to receive young men who desired to pursue a course of study for the dissenting ministry. 'As in this academy were educated many of the ministers who succeeded the founders of Lancashire nonconformity, and contributed to its strength and permanence, a brief notice of it may be necessary to render subsequent references intelligible to the reader.

Richard Frankland was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge. Having gained a high reputation for his scholarship, he was appointed during the Commonwealth vice-president and tutor of the college founded by Cromwell at Durham, and intended by him to supply the place of a university for the northern counties.

On the Restoration, the attempt to form a third university having failed, Mr. Frankland lost his appointment, and, on the passing of the Act of Uniformity, his well-endowed benefice of Bishop Auckland. A gentleman by descent as well as by education and accomplishments, he settled upon his property and opened the academy to which I have referred.

As a schoolmaster Mr. Frankland was exposed to the penalties of the Act of Uniformity, and was compelled, as was not unusual with teachers in those times, to remove his pupils from one obscure situation to another. Having begun at Rathmel in 1672, he removed to Natland, near Kendal, in 1674; thence to Calton in Craven in 1683; thence to Dawsonfold; thence to Hartborough; and thence to Attercliffe in 1686. On the passing of the Act of Toleration, he ceased from his wanderings and settled again upon his property at Rathmel, where he remained until his death in 1698. In these several places he educated three hundred and three students, of whom the large proportion intended for the dissenting ministry shows how the friends of nonconformity were willing to devote their sons to its service, persecuted as it was at the time, and precarious and unpromising as seemed its future. In August, 1673, the year of the revocation of their licenses, two of the ejected ministers of Lancashire placed their sons under the care of Mr. Frankland: Mr. Yates of Warrington, who consecrated his 'dear Samuel,' and Mr. Jollie of Altham, who

devoted his 'young Timothy' to the work of the nonconformist ministry. There can be no doubt that these two lads, like Mr. Heywood's John and Eliezer, were, on leaving their respective homes, commended to their holy calling by the solemnities of a 'private day.' In 1674 Mr. Heywood's two sons and their three friends, Thomas Cotton, Christopher Richardson, and Godsgift* Kirby, were removed from Bromsgrove to the more flourishing academy of Mr. Frankland. They were soon joined by four Lancashire lads, a son of Nathaniel Heywood of Ormskirk, a nephew of John Angier, a son of Mr. Eaton, then minister at Prestwich, and Eliezer Birch of the puritan family of Birch Hall. These, and several others of the county admitted soon after them, show the great esteem in which the academy was held by the Nonconformists of Lancashire.

It may prevent our return to the subject, if we anticipate a few years by observing that two of Mr. Frankland's pupils established academies for the preparation of youth for the nonconformist ministry, Mr. Timothy Jollie at Attercliffe, and Mr. John Chorlton in Manchester.

Although Timothy Jollie was never settled as a minister in Lancashire, yet, as a native of the county, a son of one of its most laborious ministers, often preaching in it, receiving many pupils from it, and supplying from his academy some of the best ministers of its vacant meeting-houses, he demands from us respectful notice. His life also supplies valuable information on a subject imperfectly understood, and yet on many accounts of great importance—the happy and harmonious co-operation of the leaders of the Presbyterians and the Independents in the north of England during the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Although Thomas Jollie of Altham was a decided Independent, he committed his son to the care of a presbyterian tutor; and when that son became an independent tutor, he was entrusted with the sons of several presbyterian ministers. Timothy Jollie, having completed his studies under Mr. Frankland, and spent some time in connection with an independent congregation in London, accepted an invitation to the pastorate of a nonconformist church in Sheffield. His ordination is one of the most remarkable in nonconformist history, on account of the curious adjustment and blending in it of the distinctive peculiarities of the two denominations. Of the ministers engaged, Thomas Jollie the Independent and Oliver Heywood the Presbyterian, 'chief men of their respective denominations in the northern counties, undertook the principal parts. The service was conducted in the house of Abel Yates. The ministers chose, according to presbyterian usage, Mr. Heywood to be their moderator. They began their work on the first day about ten o'clock in the morning with prayer. The candidate for orders preached a sermon in the presence of a considerable congregation. The people then retired, and the ministers examined the young man in logic, philosophy, lan-

* The name Godsgift sounds in our ears as very puritanical or very profane, although, disguised in foreign speech as Theodore or as Diodato, it sounds very respectable, almost genteel.

guages, and divinity. By some mistake no Latin thesis was prepared, but instead of it the candidate had to engage in an extemporaneous debate on the difficult subject, *An infantes omnes baptizatorum, etsi scandalizantium, sint baptizandi*. Extemporaneous Latin disputation would, I fear, sorely try the scholarship of some ministerial candidates of this degenerate age. This continuing until about six o'clock was enough for the first day. The ministers resumed their work about seven o'clock the next morning. Mr. Hancock and Mr. Bloom prayed, when most of the members of the society were present. Mr. Heywood proposed several questions, the answers to which were pronounced 'very satisfactory.' Mr. Thomas Jollie 'in a very pathetic manner gave up his son to the ministry as he had formerly given him up to God in his baptism.' Mr. Heywood prayed solemnly over the candidate, and the ministers standing round laid their hands upon his head while he was kneeling in their midst. Mr. Heywood gave him a faithful charge, and followed it with another prayer.

Thus far presbyterian usage prevailed, but then all persons who were not members of the church withdrew, and even the presbyterian ministers retired. In their absence, an officer of the church read a letter of dismission from the church to which Mr. Jollie had belonged in London, on whose recommendation he was received into the communion of the church at Sheffield. Mr. Jollie was then called by the voice of an elder, with which the members expressed their concurrence, to take upon himself the office of their pastor. To this call he gave his distinct and formal assent. His father then preached on the relative duties of pastor and people, and the son concluded the whole service with prayer. The service of the second day occupied about twelve hours.*

Mr. Heywood in his diary notices, with grateful acknowledgment to God, the harmony and fraternal feeling with which ministers of the two denominations acted together on that occasion. There was no jealousy, no discord, 'no noise of a hammer in that building.' It was like 'an olive branch of peace among God's people.' A record of the proceedings, engrossed on parchment, was signed by the ministers engaged and given to the minister ordained.†

Mr. Jollie is represented by Bogue and Bennett in their 'History of Dissenters,' as well as by Walter Wilson in his 'History of Dissenting Churches in London,' as succeeding Mr. Frankland in the presidency of the academy at Attercliffe. This representation is not quite correct. Soon after Mr. Frankland removed his academy from Attercliffe to Rathmel, Mr. Jollie opened in the former place another academy, in which several Presbyterians as well as Independents were educated for the ministry.

* The ordination services of the early Nonconformists often occupied three days, but on these occasions several candidates were usually ordained in the same place.

† Hunter's *Life of Oliver Heywood*, p. 301. As the service had been, imprudently as Mr. Heywood thought, made known in the town, the ministers were in some fear of interruption. Mr. Heywood notices, as a great mercy, 'there was no disturbance nor affront whatever in the midst of a considerable market town.'

This academy was of great advantage to the nonconformist congregations of Lancashire. As there were usually about twenty-five students under the care of its tutor, simultaneously preparing for the ministry, it furnished a considerable proportion of preachers for the vacant pulpits. One of Mr. Jollie's pupils, Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor, minister of the presbyterian congregation which assembled for worship in Crosby Hall, London, has left us the following description of his venerated tutor: 'He had a charming voice, flowing, and of a musical sound; a natural eloquence. His elocution and gesture were such as would adorn an orator. The pathetic was sometimes so heightened with that divine enthusiasm which is peculiar to true devotion, that he would make our hearts glow with a fervour which he kindled in the breasts of those who endeavoured all they could not to be moved by him. There have been tutors of greater learning, who have been capable of laying out a greater compass of education; but at the same time it must be acknowledged that the relish for practical religion, that devotional spirit which was so improved by his example, that sweetness of temper and benevolent turn of mind which a soul of anything the same make insensibly catches from such an example, are things not everywhere to be met with, and yet have such an influence towards our usefulness and acceptance as ministers, as cannot easily be supplied by any other qualification.'*

The other academy to which I have referred was established in Manchester by Mr. Chorlton, the assistant and successor of Henry Newcome. He appears from the testimony of his tutor and contemporaries to have been eminently qualified by his learning, judgment, and piety, to prepare young men for the Christian ministry. Matthew Henry says: 'He was eminent for solid judgment, great thought, an extraordinary quickness and readiness of expression, a casuist one of a thousand, a wonderful clear head.' His academy acquired more of a public character than its predecessors, as the ministers of Lancashire passed resolutions in its favour, expressed publicly their confidence in its tutor, and obtained for it promises of pecuniary support. On the premature death of Mr. Chorlton, his successor, incompetent to sustain its reputation, brought the academy to an untimely and not very honourable end.†

During the latter part of the reign of Charles II., the liberty and peace of the nonconforming ministers depended chiefly upon the personal or political interests of unprincipled courtiers and statesmen, and were consequently very uncertain and precarious. Privately flattered by influential parties, publicly accused by other parties and sometimes by the same, made subservient at one time to the designs of Papists and at another to the will of the persecutors of both

* Wilson's *History of Dissenting Churches*, vol. i. p. 346.

† Lancashire nonconformity was also indebted for some good ministers to Mr. James Owen, who received theological students first at Oswestry and afterwards at Shrewsbury. On his death, in 1706, Dr. Benyon, the successor of Philip Henry, removed from Broad Oak to Shrewsbury, where he took charge of both the academy and the congregation of Mr. Owen. Of the academy established by Dr. Caleb Rotherham at Kendal, in which were educated many of the Lancashire ministers in the early part of the eighteenth century, I shall have to speak hereafter.

Papists and Puritans, often favoured by unconstitutional license and often persecuted by legal authority, they occupied a position in which it was very doubtful how far they ought to protect their own interests, and how far to submit to legal oppression for the sake of Protestant principles and constitutional government. It was not surprising if their leaders were often in great perplexity when opposite courses of action promised great advantages, and were also liable to serious objections. In these circumstances considerable difference of opinion was unavoidable. In the midst of their perplexities and uncertainties, they lamented the death of their good-natured, light-hearted, unprincipled, irreligious king. It may seem strange that they should have done so, but they feared and thoroughly distrusted his successor, whose promised toleration seemed to many of them worse than his brother's oppression. With the commencement of the new reign, we may have to notice the increasing perplexity of the Nonconformists as to the course they should pursue, and the difference of opinion respecting it between their leaders in the north and those in the south of England.

A retrospect of the reign of Charles II. reminds us of a few events connected with the history of Lancashire nonconformity.

On August 6, 1667, the Rev. Richard Heyrick finished his eventful life in the sixty-eighth year of his age. After he renounced his principles to retain his place, he seemed humbled and oppressed with the difficulties or duties of his altered position. I do not say he suffered remorse, for I doubt not he satisfied his conscience of the propriety of his inconsistent conduct; but his lofty spirit was broken, and he became another man. His sympathies were with his nonconforming friends, with whom he had long and lovingly acted. His heart was evidently with the course which he had disowned with his lips, and he seemed an alien in the Church to whose services he had conformed. He avoided publicity; he made his conformity so unobtrusive as to strengthen a prevalent opinion that he had never legally conformed. Instead of acting haughtily towards his old presbyterian associates, he seemed glad of any opportunity to show them kindness, while they grieved over his weakness and inconsistency. He preached very seldom, and his preaching had lost its power. The mighty spirit which had swayed the great congregation departed from him; probably he never desired to recover it. The active, energetic, haughty Presbyterian passed the last years of his life a quiet, retiring, peaceful, unassuming conformist. He died disliked by his old enemies, popish and episcopal, and pitied by his old friends, protestant and nonconforming.

As warden of the collegiate church, he was succeeded by Nicholas Stratford, D.D., a High Churchman, but a very good and charitable Christian. Although very strict and careful in enforcing the most exact and scrupulous observance of all the forms of the established Church, he was gentle and forbearing with conscientious Nonconformists. Of a spirit averse to persecution, he laboured to satisfy their scruples, and to conciliate them by a meek and courteous,

though firm, defence of the legally appointed ritual and services. Strong in Church principles, he adhered faithfully to the great doctrines of the Reformation, and was more determinately opposed to Papists than to Puritans.

With the warden was associated a clergyman of a kindred spirit, but of greater ability and more impressive eloquence. Mr. Richard Wroe, who was elected a fellow of the collegiate church in 1675, was so distinguished by his gentle and persuasive preaching as to obtain the popular designation of 'the silver-tongued Wroe.' In the grace and beauty of elocution he had a rival, probably a superior, in his nonconforming neighbour Henry Newcome, but at that time there was no other preacher in Lancashire or in the north of England equal in elocution to either of them. While Stratford and Wroe were labouring in the church, the interest of nonconformity in Manchester, notwithstanding the deserved popularity of its great preacher, seems to have considerably declined. Both were friendly with Newcome. Stratford treated him respectfully, Wroe pleasantly and affectionately. This statement must be understood as restricted to their personal intercourse, for in the church the dignified Stratford and even the silvery Wroe occasionally reflected with much severity upon the schism of the Nonconformists. Newcome, however, like a good Christian, attended their ministry whenever he was not preaching, and especially endeavoured to extract blessings from their strictures.

Although both Stratford and Wroe were firm defenders of episcopal and royal prerogative, it was greatly to their honour that on occasion of the infamous conspiracy which brought Russell and Sidney to the scaffold, neither of them would dishonour himself by a public approval of the scandalous proceedings of the government. On the day appointed for public thanksgiving in the churches for deliverance from the pretended treason, neither the warden nor his fellow, loyal and Tory as they both were, would officiate in the pulpit of the collegiate church. Instead of the dignified address of the former, or the sweet and silvery tones of the latter, a voice was heard, harsh indeed, but more agreeable than even Wroe's liquid silver to the young men of Manchester, who, having generally forsaken the puritanism of their fathers, were gratified with the most vulgar and intolerant denunciations of their fathers' religion. Young Manchester affected gentility, and therefore exulted in the execution of Russell and Sidney. A preacher from the grammar school readily undertook the service which his superiors had declined. He denounced in the most inflammatory language and impassioned manner the enemies of the royal prerogative, who for their wicked resistance of its exercise would receive unto themselves damnation. 'Hell,' he said, 'was made for traitors, for the devil and his angels, whose crime was rebellion against the prerogative of the King of heaven.' He called upon his hearers to unite in extirpating 'the impious, seditious, scandalous, damnable, heretical, blasphemous, and infamous doctrine' of the right to resist royal authority under any pretence whatsoever. The young men applauded as zealously as their grandfathers on the same spot had applauded Warden Heyricke's fierce denunciations of

unconstitutional prerogative. The publication of the sermon was loudly demanded. It was published and read in all the public-houses of Manchester. The transition from puritanism to its opposite, the beginning of which Newcome had sorrowfully observed some years before, had rapidly proceeded to the extreme of High Church and Tory politics. Judge Jeffreys was coming that year to hold the assizes in Lancashire, and the young men of Manchester resolved to show him all possible respect. It was regarded as a point of honour with the Manchester youth to appear in his court at Lancaster, or in the streets as he went to or from it. They were as much gratified with his violent abuse of the Nonconformists as he could have been with their acclamations; that is, if his fierce and passionate nature was susceptible of any gratification whatever.

Dr. Stratford was grieved and annoyed. He preached on the text, 'Recompense to no man evil for evil,' and printed the sermon, entitled 'A Dissuasive against Revenge.' Many of his parishioners were enraged and implacable. Unable, or unwilling, to endure the ill-feeling he had excited, he resigned his office and retired from public life.* Every good Dissenter will honour the memory of this gentle and loving bigot, who regarded Dissenters and Whigs as enemies whom he ought to love, and whom he loved very sincerely.

He was succeeded by his 'silver-tongued' friend Wroe, a clergyman of similar disposition and of the same principles, which, however, he maintained with more decision and energy. Like Stratford he might have preached against revenge, but he would never have been frightened by any opposition into resigning his honourable situation. He was warden at the death of Charles II.

In 1672 died that great and good prelate Dr. Wilkins, who had succeeded in the bishopric of Chester the miserable persecutor Dr. George Hall. He was lamented by all liberal men in his diocese, by none more sincerely than by the nonconforming ministers, of whom it is not too much to say, 'they made great lamentation over him.' While he lived they frequently and gratefully acknowledged his liberal spirit and lenient rule. It is pleasing to observe, amidst the bitter contentions of the time, how a kind and tolerant bishop was honoured by ejected ministers while he lived, and lamented when he died. Henry Newcome wrote in his 'Diary': 'I received the sad news of the death of the learned, worthy, pious, and peaceable Bishop of Chester, Dr. John Wilkins. He was my worthy friend.'† John Angier wrote: 'November 19, 1672, died good Bishop Wilkins, a great loss. He died comfortably, and rejoiced in his moderation while he was bishop. His death was much lamented in the city of Chester.'‡

He was succeeded by the learned, but not great, Dr. John Pearson, who was too much occupied with his literary works, to do much good or harm in his diocese. Nonconformity, if little the better, was none the worse under his negligent administration.

* Hibbert's *History of the Collegiate Church of Manchester*.

† Newcome's *Diary*, under date November 22, 1672.

‡ *Life of John Angier*, by Oliver Heywood, p. 86.

On the accession of James II. to the throne, the Protestant Dissenters, who had been greatly perplexed, during the reign of his brother, respecting the course they ought to pursue, were involved in still greater perplexity under the government of a popish king, carefully advised by popish emissaries. Freedom of worship was their inalienable right, but to secure it they had to acknowledge an arbitrary and unconstitutional exercise of the royal prerogative. Placed between a catholic king and a protestant parliament, by accepting their liberty from the former in the only way in which he would grant it, they would apparently repudiate the authority of the latter, when it was exercised for the protection of constitutional government. On the other hand, by acknowledging the authority of the latter, they would as apparently approve of the penal laws which punished them for doing what they believed to be not a crime but a solemn duty. Neutrality might have seemed to be their proper course, but neutrality (had it been possible) was scarcely consistent with the claims either of religion or of patriotism.

Most of the High Church party were for a time (though some of them speedily repented) strenuous defenders of the unrestricted exercise of the royal prerogative. The members of the University of Oxford, although they soon had reason to regret their decision, assured the king that their 'religion by law established indispensably bound them to bear faith and true obedience to their sovereign, without any limitation or restriction.' Nor was the address of the sister university much more moderate in its professions of the doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience.* The dissenting ministers, however undecided a few of them may have been in their perplexing position, or censurable for submitting to unconstitutional authority, were surely not to be censured by those who had professed their determination to defend that authority to whatever extent it might be assumed or exercised. I know not how, on the accession of James, the Dissenters could have acted otherwise than they did; but if they failed in their duty to the cause of English freedom and Protestant faith, their failure was far less culpable than were the loud professions of submission to arbitrary power made by the established clergy in all parts of the country. When the Church soon afterwards came to a sense of her danger, and called for help, the Protestant Dissenters, with scarcely an exception, forgetful of their own grievances, were found pleading her cause, and uniting for her defence. Churchmen who consider how much the Dissenters suffered from the protestant parliament in the beginning of this reign must readily acknowledge, as many of their best bishops have done, that the Dissenters acted a noble and patriotic part in uniting with their worst oppressors in defence of their common faith and country.

* Among the Lancashire Tories the people of 'malignant' Wigan, true to the traditions of their town, made themselves conspicuous not only by the extravagance of their loyalty but by the boldness of their address, in which they assured the king that they would defend him 'against all plotting Ahithophels and rebellious Absalom.'—Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. i. p. 476. What Wigan would have done had Ahithophel or Absalom appeared I do not know, but it did very little against Lord Delamere and the Cheshire Whigs.

Possibly no party acted more wisely or more honestly than the Quakers, although their address has been interpreted as approving of the dispensing power. Standing in the presence of their new sovereign, they addressed him, 'We are come to testify our sorrow for the death of our good friend King Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told that thou art not of the persuasion of the Church of England no more than we, therefore we hope thou wilt grant us the same liberty as thou allowest to thyself, which doing, we wish thee all manner of happiness.'

For the severities to which the Dissenters were subjected soon after his accession, the popish king was not so much to blame as the protestant parliament, which prayed the king to enforce the penal laws against all Dissenters from the Church of England. This prayer betrayed not so much dislike of Dissenters as fear of the exercise of a dispensing power. Both parties of Churchmen had their reasons for desiring the enforcement of the penal laws: the High Churchmen, who were Tories, because they disliked dissent; the Low Churchmen, who were Whigs, because they disapproved of an illegal toleration. Sharing the disapproval of unconstitutional authority, some of the Nonconformists refused unconstitutional liberty, and seemed disposed to persecute themselves. While a few of their brethren excusably wavered, the greater part firmly adhered to the Whigs and liberal Churchmen.*

In these perplexing circumstances, it is not strange that some of the Dissenters favourably regarded the rash attempt of the Duke of Monmouth. His success seemed to promise the only solution of their difficulties, as it would secure both the Protestant Establishment, and the freedom of nonconformist worship. The supporters of the prerogative, however inexcusable were their severities, were not altogether wrong in distrusting the loyalty of the Protestant Dissenters. Far as Lancashire was from the camp of Monmouth, many of the Dissenters of that county waited for the earliest intelligence of his movements with intense interest and hope. Some of them excited so much suspicion by their conduct that they were sent to prison, or were compelled to leave their homes, and conceal themselves for several weeks from spies and informers. The magistrates of Manchester received orders to observe and secure the dissenting ministers. The house of peaceable Henry Newcome, of all men in the county the least likely to raise an insurrection, was, greatly to his horror, searched for arms. Mr. Jollie of Altham was imprisoned in Preston; Mr. Bradshaw of Hindley, Mr. Finch of Birch, and some others, were carried to Chester; Mr. Robert Eaton of Prestwich fled from the county until the danger had passed away. The greatest interest, however, felt by

* When on a later occasion the dissenting ministers of London were convened to consider what answer they should return to the king for his Declaration of Liberty of Conscience, one of them rose and said, in the presence of two messengers sent to report their proceedings, 'If the king expects we should give up the constitution and declare for the dispensing power, I had rather lose my liberty and return to my former bondage.' John Howe, who was in the chair, intimated to the king's messengers at the close of the meeting that they 'were generally of the same opinion.'—Neal's *History of the Puritans*, vol. ii. p. 769.

the Lancashire Nonconformists was in the trial of Lord Delamere,* who undoubtedly was preparing to use his influence in support of Monmouth, had the duke made greater progress in collecting and strengthening his forces in the west. While Delamere was in prison 'prayer was made for him continually.' Newcome, in his 'Diary,' mentions his 'praying for the rescue of Lord Delamere.' On hearing of his acquittal by the House of Peers, Newcome 'could do little all day for the thoughts of the unexpected mercy.' But the rapturous joy of the Puritan was somewhat disturbed by the unpuritan sort of exultation which prevailed among some of his friends. A little exuberance of mirth might have been excused on so joyous an occasion; but some inconsiderate people went to the excess of drinking to the health of the liberated nobleman. Newcome felt the scandal, and wrote in his diary, 'this drinking of Lord Delamere's health is a poor way of rejoicing.' Delamere lived to take his proper place in the great conflict with arbitrary power, and to do good service in driving from the throne the last of the Stuart kings. From the accession of James I. down to the death of Queen Anne, no noble family in England resisted with more firmness and resolution the civil and ecclesiastical tyranny of the Stuarts than the Booths of Dunham, steady, uncompromising friends of constitutional government and religious freedom under whatever title they assumed, Dunham Massey, Delamere, or Warrington.

The frightful severity with which the Dissenters were persecuted after the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion produced a favourable reaction in the dispositions even of many High Churchmen. All who desired the preservation of the independence of the Church from the domination of Rome, however they may have been opposed to puritanism, began to feel that in the threatening conflict they might be glad of the assistance of the Protestant Dissenters. While in Lancashire, as in many other parts of the country, the Nonconformists were compelled to assemble in secret, to conduct their worship in secluded houses, unfrequented glens, or dense woods, many of the clergy, in fear of popery, endeavoured to obtain a better understanding with their ministers, and began to suggest proposals for comprehension. Some clergymen were disposed to return to the Catholic Church, but many desired by an alliance with the Dissenters to resist papal domination. Such clergymen as the old and the new warden of Manchester, Stratford and Wroe, who had preached with impartial zeal against both Papists and Nonconformists, had in their love of protestantism, or fear of popery, kept in abeyance their high church notions of unconditional submission to royal authority. Wroe became the intimate friend of Lord Delamere, and apparently encouraged his opposition to the measures of the government; Stratford published several discourses against the designs of the Papists. In Lancashire, where the Catholics, feeling their strength, were beginning to avow their determination to support the arbitrary rule of the king, some of the protestant clergy, sensible of the danger to

* Henry, the second Lord Delamere, succeeded to the title on the death of his father in 1684.

which they were exposed, looked to the Dissenters as their best friends in the day of adversity and terror.

While this feeling was spreading among the clergy, the government became suspicious and distrustful of the Church, and proposed advantageous measures for the Dissenters. Really in the interest of Catholics, professedly in the interest of Nonconformists, the penal laws were to be suspended, and freedom of worship granted to all parties. The course of the Dissenters was again involved in perplexity. They would not acknowledge the dispensing power; but they could not refuse to avail themselves of their liberty. Because the gates of their prison were opened by an unconstitutional exercise of prerogative, were they not to go to their own homes? They have been censured by opposite parties for not acting with more decision, when placed in a position of great difficulty and doubt. There were Jacobite dissenters as well as Jacobite clergymen; but the former were very few and hesitating, the latter very many and resolute. The subject deserves a passing enquiry.

When the Declaration of Liberty of Conscience was published, many nonconformist ministers resolved to preach under the protection of the royal authority. No one can severely blame them for accepting their own liberty. They were, however, blamed both by the friends of the parliament and by the friends of the court; by the former for accepting liberty unconstitutionally granted, and by the courtiers for not gratefully acknowledging the unconstitutional authority by which it was conferred. The manner in which they ought to express their acknowledgment of the liberty granted, it was very difficult and perplexing to determine. On the one side, Baxter, Howe, Mead, and others who were in communication with the leaders of the Whig party, would have dissuaded the Dissenters from making any acknowledgment at all of the liberty granted by the king; on the other, Vincent Alsop, Theophilus Lobb, Penn the Quaker, and others in communication with the court, would have persuaded them to offer grateful professions of loyalty and obedience to their most gracious sovereign. While Tory writers have defamed the former class, Macaulay, like most Whig historians, has with sufficient severity and some injustice censured the latter. Whatever may have been the blame due to such Dissenters as John Howe on the one side, or Vincent Alsop on the other, the general body of dissenting ministers of that time were not responsible for the faults of either extreme. In London they presented their addresses to the king, acknowledging their sense of the liberty accepted, but suppressing every reference to the authority by which it had been conceded. The Baptists, who at that time were less implicated in politics than any other party, were the first to offer their acknowledgments, and of all Dissenters the most deferential to the royal authority. They said, 'Our sense of this invaluable favour and benefit derived from your royal clemency compels us to prostrate ourselves at your majesty's feet, with the tender of our most humble thanks for that peace and liberty which both we and all other dissenters from the national Church now enjoy.' The Presbyterians soon afterwards presented their address, which,

notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of several of their leaders, was expressed in nearly similar terms, though without the words, 'benefit derived from your royal clemency.' After some hesitation and long debate, the Independents addressed the king, and in a still more cautious manner expressed their gratitude that 'in the indulgence vouchsafed there were no limitations hindering the enjoyment of it with a good conscience.' In Lancashire, where the ministers generally seem to have had less objection to the exercise of the royal authority than their brethren in the south, many of them united in an address of grateful acknowledgment to the king for the Declaration of Indulgence. It was cautiously expressed, for the ministers who adopted it, although they did not see the propriety of persecuting themselves as a mode of protesting against the assumption of arbitrary power, would not, on the other hand, make the professions of unconditional loyalty and obedience recommended by Penn and Alsop.

The arbitrary measures of the government excited great alarm among such of the clergy as were not prepared to return to the domination of the pope. Low Churchmen, afraid of the restoration of popery, began to avow their desire for a comprehension of the moderate Nonconformists, and their willingness to make large concessions to secure so important an object. Even High Churchmen who valued the independence of the national Church changed their speech, and learned to talk of the injustice with which the Dissenters had been treated, and of the propriety of a toleration for Nonconformists. While all true Protestants desired the reconciliation of Churchmen and Dissenters, the Catholics, the courtiers, and so many of the clergy as were willing to become Catholics, endeavoured to perpetuate their mutual hostility. The persecuted Nonconformists were unexpectedly raised to a position in which opposing parties sought to conciliate their favour, as both felt the need of their assistance. The government promoted them to offices of trust and importance, especially in the corporate towns of the country; while Churchmen, acknowledging the value of their past services, hoped to make their old hatred of popery subservient to the security of the protestant cause. With some exceptions the Dissenters heartily co-operated with the protestant party in opposition to the measures of the court, and those exceptions were few and very inconsiderable compared with the number of the clergy who to the last adhered to the cause of passive obedience, non-resistance, and the arbitrary rule of the Lord's anointed.

Much has been said (certainly not too much) in honour of the seven bishops who went to the Tower rather than require from their clergy the publication of the king's declaration in favour of liberty of conscience. Those, however, who extol their patriotism at the expense of a few unpatriotic dissenting ministers, should in all fairness enquire, Where were the other seventeen? They would soon find other seven bishops who did everything required of them in subservience to the unconstitutional exercise of prerogative. Crewe, Bishop of Durham, and Parker of Oxford, were quite as submissive

to the arbitrary rule of the king as Sancroft and Ken were resolute in refusing to acknowledge its unconstitutional exercise. The dissenting ministers submissive to the power assumed by King James might be told by units; the submissive clergy might be counted by thousands. Theophilus Lobb, the independent minister of Fetter Lane, stood almost alone among his London brethren in the defence of the government, while hundreds of the clergy approved of his conduct. In Lancashire, where, under Cartwright, a Tory bishop who had succeeded Pearson in the see of Chester, many of the clergy supported, some of them clamorously enough, the arbitrary proceedings of the court, I do not know of one dissenting minister of the county who expressed any approval of its measures. It must have been a strange thing to hear bigoted clergymen defending liberty of conscience amidst the sullen silence or murmurs of the Dissenters who were to enjoy that liberty.

There were, however, among the Lancashire clergy, some who, like their most prominent leaders, Stratford and Wroe, were on the one hand High Churchmen, but on the other sound Protestants and generous Englishmen. They had taught the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance, but they had somehow learned to reconcile their slavish doctrine, if not with the revolutionary principles of others, at all events with their own revolutionary practices.

Events in Church and state were hastening to a crisis. The persecutions and the indulgences of Dissenters, the craven fears of some Churchmen and the firm resolution of others, the neglect by the court of protestant noblemen and the preference of many Papists, the infatuated policy of the king, the unseemly exultation of the Catholics, the presence of foreigners about the throne, the severities, never forgotten, which followed the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, were silently but surely preparing and providing facilities for a great revolution. Protestants of all parties, disposed to condone old offences, and to combine for the protection of their common faith, were looking with earnest desire, if not with hope, towards Holland, where many both conformists and nonconformists were gathering round the Prince of Orange. Some of the greatest and most patriotic noblemen of the country opened communications more or less direct with him through the exiles who found safety and encouragement in his court. There can be little doubt that Lord Delamere was among the earliest, as he was among the most devoted, adherents of the Prince of Orange. Much may be inferred from the following extracts from Newcome's diary: 'October 7, 1688. Now was the amazing news of the Prince of Orange designing to come among us.' 'October 8. I went to Grange this day, and met my Lord Delamere at Hulme.' 'They none of them minded the news, and seem to be less concerned and less afraid than I am.' 'October 16. Things are dark and in great confusion. The Lord be merciful to us!' 'November 9. The news came this morning of the landing of the Dutch in the west. An astonishing providence. Our refuge is in God, and in Him only.' '14. We heard whispers of sad things to-day.' '16. We had a private day on the sad occasion of the confu-

sion in the nation and country. Lord Delamere came to town soldier-like. I was affected with a great passion of tears to see my Lord Delamere ride by.' '28. Lord Delamere with his company went from Nottingham in a sad season. I was discouraged this night on the probable cause for it, in the news about his being set upon, and either killed or wounded.' 'November 30. We heard the news, amazing and surprising, of the general revolt of most of the great ones from King James.' 'December 2. We had the news of a treaty, which was what we prayed for, and the only way likely to heal us.' '24. We waited upon my Lady Bland* to see my Lord Delamere, whom we found preserved, and wonderfully revived upon this strange revolution.'

From these notices it would appear that Newcome was not acquainted with the purposes, although he felt great interest in the movements, of Lord Delamere. The young lord, although he inherited his father's political principles, was either not so communicative as his father had been, or more reticent in talking with nonconformist ministers. Nor was he, like his father, an avowed Presbyterian. Of a liberal spirit, he would gladly have promoted a comprehension of Dissenters. He showed great respect and kindness to his father's nonconforming friends, and kept his house ever open to them as it had been in his father's days. But either from principle or from policy he cultivated the friendship of liberal clergymen, and desired to unite all true Protestants in opposition to popery and unlimited monarchy.

Among his intimate friends was the 'silver-tongued' warden of Manchester, who in his dread of popery had forgotten his passive obedience, and heartily promoted the settlement of Church and state under the rule of William and Mary. He and Newcome frequently met in the presence of 'my lord' and his pious lady; and whatever may have been their theoretical differences, they would have found little difficulty in contriving a comprehension in which conforming and nonconforming ministers endowed with their spirit might be included without any compromise of principle.

But as all Churchmen were not like Richard Wroe, nor all Dissenters like Henry Newcome, nor all legislators like Lord Delamere, the prospect of a comprehension, however favourable it appeared at first, soon became overclouded and unpromising. High Churchmen, who in the day of their alarm had made great professions of their

* Lady Bland, previously Miss Ann Mosley. 'March 31, 1685. Sir John Bland and Madam Ann Mosley were married this day.' The Mosleys of Ancoats were cordial supporters of Mr. Newcome. He was accustomed to 'keep private days' on occasions of Lady Bland's confinements. As a compliment to her, the church erected in Manchester in 1709 was called St. Ann's, in which the Low Church folk were long accustomed to worship, while the High Church people frequented the collegiate church and were edified by homilies against rebellion. Lady Bland had her public days as well as private, when she endeavoured in her coach and four to outshine Madam Drake, the leader of the High Church fashionables. A leader of Low Church fashion in the newly-erected assembly room, she is said to have been on one occasion so annoyed with the brilliant display of Stuart tartan by the High Church ladies that she led her party in orange ribbons into the street and danced by moonlight.

desire to conciliate the Dissenters, would concede nothing of importance. Low Churchmen, however willing to make concessions, were not agreed about the concessions which they would make; nor were the Dissenters united about the changes which would be satisfactory to them. Old rankling wounds were not readily healed. Every party professedly desired to remove the dissension, and every party blamed others for its continuance. New difficulties arose as old ones were overcome. When comprehension appeared to some impracticable, to others it began to appear undesirable. Men of all parties feared they would have to concede too much. Newcome writes: 'January 25. Many heartily wish our councils may divide. Many have evil will at our Zion.' 'February 4. Much struggling we are likely to have with the Churchmen, who would unravel all rather than not rule to persecute.' The newly-established government could ill afford by an attempt at comprehension to alienate any considerable party of Protestants. The Papists of Lancashire had opened communications with the Irish supporters of King James. Lord Molineux, Sir William Gerard, Sir Thomas Clifton, and other Catholic gentlemen, were arming their tenantry in defence of the cause of the Stuarts.* Catholics from Yorkshire and the north were gathering in the houses of their Lancashire friends. Of the protestant Royalists whose fathers had fought for Charles I., many, although they had opposed the design of James upon the Church, avowed their attachment to his inviolable person and crown. They professed to be bound by their oath of allegiance, from which no personal misconduct of the king could release them. These two parties, although they had little confidence in each other, were preparing, as they had done fifty years before, to unite in rallying round the standard of their legitimate king. Arms and ammunition were collected, and as a measure of precaution deposited only in the houses of such adherents as professed to be Protestants. Suspicion, however, was excited by the landing of several Irishmen on the coast, and by the discovery of arms in transit from London to Manchester. Lord Delamere immediately issued a proclamation, in which he summoned the friends of liberty and the new government to meet him on Bowdon Downs. Nearly forty thousand Protestants, partly Low Churchmen, partly Nonconformists, are said to have speedily gathered round his standard. This great demonstration of protestant feeling quelled the spirit of the Jacobites, and preserved the tranquillity of Lancashire under the government of William and Mary.†

* The following Treasury Order, signed by William III., will confirm this statement:—

TREASURY ORDER SIGNED BY WILLIAM III.—'At our court at Kensington, the 1st day of February, 1694, in the 6th year of our reign.

'To Robert Lord Lucas, governor of our Tower of London, in satisfaction of so much expended and disbursed by him in sending down the gentlemen (late prisoners in the Tower) into Cheshire and Lancashire—to wit, Caryl Lord Visc. Molyneux, Sir Thomas Clifton, Sir William Gerard, Sir Rowland Stanley, Peter Lea of Lyme, Bartholomew Walmaley, and William Dicconson, esq.—and all other charges and expenses of the guards and attendants.'

† Oldmixon, vol. ii. pp. 70-73.

During the uncertainty of the conflict, no clergyman of the north did more to promote the Revolution than the amiable Dr. Stratford, who contrived to hold his principles in abeyance, and, consistently or inconsistently, to resist while professing the faith of non-resistance. In defence of the new government and the Protestant religion he wrote several pamphlets, according to the argument of which William ought to have been made regent and invested with the power of the king, who had abdicated his throne, and who could not without the concurrence of the people revoke his abdication. On the settlement of the government, Stratford was appointed Bishop of Chester in the place of Cartwright the Jacobite. Wroe was confirmed in the office of Warden of Manchester. Lord Delamere, for whose promotion in the peerage Newcome had offered especial prayer, was created Earl of Warrington, and the Dissenters, failing in their hope of comprehension, obtained the great charter of their liberty—the Act of Toleration.*

* The following extracts are curious: 'I was a little troubled when I heard that Lord Delamere should miss of deserved preferment. God will do what is best. Preferment comes from God. If I were near the king I would persuade him to honour him, but this cannot be. But I can pray to God for him, and do more for him than all his friends can do in any other way.'—*Autobiography of Newcome*, Feb. 26, 1689. 'I heard of some preferment which my Lord Delamere had, which I was very thankful for.' March 22, 1689.

In the funeral sermon preached for the Earl of Warrington by Warden Wroe, we have the following testimony to his extraordinary ability. The reference is to his defence of himself against the charge of being concerned in Monmouth's rebellion.

'Indeed his own wonderful defence of himself superseded the use of any lawyer at his trial; and I may appeal to written evidence for his ability in speaking and managing that cause (of the highest nature and concern that could befall him, which often confounds men's intellect), when he defended himself to the great joy and satisfaction of his friends, the envy and surprise of his enemies, and the wonder, if not astonishment, of all that heard him. Yet did he not in all this sacrifice to his own net, or ascribe the success of his release and deliverance to his own wit and policy, to his parts and management, but GAVE THE GLORY TO GOD, and paid the annual tribute of praise and thanksgiving to Him for it by setting apart that day as a day of grateful memorial, which he solemnly and religiously observed with his family every fourteenth day of this month of January; this very day which now, by the providence of the All-wise Disposer, is become the day of his obsequies, as if prophetically chosen for a remarkable vicissitude, that what was before a day of jubilee must now be written in black letters, and made a day of sadness and mourning, and so become doubly observable to his honourable posterity.'

'His gratitude to God was rightly accompanied with charity to men, and he solemnised that day not only with prayers and praises, and other offices of devotion to God, but also at the same time clothed and fed twenty-seven poor people, according to the number of peers that acquitted him, that he might increase his own rejoicing and gratitude with the joy and refreshment of the poor and indigent.'

CHAPTER XVIII.

TOLERATION.

AFTER the Revolution, protestant nonconformity appeared in a very different position from that which it had occupied since the restoration of the monarchy. Persecuted or indulged, it had previously no legal existence, no constitutional right to exist. We scarcely know whether to censure the authorities most for persecuting Nonconformists or for suspending in their favour the persecuting laws. Henceforth we have to speak of it as having obtained a public and recognised position, under the protection of statute law and constitutional authority. The Act of Toleration, however imperfect it may appear in the light of later times, was regarded long after it had passed as the great charter of religious freedom. The Presbyterians, although disappointed in their hope of a comprehension, readily and gratefully accepted the liberty and protection which it afforded. The Independents and Baptists acknowledged that it secured for them all they had desired and more than they had hoped to obtain. It is true the Test Act remained, and the toleration was restricted to such Dissenters as professed their belief in the doctrine of the Trinity; but as the Test Act was intended chiefly to exclude Catholics from offices of trust, the Dissenters had no desire to overrun that bulwark of the Protestant Church; and as to the few who denied the doctrine of the Trinity, the three denominations were unwilling to acknowledge such people, and probably considered them, as their fathers had done, intolerable and unworthy of the protection of law. At all events such was the opinion of the Presbyterians, whatever some obscure or eccentric Independents or Baptists may have thought upon the subject. Although in theory these two denominations argued for universal liberty of conscience, they did not practically plead for the liberty of Catholics, of whom they were terribly afraid, or of Socinians, of whom they knew very little except as fanatical troublers of their Israel. Had the Dissenters themselves drawn an Act of Toleration, they would not have drawn a more just, liberal, or serviceable Act than that which is known as the First of William and Mary, cap. 18. King William, of glorious memory, much as Papists abhor his memory, would gladly have obtained in their favour the repeal of the Test Act. Liberal Churchmen, like Tillotson, Tenison, Burnet, Stillingfleet, would as gladly have conciliated Nonconformists by reforming the liturgy, by regarding the crossing in baptism and the kneeling at the sacrament as things indifferent and optional, by exchanging the apocryphal lessons for holy Scripture, by leaving the vestments to the discretion of the clergy, and by excluding organs and all

such papistry from the churches; but the difficulties of obtaining so great a reformation in opposition to the majority of the clergy were found to be insuperable. Under all the circumstances, the Act of Toleration is a grand memorial of the wisdom, justice, and liberality of the new king, of the statesmen selected for his advisers, and of the parliament convened under his auspices. In Lancashire it was received with joy and gratitude by the Presbyterians, who saw, apparently without much regret, the impossibility of their comprehension within the enclosure of the national Church.*

Under the Act of Toleration the 'dissenting interest,' as it was then called, acquired definite form and a recognised place among the institutions of the country. The meeting-houses of the Dissenters were registered, and thus, by legal formality, placed under the protection of the king's courts. Their property given for religious uses was secured by trust deeds which the legal authorities recognised and enforced. Their ministers, duly licensed and solemnly sworn, were legally invested with a sort of clerical character, and exonerated from many services to which laymen were subject. While the Quakers were regarded as a distinct community, with whom Protestant Dissenters had neither legal nor religious connection, the three denominations, whatever differences may have prevailed among themselves, were in the estimation of the law one community, whose ministers, meeting-houses, and trusts were subject to the same authorities, governed by the same rules, restricted to the same uses, exonerated from the same burdens, and entitled to the same privileges. Their ministers carrying on no trade save that of a schoolmaster, although elsewhere known as Presbyterians, Independents, or Baptists, were recognised in law equally and only as licensed teachers. Of the strength of this community on attaining its legal recognition I may be expected to give some estimate, so far as it belonged to the county of Lancaster.

Of the number of the Protestant Dissenters in Lancashire who after the passing of the Toleration Act worshipped under its protection, it is not easy to form an exact or even an approximate estimate. In obedience to an order of council issued in January 1688, a return was made of the number of Conformists, Nonconformists, and Catholics in the province of York. The number given were, Conformists, 353,892; Nonconformists, 15,525; Papists, 1,987.† How these numbers were taken it is now impossible to ascertain. In their favour it may be said that the proportion of the several denominations nearly corresponds with the proportion given in the return for the province of Canterbury. On the other hand, there are good reasons for supposing that the estimate for both provinces, so far as Catholics and Dissenters are enumerated, is much too small. When we consider the number and estates of the old Catholic families of Lanca-

* 'May 28. The news came of our liberty settled by law, a great mercy, a precious instance of God's goodness, so much opposed and maligned, and yet effected.'—Newcome's *Autobiography*.

† Cole's MSS. in the British Museum, cited by Hunter in his *Life of Oliver Heywood*, p. 412.

shire, Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland, where the greater part of the tenantry professed the faith of their landlords, we are confident that their number must have greatly exceeded the estimate in the return. If the Catholics of the seven northern counties were only 1,987, the part of them who dwelt in Lancashire, according to any proportion we can estimate, could not have raised the formidable opposition which we know they did raise to the elevation of the Prince of Orange to the throne. It is quite as probable that the estimate of the number of the Protestant Dissenters is very much too small. In 1688 their organisation was not so complete as to enable them to compute their own numbers correctly. Scarcely any of their large meeting-houses were then commenced. They generally held their services in private houses, barns, and temporary buildings, frequently out of canonical hours, in which many of their friends, afterwards their firm adherents, with more or less regularity attended the religious services of the Church.

In the rural districts, where before the building of the village meeting-houses the preaching of the nonconforming ministers was only occasional, in the course of their itinerant labours, the Dissenters, regarding public worship under all circumstances as a duty, frequently attended the Sunday services of their parish churches, and were distinguished from orthodox Church people by their not repeating their responses, nor bowing at the name of Jesus, nor kneeling at the absolution. Such nonconforming attendants at church would be generally reckoned with the conformists.

We have another authority. There is preserved in the Library of Dr. Williams a list of nonconformist congregations made with much care for Dr. John Evans in 1715, only twenty-seven years after the passing of the Act of Toleration. As the name of every minister is given, and the number of the attendants obtained from the officers or well-known members of the congregations, we may depend upon its general accuracy. The object of Dr. Evans in securing as correct an account as possible was to obtain assistance in fairly distributing the monies collected by the London churches for the benefit of country ministers. According to the list, there were in Lancashire forty-three congregations of Presbyterians and Independents, consisting of 18,310 regular hearers, and including 1,328 freeholders entitled to vote at the county elections, and 237 freemen in the six parliamentary boroughs.

When we consider that between 1688 and 1715 commodious meeting-houses were erected in almost all the towns of the county, and in many of the larger villages, and that congregations were found sufficiently large to support their ministers, we may be sure that the number of the Dissenters at the close of that period could not have been less than at its commencement. Some adherents of the ejected ministers had returned to the church, but in their place others had been attracted to the new meeting-houses. We may safely conclude that, during the interval from the Revolution to the accession of the House of Hanover, the number of Dissenters in Lancashire amounted to something between fifteen and twenty thousand persons.

They were distributed in different proportions over the county. In the list of Dr. Evans, four places are mentioned in which the number of Dissenters exceeded a thousand. Manchester had 1515, Liverpool 1158, Bolton 1094, and Chowbent 1064. Several of the village congregations consisted of from four to seven hundred hearers, with a good proportion of freeholders. Some were small, having fewer than three hundred hearers, although there were scarcely any without some freeholders. Twenty-five of the ministers of the village congregations received donations, which were usually annual, from the Presbyterian Fund, varying from 4*l.* to 7*l.* Until the year 1729, additions to and corrections of the list were made, so that it represents the state of the 'dissenting interest' at the later date as well as at the former. The names of several ministers are inserted as succeeding to the places which were rendered vacant by death or removal. It is pleasant to observe of these old Lancashire congregations, that none remained very long without a pastor.

The number of commodious meeting-houses erected within a quarter of a century from the passing of the Act of Toleration may require some explanatory detail.*

Many of these buildings were inexpensively constructed of timber, lath and plaster, but many of them consisted of solid brick walls, massive roofs, substantial galleries, and oak or walnut pews. The meeting-houses in the towns were generally superior to the buildings by which they were surrounded, and those in the villages were quite as comfortable as the rural churches and chapels of their neighbourhood. Ornament was regarded as superfluous, if not inconsistent with the simplicity and spirituality of divine worship. Opposed to all attempts to excite religious feelings by sensible appliances, the old Dissenters regarded devotion as most pure when most free from earthly associations, like the Mohammedan who in his plain and colourless mosque values nothing as accessory to worship but pure air and clear celestial light. Amidst the recollections of the sensuous religion which had been the terror of their fathers, the early Dissenters, in erecting their simple sanctuaries, 'lifted up a standard' against the relics of the old debasing superstition.

But the simplicity of the meeting-house, unlike that of the mosque, was rather of a gloomy than of a cheerful character. The windows,

* Besides the separate buildings erected as meeting-houses, a considerable number of dwelling-houses and barns were registered for dissenting worship. Some of them were occupied while 'the great meeting-houses' were building. Others were dependencies upon the town congregations, while the ministers officiated occasionally on Sunday or other evenings. The following is a copy of an early certificate of a dwelling-house registered under the Act of Toleration:—

'21 Die Julii, 1690.

'These are to certify whom it may concern that the house of Peter Gaskell of Burton Wood in this county was certified to this court for a meeting place for a congregation of Protestants dissenting from the Church of England, for the exercise of their religious worshipp in, as (pursuant to a late Act of Parliament in that case made and provided) recorded att this present Q^r Session. Given und^r my hand in open court of Q^r Sessions att Ormeskirk the day and year above written.

'Roger Kenyon, clerk of the peace there.'

though sometimes large on each side of the pulpit, were in the other three walls usually small, and often darkened by heavy galleries and other obstructions. The woodwork of the interior was dark and massive, and contributed to its venerable gloom. The most prominent object was the pulpit, which, with its broad staircase, occasionally doubled for the sake of uniformity or completeness, its large book board, its great red cushion, its lofty back panelling, and cumbersome sounding-board overhanging the whole, might be understood to intimate that, if for no other purpose, some art and device were allowed to designate the high place of the preacher. Although the sign of the cross in any form was intolerable, occasionally on the sounding-board of a 'brave pulpit' was carved a dove with an olive leaf in her bill.* The furniture of the pulpit was frequently completed by a large peg or brass nail, fastened in the panelling behind the preacher, on which peg was suspended with becoming gravity, on occasion of funeral sermons, the preacher's hat, with its silken tokens of mourning.† Occasionally, not often, there was a reading desk in front of the pulpit, and apparently subordinate to it. It would seem in good taste to provide an appropriate place where the minister could pray with the people as one of them, and not as one above them, before he rose to his more exalted position as their teacher. A slightly elevated seat with a book board was thought sufficiently distinctive for the precentor, or 'clerk' as he was usually called.

The pulpit was generally placed against one of the longer walls of the meeting-house, while the gallery was affixed to the opposite wall, and if the congregation was large to the two other sides. A huge-faced black clock, with gilt pointers and figures, was often placed against the front gallery immediately opposite the pulpit. Its dark countenance, and solemn articulation of seconds, contributed to the appropriate gloom of the sanctuary.

The exterior of the meeting-house (although very distinctive, for nobody ever mistook it for anything else) was as destitute as the interior of any sort of ornament, unless it were a great sun-dial affixed to its southern wall. On the dial was often a text of Scripture, or a moral admonition in quaint verse. As an instance, I may select 'the poetry' on the dial of the Presbyterian chapel of Blackley :

'My charge is sure, it may be soon,
Each hastening minute leads me on ;
The awful summons draweth nigh,
And every day I live, I die.' ‡

* I remember two or three of these emblems in the old meeting-houses of my boyhood. The dove was sometimes made of metal. One of painted copper is preserved in the vestry of Rook Lane meeting, Frome, as a relic of the old pulpit.

† I remember that when I was a child, after some repairs had been done to the Independent Meeting at Deptford, the proper peg had not been restored to its place above the pulpit. On the next Sunday was a funeral sermon, and the omission had not been observed until it was time to carry the mourning hat of the Rev. John Theodore Barker to its proper place. As he was an orderly sort of man, and the bereaved family of some consideration, the service was delayed a few minutes while the undertaker, in the presence of the waiting congregation, had the 'nail fastened in a sure place,' and the hat properly hung upon it.

‡ Dials in those times were not very expensive monitors. In 1659 the warden of

In a few rural meeting-houses, as at Chowbent, a bell was provided to announce the time of service. Some of the pews in the large meeting-houses were capacious square compartments, in which the chief families sat in a sort of stately seclusion. In many instances greater privacy was secured by thick green curtains suspended on wooden rods, behind which, if the family was one of consideration, there was a seat occupied by the servants.* As the support of the minister was chiefly derived from the pew rents, the families who rented these great pews regarded them almost as private property, and would have been nearly as much offended by the intrusion of a stranger, as if he had gone uninvited into their dining-room. In some meeting-houses a well dressed stranger would be courteously invited to take a seat in a family pew, but in many he would be left to sit on the comfortless benches of the poor. Immediately in front of the pulpit was the communion pew, or, as it was more frequently called, 'the table pew,' in which a long table was placed for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. On this table was usually a large Bible, and not infrequently Fox's 'Book of Martyrs,' or a folio volume of puritan sermons. This great pew was generally occupied by the poor male members of the society, who were regarded by virtue of their connection with the communion as having some claim upon that chief seat, so far as the poor were concerned, of the synagogue. Whenever a vacancy occurred, it was usual in some places for an elder or deacon to intimate to a cleanly attendant on the back benches that he might take his seat in the table pew.† At the administration of the Lord's Supper, it was occupied by the minister and deacons, and occasionally by some of the older male communicants. In somewhat later times, the most conspicuous part of the front gallery was occasionally appropriated to singing men and women, into whose company were introduced (more frequently I think in the north and west of England than in the south or east) musicians, who played upon bass-voles, violins, flutes, and other instruments of music. This may be thought a sad departure from the simplicity of puritan worship, but it began to prevail in the early part of the last century. It is difficult to say why fonts were offensive to the Presbyterians and excluded from their sanctuaries, but in the public administration of baptism a basin or bowl was esteemed sufficiently distinctive of the rite,‡

Didbury chapel 'paid for a dial 0l. 6s. 0d.', 'for lead to fasten it, 0l. 1s. 0d.', and 'for fitting the head of the cross of the dial, 0l. 0s. 6d.' Warden's accounts, cited in *The History of Didbury Chapel*, printed for the Chetham Society.

* The pews appropriated to the gentry were frequently distinguished by the family crest or by a monogram curiously carved on the door. In the old meeting-house at Tockholes near Blackburn, the pews which had been occupied by the Hoghton family were known long after they had left the place by the initial letter H, curiously cut in old character.—MSS. of the late Dr. Raffles.

† Although I have a distinct recollection of many of these great table pews in the old meeting-houses of London and the country, I never remember seeing a woman sitting in that sacred enclosure. They used in some places to sit on forms placed very near it.

‡ Under the presbyterian government of Lancashire, basins instead of fonts

The buildings were usually erected upon freehold ground, and the expenses were defrayed by the contributions of the members of the congregation, with some assistance, if it were needed, from their wealthier friends. As a mortgage of a sanctuary was scarcely known among the earlier Dissenters, the contributions of the rich must often have been exceedingly liberal. In some instances the expense of erecting village meetings was defrayed by one or two families of the neighbourhood. When a building had been registered according to the provisions of the Act of Toleration, its permanent appropriation to nonconformist worship was secured by its conveyance to trustees, who held the property subject to conditions prescribed in the trust-deeds. The building was to be used for the worship of God by Protestant Dissenters, sometimes of the Presbyterian order, sometimes of the Independent denomination, sometimes of both conjointly, and sometimes the denomination was not mentioned. Sometimes the Assembly's Catechism was made a rule or standard of doctrine, sometimes the doctrinal articles of the Church of England. These grave and venerable sanctuaries, hallowed by the prayers and praises of the founders of nonconformity, and sacred with many precious remembrances, did good service to the cause of pure and undefiled religion; until, after the rise of Methodism, Nonconformity, yielding to the spirit of the time, or imitating its younger and more popular rival, raised chapels of more agreeable forms and lighter colours, with open galleries, low pews, and greater convenience for musical display. The questionable taste which substituted the gay methodistical chapel for the grave puritan meeting-house is now yielding to a love of ecclesiastical edifices with Gothic columns, arches, vaulted roofs, and lofty spires, called 'Congregational Churches.' The meeting-house is gone, and I suppose another will never be erected; the chapel is going the way of the meeting-house—and let it go, for of the three forms of ecclesiastical buildings it seems the least appropriate to its purpose. The church is coming, with what result I cannot predict, but I hope it will not be allowed to corrupt the simplicity of nonconformist worship. The style of architecture most suitable for dissenting services demands much more consideration than has been hitherto given to it.

were provided in all the churches. The Directory required the ministers to solemnise baptism, 'not in the place where fonts were unfitly and superstitiously placed.' This prohibition, however, refers rather to the place of the font near the entrance of the church than to its use. In the accounts of the wardens of the parochial chapel at Didsbury is the following item, under date 1645: 'Paid for one pewter basson to baptize children in, 0*l*. 3*s*. 5*d*.' After the Restoration the fonts were replaced. In the register of Blackley chapel is the following entry, under date 1669: Ann, the daughter of Robert Kenyon, was baptized at the font.' In that village, puritan from the days of John Bradford, it seems to have been difficult to resume the use of the font, as this was the only baptism celebrated in the church during the seven years which had elapsed from the passing of the Act of Uniformity. In the register book of Hillingdon is the following note appended by a clergyman to an entry of baptism in 1671: 'The first that for eleven years was baptized at the font, the custom having been in this place to baptize out of a basin after the presbyterian manner, whibh I could never get reformed till I had gotten a new clerk, John Brown, who did what I appointed to be done.' In Scotland, fonts went with all the rest of 'the idolatrous gear of the Papists.'

One loathsome custom prevailed among the early Dissenters, although in that respect they were not much worse than their church going neighbours: they frequently buried their dead in their sanctuaries. Even in country places, where burial ground was easily obtained and generally enclosed round the meeting-house, the principal subscribers were often buried, apparently to do them honour, in the aisles or under their family pews. The burial-place of the minister was frequently under the table pew, or in the passage immediately in front of the pulpit. Henry Newcome, as his son tells us, 'was laid in the west alley of the meeting-house, not far from the pulpit.' The Rev. Samuel Bourne of Bolton was buried 'in the meeting-house, not far from the pulpit,' as was the Rev. John Heywood in the meeting-house of Blackley, and as were many others, whom it is needless to mention, in their several meeting-houses. While such interments were frequent, it is pleasant to observe that in a few instances, as in that of Mr. Bell of Huyton, a nonconforming minister was interred in the church from which he had been ejected, and his virtues were recorded on a monument from which 'he being dead yet speaketh,' and once spoke to a congregation who had been prohibited from listening to his living voice. Occasionally a charitable incumbent in a funeral discourse eulogised the virtues of his ejected predecessor, and exhorted his hearers to imitate the deceased 'in all but his nonconformity.'

In a few instances substantial vaults were made for rich Dissenters under their pews, but generally an ordinary grave, and not a very deep one, was thought sufficient to contain the remains of a wealthy family. Mural tablets seemed the appropriate accompaniments of intramural interments. Some of the inscriptions on them are exceedingly appropriate and instructive. As the dead are not responsible for others, I will not copy the strange epitaphs which I have sometimes observed.*

Of the erection of these old meeting-houses some interesting details may be obtained from church books, diaries, account books, and similar sources of information. A reference to the particulars of one or two may elucidate the state and proceedings of the Dissenters after they had obtained the protection of the Toleration Act.

One of the oldest meeting-houses in the county, about which any detailed accounts of contributions and expenditure for its erection can be obtained, is that of BIRCH near Manchester.

I have already observed that the principal families of that neighbourhood kept possession of the old chapel and used it for nonconformist worship, with some short interruption, for nearly thirty-five years, during the greater part of which time Mr. Finch, the ejected minister of Walton, was the preacher. In the year 1697 Mr. Birch, the proprietor of the estate, died, and his son George, either through fear of the consequences of retaining it, or from conviction that it rightly belonged to them, restored Birch chapel

* In the MSS. of Dr. Raffles are some very curious epitaphs copied from the tombs of Lancashire Puritans.

to its legal owners, the warden and fellows of the collegiate church.*

On his exclusion from the ancient chapel, Mr. Finch procured licenses for several houses of his friends who resided in the neighbourhood of Platt and Birch, and preached in them as often as might be convenient to the owners or to his hearers. His chapel wage was collected with as much regularity and supplied his wants as liberally as when he had possession of the parochial chapel. It amounted to about 16*l.* per annum.

After Mr. Finch had for some time continued his ministry in this not very agreeable manner to himself or his hearers, he invited his friends to consider the propriety of erecting a meeting-house on a plot of land which Mr. Worsley had given for its site. The following resolutions were adopted and signed by twenty-four respectable inhabitants of Birch, Platt, and Rusholme:—

'1. Wee whose names are hereunto subscribed doe declare our earnest and hearty desire that there may be a building erected for the Worshipp of God ffor the benefitt and convenience of that congregation w^{ch} now attends upon the ministry of Mr. finch.

'2. Wee doe promise and declare that wee will duely attend the Worshipp of God in such place when erected.

3. 'further wee doe promise to contribute for the maintenance of such Dissenting Minister or Ministers as shall be unanimously elected to officiate in the said place.'

In addition to the land, which contained 'about twenty roods,'† Mr. Worsley contributed 10*l.* towards the building; Mr. Finch, the minister, twenty; Mr. Edge six pounds; Mr. Whittaker five pounds; Mr. Birch, the ejected minister of the place, one pound; and other residents sums varying from ten shillings to thirty. The building cost about 95*l.* Among the items of expenditure, the reader who is curious enough to cast his eye over the note at the foot of the page‡

* Mr. George Birch, although not apparently retaining the firm and decided nonconformity of his family, contributed to the support of Mr. Finch when he officiated in the dissenting meeting-house as liberally as when he occupied the episcopal chapel.

† So it is said in *The History of Birch Chapel*, but this is a mistake, as the site consists of about one rood.

‡ Items of expense in building the meeting-house at Birch, extracted from the meeting-book:—

	l.	s.	d.
ffor Bricks	10	10	0
ffor 56 Loads of Lime at 18 <i>d.</i> per load	4	4	0
Peter Ryland, Bricksetter	4	2	6
Randle Thorneley, &c., ffor Slate	4	15	6
ffor Timber	10	0	0
Jeremiah Kiraley for Slateinge and Mosse	2	13	8
ffor Boarδες for Doores and Weatheringe and for 50 yards of Sparrs at 3 <i>d.</i> per yard	2	8	2
Three Loades of flagges and carriage	1	7	6
ffor meats, drinks, ale, Pipes and Tobaccer att ye Rearinge being y ^e sixth day of October	0	19	0
ffor Glass six score and foure foote at 4 <i>½d.</i> y ^e foote	2	6	6

may be amused to observe the notice of ale, pipes, and tobacco, given at the rearing. 'The Pulpitt Quishion,' costing 1*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.* seems an extravagant affair, scarcely consistent with the moderate cost of the meeting-house, but the 'pulpitt quishion' was an important thing in the estimation of the old dissenters. On the day of opening Mr. Grimshaw preached, and 'received five shillings for his trouble.*'

In curious contrast with the simplicity of the building is the grandiloquence of the conveyance of 'the said edifice, chapel, oratory, and meeting-place,' to trustees, who were to hold it 'upon the trust that they and their heirs shall permit the said edifice, chapel, and oratory from time to time, and at all times thereafter, so long as the law of the realm will permit, connive at, tolerate, allow, or indulge, the same to be used as a meeting-place or assembly of a particular Church or congregation of Protestants dissenting from the Church of England, for the free exercise of their divine and religious worship therein, on such days and times, by such minister and ministers, as in the said indenture of release are mentioned.' Although the Church which had assembled in the parochial chapel was congregational, the trust deed of the meeting-house required that the minister should be 'a Protestant able minister who is of the presbyterian judgment and practice as to church discipline and government, and not of any other persuasion;' and that he should be 'orthodox and sound in the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, and hold and profess the doctrinal articles of the Church of England.'

The Rev. John Booker, in his interesting 'History of the Ancient Chapel of Birch within Rusholme,' has furnished a ground plan of the old meeting-house as it was on its completion and continued until its rebuilding in 1790. The communion pew immediately in front of the pulpit was occupied by ten men, whose names were inserted in the plan. There were twenty-seven other pews, of which two immediately in front of the communion pew were appropriated

The Smith for Bannes for Doores, wth Barres and Bolts and Win-

dow rode	.	.	.	.	1	12	10
ffor Recordinge our Chappell	.	.	.	.	0	1	6
ffor the Pulpitt Quishion	.	.	.	.	1	3	3
John Odcroft's Bill for y ^e Pulpitt, Sounder, seats, Wainscott, &c.	.	.	.	.	18	7	11

—*History of Birch Chapel*, p. 162.

* On this occasion the good people were uncommonly liberal as compared with their church-going neighbours at Didsbury. In the churchwarden's accounts of that chapelry these items occur: In 1671, 'Spent on Mr. Worsley when he preached one day att our chappell, 0*l.* 2*s.* 0*d.*' In 1673, 'Spent on Mr. Yannes and Mr. Pechy, when they preached att our chappell, 0*l.* 0*s.* 6*d.*' In 1674, 'Spent att Didsbury when Mr. Wrigley preached, 0*l.* 1*s.* 0*d.*' In 1679, 'Spent in a treat to our parson who preached on Christmas day, 0*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*' In 1679, 'Spent on Mr. Lomas preaching in our parson's absence on two several occasions, 0*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.*' In 1681, 'Paide when Mr. Yannes preached, 0*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.*' In 1698, 'Spent when Mr. Dickens were here to preach, 0*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.*' In 1706, 'Spent when Mr. Collier preached, 0*l.* 0*s.* 9*d.*' In 1746, the churchwarden was more liberal: 'Spent when the young parson began to preach, 0*l.* 2*s.* 0*d.*' They, however, on no occasion gave any of their preachers half as much as the Nonconformists of Platt gave 'the strange preacher' at the opening of their meeting-house.—*History of the Ancient Church of Didsbury*.

to the Worsleys, and one behind them to their servants. As no seat was allotted to the Birch family, they seem after the accession to the estate of George Birch, the grandson of the old parliamentary colonel, to have discontinued their attendance on dissenting worship.*

Mr. Finch, like some others of the ejected ministers, lived to officiate a short time in his licensed meeting-house, and to rejoice in the prospect of better days for his successors. He died in 1704, and was succeeded by Robert Hesketh, one of Mr. Frankland's pupils.

About the same time, or a little earlier, the Nonconformists of BLACKLEY erected their meeting-house.† From the passing of the Act of Uniformity there had been preaching in that village by the ejected ministers, with little interruption, chiefly in the house of widow Travis, whose family, as I have already noticed, was long connected with the puritanism and nonconformity of Blackley. Of the congregation thus collected, Mr. Pyke, the ejected minister of Radcliffe, undertook the pastoral charge, and sustained it until his death.‡ The land was conveyed by William Rawlinson to Thomas Travis, George Travis, and two other trustees, 'for Nonconformist or dissenting ministers,' on a lease of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, for 'an annual payment of twopence upon the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord God, if the same be demanded.' No particular denomination was specified. The building was smaller than the meeting-house of Birch, and contained only seventeen pews.§ It was destroyed by the 'Sacheverel mob,' and the present building was erected on the old foundations.

Having noticed the contributions which were made for the erection of a village meeting-house, it may be amusing to compare with them the contributions which were made for the support of the ministry of a village congregation. In the hamlet of TOCKHOLES near Blackburn, a meeting-house was built in 1710.¶ As the members of the Hoghton family, at that time among the principal supporters of non-

* A few years later, as appears from the return made to Dr. Evans, the congregation consisted of two hundred and fifty-seven persons, of whom twenty-nine were freeholders.

† The conveyance of the land is dated July 19, 1697, from which it appears that the people had previously, with the permission of the proprietor, 'erected, reared, and set up a structure or building for a meeting-house.'

‡ Mr. Pyke was buried in 1676, in the episcopal chapel, and the conformist minister of Newton Heath was charitable enough to preach his funeral sermon.

§ At least that was the number of pews in the second meeting-house, erected on the site of the first, and fitted to accommodate the same persons apparently in the same manner. In Dr. Evans's list the hearers are two hundred and twenty-four, including twelve freeholders. If they were all there at one time they must have been uncomfortably crowded.—*History of Blackley Chapel*.

¶ During the establishment of presbyterianism in Lancashire, Mr. Joshua Barnet was ordained by the classis minister of Tockholes chapel. As he could not conscientiously subscribe 'the Solemn League and Covenant,' he was compelled to resign his situation. He removed to Hodnet in Shropshire, where he had to submit to a second ejection for refusing to sign the 'Engagement' under the republican government. Not complying with the requirements of the Act of Uniformity, he suffered a third ejection, which was from Rockwardine, in Shropshire.—*Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial*, vol. ii. p. 329.

conformity in Lancashire, occupied in this meeting-house two pews, into which, guarded by their monogram, no stranger, I suppose, ever dared to intrude, I was curious to ascertain how much they contributed. There is a book extant, of subscribers, the entries of which commence in May 1715, and continue, though with many omissions, until 1751. The first list contains twenty-five names of contributors, of which the highest * is for 10*s.*, and the lowest 6*d.* The amount is 4*l.* 3*s.*, which, with the addition of 7*s.* 'sacrament money,' is acknowledged by the signature of John Waddington, the minister. The quarters are reckoned after the Scotch fashion, Candlemas, Whitsuntide, Lammas, and Martinmas.† Every quarter the treasurer took his book to the minister, who returned it with his receipt for the amount collected since the last settlement. In the Saint Martin's quarter of the same year, the subscriptions increased to 6*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* In 1716, the Hoghtons appear for the first time as contributors, the items being—

1st seat of the Hon ^{ble} Lady Hoghton	0 <i>l.</i>	7 <i>s.</i>	0 <i>d.</i>
2nd seat " " " " "	0 <i>l.</i>	7 <i>s.</i>	6 <i>d.</i>

The family of chief distinction thus contributed 14*s.* 6*d.* a quarter for the support of the minister. It should be observed that the servants who occupied the family pews also subscribed. 'Old Hugh,' no doubt a confidential servant, who sat in Lady Hoghton's first seat, paid 1*s.* a quarter.‡

These instances may elucidate the manner in which the rural sanctuaries of the Dissenters were erected and sustained in the beginning of the last century. Occasionally contributions were obtained from distant friends, and collections were made in settled congregations to assist poor people in building a sanctuary. Oliver Heywood notices a collection made in Yorkshire towards defraying the expense of a meeting-house in the distant county of Dorset. Most of the rural congregations of Lancashire received aid from the London 'Fund Boards,' for the support of their ministers.

Of the meeting-houses erected in the towns of Lancashire, that of

* The highest entry is 'Mrs. Coop's interest, 1*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*' It is thus distinguished from the contributions.

† This mode of reckoning was then not uncommon in Lancashire. I have lately met with a foolish writer on Lancashire affairs who attributes it to the presbyterian dislike of keeping Christmas. With even greater absurdity he attributes the dating of the year according to the old style, from March, to the puritan dislike to begin the year within a week of Christmas day. The Puritans have borne a great deal of blame which they never deserved, but it is 'too bad' to make them responsible for the long continuance in England of the old style of reckoning.

‡ These particulars were extracted by Dr. Raffles from a book which he found in the possession of 'Mr. Aspdon of Tockholes,' and inserted in vol. iii. of his MSS. entitled *Collections for a History of the Nonconformist Churches of Lancashire*. Knowing the care and accuracy of my late friend, I have unhesitating confidence in the correctness of his copy.

Not only had the ministers of this chapel the honour of being buried in the communion pew, but so many of their people were buried around them that Dr. Raffles in his note observes: 'The whole of the ground within the chapel has been so filled with bodies that it is impossible to take up a board without exposing human remains.'

MANCHESTER was the largest, the most important, and the most expensive, as it was appropriated to the use of what was probably the most wealthy, as well as the most numerous, congregation of Nonconformists in the county.

In 1687, Mr. Newcome having accepted the indulgence granted by King James, licensed the house of his friend Mr. Barlow, and soon afterwards requiring more room for the increasing number of his hearers, 'he obtained Thomas Stockton's barn,' which with much difficulty was considerably enlarged. There he preached regularly, 'in the public time,' and obtained the assistance of Mr. Chorlton, who became his colleague and eventually his successor. After the Revolution, the wealthy Presbyterians gathered round their favourite preacher, and although he was growing old and feeble, resolved to erect a sanctuary worthy of themselves, their pastor, and their principles. For some time the work was delayed by the opposition of Churchmen, the differences prevalent among the promoters of the object, and the timidity and vacillation of the aged minister. Eventually, on June 24, 1694, 'the great and fair meeting-house,' was opened amidst 'the curses and reproaches,' 'the great oppositions and malicious reflections' of the Jacobite populace of Manchester. Notwithstanding the remarkable change of popular feeling which had affected many of the children of the old Nonconformists,* some of the best families of the town, as the Mosleys, the Gaskells, the Butterworths, and the Bayleys, immediately occupied the chief pews of the sanctuary, and gave a character of respectability and importance to the place.†

Mr. Newcome, although very infirm, preached at the opening of the meeting-house from the words, 'Holiness to the Lord.' Although his enchanting voice retained its sweet music, it had lost its thrilling power. He was afterwards seldom able to officiate. On June 13, 1695, he preached his last sermon, and appended to the notice of it in his 'Diary,' the words, 'short, yet tired.' On September 17 of the same year he died. He was interred, as I have observed, in his proper burial place, near the pulpit of his own meeting-house. To his mourning congregation Mr. Chorlton preached a funeral sermon from the appropriate words, 'They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.' (Dan. xii. 3.)

* A popular change as remarkable came over the spirit of Liverpool, which from being the stronghold of the Tories, became Whig and Liberal almost as rapidly as Liberal Manchester became Tory and Jacobite.

† In the MS. of Dr. Evans the congregation is estimated at 1515 persons, of whom six were magistrates and seventy-four freeholders. How much these respectable people contributed to the support of their aged minister I do not know; but Dr. Aikin gives some curious particulars of the expenses of a nonconformist manufacturer of Manchester, collected from his cash book for 1700, six years after the opening of the meeting-house. As this worthy Presbyterian spent 20*l.* 18*s.* 9*d.* on a family excursion to Scarborough, and paid 2*l.* 10*s.* for a new periwig, and 2*l.* 5*s.* for gloves at the funeral of a child, he must have been rich, and liberal in his expenditure. His 'chapel wage' for his pew in the meeting-house was ten shillings a quarter. As he had a family, he no doubt occupied a whole pew for that 'wage.'—Cited in Reilly's *History of Manchester*, vol. i. p. 225.

John Howe, in an epistle to the reader prefixed to Mr. Chorlton's funeral sermon,* observes: 'It may be truly said of worthy Mr. Newcome, "as unknown, and yet well-known." They that knew him best could know but a small part of his true and great worth, and might always apprehend, when they knew most of him, there was still much more that they knew not, his most sincere and inartificial humility still drawing a veil over his other excellences which it hid and adorned at once; so as the appetite of knowing more must always meet with a check and incitation at the same time. There was in him a large stock of solid learning and knowledge always ready for use; for ostentation, never. Conscience the most strict and steady to itself, and the remotest from censoriousness of other men. Eloquence without any labour of his own, not imitable by the greatest labour of another. O the strange way he had of insinuating and winding himself into his hearers' bosoms! I have sometimes heard him when the only thing to be regretted was that the sermon must soon be at an end. Conversation so facetious and instructive together, that they who enjoyed it, if they were capable of improving it, could scarce tell whether they went away from him more edified or delighted. He was a burning and a shining light.'

Another funeral sermon was preached by his old and beloved friend, Mr. Bagshaw, 'the Apostle of the Peak,' who thus concludes his eulogium: 'May I not say of him, Blessed Henry, as thy stature and face were comely, thy parts, gifts and graces excelled the ordinary portion and proportion of eminent ministers? There was one in that county (Mr. Booth of Rochdale) who, when he heard this our Henry, said, "If I had this man's tongue, I could not escape being proud of it." That he had the voice of the learned, and that the Lord spake by him, Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, &c., have many witnesses.

'His faithfulness, too, and suffering on his principles, did not hinder his moderation towards worthies that differed from him. He could distinguish between spirituals and ecclesiasticals, as an excellent doctor (Goodwin) had done before him. Who, if it were not his own fault, went away from him unedified? But the rest tears should speak. He is laid in his bed, and I must draw with silence the curtain about him. What hath been said was to glorify God in him.'

In BOLTON, 'that ancient and famous seat of religion,' the founders of the old dissent, Richard Goodwin, the ejected vicar, Robert Park, the ejected lecturer, and John Leaver, of Cockney Moor, frequently kept 'private days' with the puritan families of the town and neighbourhood, as well as engaged in more public exercises of religion. In a place where puritanism was so strong and influential, the ministers acted with less timidity and caution than in many other parts of the county. Mr. Goodwin, availing himself of the indulgence, licensed in 1672 a large building in Deansgate, in which he and his

* This is one of the best of the nonconformist funeral sermons. If Mr. Chorlton was not so eloquent or so popular as his predecessor, he was certainly quite as able a divine, as logical a reasoner, and as forcible a writer.

friend Mr. Park preached to considerable congregations. After the death of the founder of the church, the Rev. Robert Seddon, who had been ejected from the rectory of Langley in Derbyshire, was invited to take charge of the congregation. A native of Lancashire, ordained by the Manchester classis, and having many relatives in Bolton and some property in the neighbourhood, he gladly accepted a tranquil retreat from persecution in the congenial associations of the puritan town which continued faithful to its traditions after Manchester had become apostate. As soon as there was reasonable expectation of permanent protection for dissenting worship, the congregation of Bolton resolved to erect a sanctuary worthy of their numbers, wealth, and respectability.* Mr. Seddon zealously promoted the design, and gave for its accomplishment a large and valuable plot of freehold land. Having the satisfaction of completing the legal conveyance of 'the land at the back of his own mansion-house,' he 'ceased from his labours and entered into rest.' His nephew, the Rev. Samuel Bourne, who was invited to succeed him, completed the good work which he had auspiciously commenced. The members of the congregation liberally contributed to defray the expenses, and in 1696 the meeting-house was opened and licensed 'for the worship of Almighty God by his majesty's loyal subjects the Dissenters of Bolton and the adjacent parts, commonly called Presbyterians.' The edifice was a favourable specimen of nonconformist architecture, although it was not so large as might have been expected, considering the numerous congregation for whose benefit it was erected.† It remained until 1854, when 'a chapel' was erected on the site of the venerable meeting-house.

Only one other meeting-house in Lancashire is represented in Dr. Evans's list as frequented by a congregation of more than a thousand persons. In the village of CHOWBENT, in the parish of Leigh near Wigan, was collected the largest dissenting congregation of the county, with the exception of the two 'great congregations' of Manchester and Bolton. Although the meeting-house was not erected until after 1720, the origin and early history of the congregation are worthy of brief notice.‡

James Wood or Woods (his name is spelt about as often one way as the other) was the son and the grandson of an ejected minister. James Woods, his grandfather, was ejected from Ashton-in-Makerfield; James Woods, his father, from the chapel of Chowbent, although,

* In Dr. Evans's list, this congregation is enumerated as 1094 persons including seventy freeholders.

† I know not whether the engraving prefixed to the *Lecture* of the Rev. Frankland Baker represents the original pewing or some later construction. It has not the communion pew, which is distinctive of every old meeting-house I know. The pulpit is not high enough nor massive enough nor grand enough for 1696. It looks very like an innovation of degenerate days.

‡ The congregation in the new meeting consisted of 1064 persons, of whom fifty-three were freeholders, having been nearly as large and influential as that of the populous and puritan Bolton. In Liverpool there were 1158 hearers, eighty-three county voters, and one hundred and fifty-five borough voters; but they formed two congregations, in what proportions I do not know.

as I have already observed, his ejectment was only partial and temporary. After the passing of the Act of Uniformity, the latter retired to the house of his friend, Mr. John Mort of Warton Hall, in the parish of Dean. In that hospitable and secluded asylum, he preached to a congregation of villagers as often as the times would allow, until, on the passing of the Act of Toleration, he resumed his services in the old chapel at Chowbent, where his friend Mort had considerable property and influence. He was succeeded in 1699 by his son, the third James Woods, in the pastorate of his large and respectable congregation.

The son, however, had not peaceable possession of the building, for the lord of the manor claimed the right of presenting a conformist minister, on the ground of its having been 'a public chapel.' Long litigation ensued, and the right of any party to the possession of the chapel was not very clear. In the '*Notitia Cestriensis*,' the account of it is: 'It hath been possessed by Presbyterians who, when the vicar comes to officiate, quit the place, leaving him a large Bible and Prayer Book ready for his use.'* Of the anomalous proceedings of this place, one of the most remarkable was that the Prayer Book, kept for the exclusive use of the vicar, was carefully put out of sight during the ministrations of the Presbyterian pastor. Eventually the lord of the manor obtained possession of the chapel, and in 1723 procured its consecration.

In 1715, while Mr. Woods was minister of the old chapel, the Nonconformists of Lancashire were alarmed by the advance of the Scotch army into their county, to support the cause of the Pretender. Meeting with scarcely any opposition, they marched upon Preston, and there proclaimed the Chevalier St. George, by the style and title of James III. King of England, and VIII. of Scotland. Among the nonconformist ministers conferences were held and resolutions unanimously passed in favour of the House of Hanover. Mr. Woods, being a plain, straightforward sort of man, could not appreciate the value of well-expressed and unanimous resolutions, as defences against an invading army of Scotch and popish Jacobites. While his brethren were consulting, and resolving, and asserting with perfect unanimity their loyalty to King George, Woods convened all the able-bodied men of his large congregation, collected as many muskets, pikes, and swords as his neighbourhood would supply, told the unarmed to take scythes, pitchforks, and whatever implements of destruction they could find, and marched at their head to join the king's forces at Preston. The people called him 'the old general,' as they called Mr. Walker, another dissenting minister who acted under his direction, his lieutenant. General Wills made to the government so favourable a report of the value of his services, and the judgment and bravery with which he had acted, that a pension of 100*l.* was settled upon him for life.† According to a prevalent tradition of the

* *Notitia Cestriensis*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 190.

† Peter Rae, in his *History of the Rebellion*, printed in Edinburgh 1718, represents Woods and Walker as receiving each an annuity of 100*l.* Other accounts refer to grants, not annuities, of 100*l.*

neighbourhood, he gave this money, or the first payment of it, as his contribution towards the erection of a commodious meeting-house.

Be that as it may, on the loss of the old chapel, he readily obtained liberal donations for the erection of a meeting-house. Loyal men could not very well refuse 'the old general,' who was not more timid in begging than in fighting. He is said to have gone to Mr. Hulton of Hulton, who, being the representative of a Puritan family, could not easily refuse him, although, being very penurious, he would contribute as little as he could without giving offence. Woods asked the Presbyterian squire for twenty oaks for his meeting-house. Mr. Hulton could not spare twenty, but would give him ten. 'Thank you,' said the general, 'just the number I want; I knew you would give me only half as many as I asked for.' In a short time he collected sufficient money and material to build a large brick meeting-house, of which Mr. Dorning Rasbotham says: 'It hath a bell, a large burying ground, and a congregation of about eleven hundred persons.'* Mr. Woods lived to his eighty-seventh year, having been minister of the chapel and of the meeting-house more than sixty years.†

A commodious meeting-house was erected in 1710 in ST. HELENS. After the passing of the Act of Uniformity, the Rev. Thomas Gregg, as I have already noticed, being a bold and dauntless man, continued to officiate in the public chapel, and also to preach in dwelling-houses, barns, all sorts of places, licensed and unlicensed, until his death in 1681. His successor, Mr. James Naylor, like himself a Nonconformist, preached in the same chapel, called St. Mary's by Church folk, but Mary's-in-Ellen's by true Presbyterians. On the death of 'this worthy good man and very useful minister,' Matthew Henry, whose words I cite, preached his funeral sermon, which was probably the last sermon preached by a Nonconformist in the pulpit of 'Mary's-in-Ellen's.' The bishop then claimed authority over the chapel, and the Dissenters erected a 'great meeting,' of which they invited Mr. Joseph Gellibrand, one of Mr. Frankland's students, to become the minister. Although the Nonconformists could not retain possession of the pulpit of 'Mary's,' they acquired two of its pews. On a black 'table of benefactions,' affixed to the wall of the old meeting-house, there was written in gold letters, 'two pews of the chapel,' of which pews the rents were appropriated to the benefit of the dissenting minister. Mr. Gellibrand was one of the most popular preachers in Lancashire, as well as an affectionate pastor, beloved by his people, and respected by all parties in the town and neighbourhood.‡ He died on June 18, 1740, and of course

* Baines's *History of Lancashire*, vol. iii. p. 612.

† *A short View of the Life, Sentiments, and Character of Mr. John Mort*, in an Address to the Dissenters of Atherton, and in a Sermon preached in Chowbent Chapel, Jan. 20, 1788, by H. Toulmin. *History of the late Rebellion*, by a Lover of the Peace and Prosperity of Britain (Peter Rae), Glasgow, 1718. Hibbert Ware's *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1715*. Mr. Raines' valuable notes to the *Notitia Cestriensis*, article Chowbent.

‡ See an interesting tract of Dr. Raffles', entitled *Independency in St. Helens*. The congregation was originally presbyterian, but like other presbyterian congregations which retained the Calvinistic theology, it gradually became identified with the Independents.

was buried in his place immediately in front of his pulpit. During his ministry the congregation, according to Dr. Evans's list, consisted of six hundred and ninety-seven persons, of whom fifty-four were freeholders.

Although the original meeting-house in WARRINGTON was taken down in 1745 and the present building erected in its place, the good people who designed the latter seemed to have adhered so scrupulously to the true presbyterian style of architecture as to have furnished a perfect representative of the earliest sanctuary of their fathers. It appears more venerable, more puritanic, more genuine and uncorrupted in its decay than any other of the Lancashire meeting-houses erected in the middle of the eighteenth century. The congregation which worshipped in the first sanctuary under the ministry of its learned and laborious pastor, Dr. Charles Owen, amounted to seven hundred and thirteen persons, of whom eighty-two were freeholders. The doctor was a remarkable man, as a preacher, a scholar, and a patriot. During the rebellion in 1715 he defended the right of King George as zealously and boldly with his pen as James Woods of Chowbent did with his pitchfork. Indeed he got into a great deal more trouble than his patriotic friend, for, having expressed himself more boldly than prudently respecting some of his neighbours whose loyalty was suspected, he was prosecuted for a libel.* Although he obtained an acquittal, the expense of the proceedings was almost as ruinous as if he had been convicted and sentenced to pay heavy damages. His pamphlet, however, had for those times an enormous sale, as it rapidly passed through twenty-three editions. His writings, although now scarcely known, were in good repute for some years after his death.† His character as a pastor and author is represented, apparently with much care as well as affection, in a funeral sermon preached at Warrington by his nephew.‡

The oldest of the LIVERPOOL meeting-houses (I do not here include the ancient chapel of Toxteth Park) was erected, soon after the Revolution, in Castle Hey, since called Harrington Street.§ The

* The doctor could both preach and write with severity, especially concerning the Stuarts. His funeral sermon for Queen Anne was preached from the text, 'And Ahab the son of Omri did evil in the sight of the Lord above all that were before him.' (1 Kings xvi. 30.) His friend, Thomas Bradbury, was, however, far more ingenious in finding a text appropriate to his sentiments. He is reported (I know not how truly) to have preached on the same mournful occasion from the words, 'Go, see now this cursed woman, and bury her: for she is a king's daughter.' (2 Kings ix. 34.)—Wilson's *History of Dissenting Churches*, vol. iii. p. 514.

† His 'great and immortal work' on Serpents, as his nephew called it, has, I fear, 'given up the ghost.'

‡ *The Christian's Conflict and Crown*, a sermon preached at Warrington, Feb. 23, 1745-6, on occasion of the death of the late Rev. and learned Charles Owen, D.D., by J. Owen. I infer that the Rev. J. Owen, of Rochdale, the preacher of this sermon, was his nephew, from the dedication 'to his much honoured cousins,' meaning the children of Dr. Charles Owen.

§ 'It is probable that Castle Hey chapel was built about 1688.'—MSS. of Dr. Raffles entitled *Collections for a History of the Nonconformist Churches of Lancashire*.

congregation that worshipped in it was gathered by the Rev. Christopher Richardson, the ejected minister of Kirkheaton in Yorkshire. Having been invited about the year 1672 to assist the minister of Toxteth Park chapel, he licensed, under the protection of the indulgence, a house in Liverpool, in which he preached on alternate Sundays, when his services were not required at Toxteth Park. On the completion of the meeting-house in Castle Hey, he resigned his connection with the congregation of the Park, and continued preaching regularly in Liverpool until his death in the eightieth year of his age. In 1727 the people, then under the pastoral care of the Rev. Henry Winder, D.D., removed to a more commodious sanctuary in Benn's Gardens.*

In 1707 a meeting-house was erected in Kaye Street, where the Rev. Christopher Basnett, who had been a student in Mr. Frankland's academy, long ministered to the satisfaction and benefit of a large and influential congregation. He seems to have preserved the old puritan habit, which was then becoming unusual with presbyterian ministers, of preaching extemporaneously. In the preface to his volume entitled 'Zebulun's Blessing Opened and Applied in eight sermons,' he says: 'The sermons are as near what he preached as could be, considering the way in which he was accustomed to deliver his discourses.' As he was growing infirm, his people, after making an ineffectual attempt to secure the assistance of the Rev. Jonathan Mercer of Spalding,† obtained an assistant of greater ability, the

* Dr. Winder had been a student in Mr. Dixon's academy at Whitehaven, where he was associated in his studies with two distinguished men, Dr. Caleb Rotheram, afterwards the able and successful tutor of many eminent ministers, and Dr. John Taylor of Warrington. He was a remarkable man, or at least he published a remarkable book, entitled, *A Critical and Chronological History of the Rise, Progress, Declension, and Revival of Knowledge, in Two Periods: the Period of Tradition from Adam to Moses, and the Period of Letters from Moses to Christ*. Two volumes, quarto. This very comprehensive book had the good fortune to reach a second edition, at least so far as the title-page was concerned, '2nd Edition, 1756.' To this edition Dr. George Benson prefixed *Memoirs of the Life of the Author*.

† I introduce Mr. Mercer, not on account of any connection he had with this congregation, but for the sake of an amusing illustration of the state of Liverpool dissent at that time. As Mr. Mercer afterwards became, and continued for twenty-nine years, the minister of St. Helen's, he ought to make an appearance in a history of Lancashire nonconformity. I am indebted to Dr. Raffles for a knowledge of the correspondence between the Presbyterians of Kaye Street and Mr. Mercer, part of which the doctor inserted in his tract entitled *Independency in St. Helen's*.

The authorities of the congregation in Kaye Street wrote to Mr. Mercer an explanation of the services they required and the remuneration they would give. 'What will be expected in case of your compliance will be, half the public work on Lord's days and lecture days, and to do all the work for four or six Lord's days in the year, if our pastor be absent for health or business; and in case of illness that unfits him for public work, that you undertake for the whole. And it will be for this reason expected and desired that you be willing to embrace the first proper opportunity of being ordained, that you may be ready upon occasion to administer either of the two Sacraments. As there is a sum fixed and agreed upon for our pastor, we find that over and above that we are at present able to raise for you 40*l*. per annum, and have reason to hope it will be rather improving than otherwise.' Upon this liberal offer Mr. Mercer comments in a letter to his friends

Rev. John Brekell, with whom we shall meet again, on account of the part which he sustained in the dissenting controversies of the last century. From the number and value of his publications we may infer that he had a more liberal allowance for books than, as appears from the preceding note, Mr. Mercer expected to obtain in Liverpool.

The only other meeting-houses in the county which in the early part of last century were frequented by more than five hundred persons, were that at Monton under the ministry of Jeremiah Aldred, that at Rainford under Ronald Tetlow, that at Holcomb under Edward Rothwell, that at Darwen under George Griffith, and that at Walmesley under James Milne. The last two were congregational.

In the northern division of the county the congregations were small, and as almost all of them received assistance from the Presbyterian or from the Congregational Fund-Board, we may infer that they were poor and feeble. In Preston the congregation of the Rev. John Parr numbered only one hundred and fifty persons, and in Lancaster that of the Rev. James Grimshaw two hundred and sixty. Each of these ministers received six pounds a year from the Presbyterian Fund. The largest congregation in that division was at Forton and Lytham, which is represented as numbering four hundred and sixteen persons, of whom fifty were freeholders. Its minister was not a recipient from either of the London funds.

The first Baptist church of Liverpool was formed by an amicable, or rather on account of the distance a necessary, separation from that of Hill Cliffe in Cheshire, one of the oldest Baptist churches in the north of England.* As Hill Cliffe is by the nearest overland road

at Allerton, which fell into the hands of Dr. Raffles. 'As for the advantages proposed, they would do nothing more than support a single person; what, then, must become of a family, which I should be sure to think of as soon as I were ordained? 20*l.* a year would do nothing more than board me, and pay for extraordinaries that would be necessary at home; and if I had a family the character of a minister at such a place would oblige me to spend more than so much every year. As I go on at present, 10*l.* a year would hardly excuse me in books; nor if I should lay out so much for thirty years together should I think after all I had any extraordinary library. 6*l.* a year would go in clothes, at least in such a town and so employed, and 4*l.* a year would be too little for pocket-money and journeys.' Mr. Mercer's prudence induced him to avoid 'such a town,' and to settle at St. Helen's, where I hope he had more money to spend upon books, clothes, and journeys than the people at Liverpool offered him. At all events, when a considerable part of his congregation found it needful to worship in Prescott, on account of the distance of St. Helen's from their homes, they entered into an agreement as honourable to themselves as it was gratifying to their minister. Seventy-six persons signed the following document: 'We whose names are hereunto subscribed do hereby unanimously promise and consent with each other to make up all and every deficiency of our salary and benefit to our present honoured and worthy minister, Mr. Mercer, that shall or may arise for or by reason of the present members of our chapel and congregation at St. Helen's-within-Hardshaw that are now or soon for separating themselves from us, in order for the joining a congregation at Prescott. As witness our hands.

'February 29, 1756.'

* The first meeting-house of the Baptists in Lancashire was founded at Bacup in 1691.—Hunter's *Life of Oliver Heywood*, p. 281.

not much less than twenty miles from Liverpool, or, if a shorter journey were attempted by the ferries of the Mersey, the saving of time would be small, while the navigation of the river was often difficult and occasionally impracticable, the members of the mother church who resided in Liverpool must have left very early on Sunday morning and returned very late at night when they united with their brethren on the cliff in solemnising after their own manner the worship of God; I mean if they went and returned in one day, which day could scarcely have been to them a day of rest, a Sabbath, as the Puritans loved to call it. Probably they made the journey or part of it before, and rested with hospitable friends on the way to their hill of Zion, their mountain of the Lord's house. We may suppose that their sanctuary on the cliff, 'beautiful for situation,' was connected in their memory with many hallowed associations. In that mountain their fathers worshipped. They seem to have gradually severed themselves from the first home of their religious life. The earliest allusion I can find to the Baptists of Liverpool is in an extract from the records of the Quarter Sessions, among Dr. Raffles's MSS.: 'The house of Mr. Daniel Fabiens, practizer in physic, was licensed at the Quarter Sessions, July 25, 1700.' This house, Dr. Thom says, was at Low Hill. In 1714, a church had been formed; for Peter Davenport, a tobacconist, was then called to the pastoral office. He was succeeded by John Sedgefield, and he, in 1727, by James Haworth, during whose ministry the chapel in Byrom Street was erected. In 1730 Mr. John Turner, an apothecary, became pastor of the church. He was sometimes called from the pulpit to attend his patients, when he left the good people to sing and pray until his return. The singing of the General Baptists, 'waiting upon their gifts,' would seem to be very useful in such emergencies.* This church has continued to flourish under a succession of able ministers until the present time.

Before the middle of the century, Baptist churches were formed in other parts of the county, chiefly near its eastern boundary, by separation from the neighbouring societies of the West Riding of Yorkshire. In 1772, according to a list of dissenting congregations in Lancashire preserved in the Library of Dr. Williams, there were sixty-five dissenting churches, of which fifteen were Baptist.† I may have occasion to notice some of these in the course of the narrative.

* Taylor, in his *History of the General Baptists*, tells us some of their early churches thus conducted their 'service of song' (vol. i. p. 425). 'The best,' he cites an old authority among them, 'and for aught I can find, the only certain way to be used to sing the praise of the Lord is this—That such persons as God hath gifted to sing His mighty acts, should have their liberty and convenient opportunity to celebrate the high praises of God *one by one*.' If any man 'had a psalm' he was to have liberty to sing it, and the others were to 'wait on his gifts,' that is, to be quiet until he had done.

† MSS. of the Rev. Josiah Thompson. According to the *Annual Register of the Baptists* for 1790, edited by Dr. Rippon, there were at that time fifteen Baptist churches in Lancashire. The two lists, although agreeing in their totals, do not correspond in their particulars, several changes having occurred in the course of eighteen years.

In the early nonconformist sanctuaries the mode of conducting public worship was so uniform that, although it had never been determined by any acknowledged authority, a stranger might suppose it had been prescribed by some Act of Uniformity. Indeed the order and arrangement of public worship were much more uniform among the Protestant Dissenters of 1719 than they are among their descendants of 1869. In formularies of religious service unlike those of the Church of England, the prevalence of uniformity amidst universal liberty in three denominations, settled in different proportions in every county of England, may be explained partly by the traditional respect which was paid to the Directory of the Westminster Assembly, partly by the good understanding and comity which dissenting ministers maintained in their several associations, and partly by the simplicity and appropriateness of the services, at least in the estimation of men who had learned to suspect and distrust all sensuous excitement which simulates and corrupts pure and spiritual devotion.

Amidst the variations which modern Dissenters have introduced in the arrangements of divine worship, a general regard is still paid to the forms and order of their fathers. One innovation, however, has become universal: that is, the concluding of public worship with a very brief prayer, and sometimes with only the benediction. The fathers of dissent offered their general prayer in the early part of the service, but reserved their intercession for particular persons until they had finished the sermon. A similar division of the long prayer has been recently introduced into many dissenting chapels, but the particular intercession, like the general supplication, precedes the sermon. In the ancient meeting-houses, the intercessory prayer, which often 'condescended to particulars' with sufficient detail and precision, followed the sermon, and usually preceded the singing of the last psalm and the benediction. The reading of Scripture was commonly restricted to one lesson, but that was generally read as God's lesson, without the interruption of impertinent remarks, which modern preachers call 'commenting on the word.' I hope Dissenters are now returning to the usage of their fathers, for nothing can be more offensive, not only to good taste but to reverential feeling, than the sort of 'commenting on the word' which, often trifling, sometimes pedantic, occasionally rhetorical, was frequently heard in dissenting chapels in the former half of this century.

Monthly communion became common, almost universal, among the three denominations of Protestant Dissenters. Why that arrangement should have been so generally adopted it is not easy to explain. It was not, however, distinctive of Dissenters, for in many parish churches, both before and after the passing of the Act of Uniformity, especially where the puritanical feeling of the clergyman or of his parishioners was unfavourable to the observance of festivals, one Sunday in every month was known as the communion Sunday. The Lord's Supper was usually observed among Dissenters as 'a supper' at the close of the afternoon service. With some churches it was a principle to restrict it to that time. Occasionally among

the Presbyterians, very seldom, if ever, among the Independents or the Baptists, it was observed at the close of the morning service.

Lectures, which were nothing else than week-day sermons, were very common among all classes of Dissenters. Almost every congregation had its weekly evening lecture. In large towns, morning lectures were not unusual, especially on market days. In some places, wealthy Dissenters gave or bequeathed money to found a weekly lecture, the proceeds of which donations or bequests are in some instances still received although the lectures are discontinued. In Bolton, the market lecture of the Monday is wisely anticipated by the presbyterian minister on the Sunday evening, when the people are better able or more willing to attend to the lecturer.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE OLD DISSENT.

THE Dissenters of Lancashire had scarcely completed their meeting-houses, and occupied them, under the protection of the Toleration Act, when they were rudely disturbed and alarmed by the furious partisans of Dr. Sacheverel. To understand the reason and extent of their disturbance and alarm, it may be desirable to glance at the state of parties in the county in the beginning of the last century.

Of the Protestant Dissenters I have acknowledged that there were a few (and they were very few, chiefly Independents and Baptists) who, previously to the Revolution, were disposed to defend or to extenuate the arbitrary measures of James II. These dissenting Jacobites disappeared with the Revolution, even if any of them ever existed in Lancashire.*

* Dr. Hibbert Ware, in his volume entitled *Lancashire Memorials of the Rebellion of 1715*, p. 174, has printed a letter as a proof of the indifference of the Independents to the result of 'the struggle of that period except as it brought into collision, to their great joy, three state religions, namely, the Church of England, the Kirk of Scotland, and the Church of Rome.' The letter, Dr. Ware says, was 'written by a Quaker of Liverpool, yet evidently emanating from an Independent partisan.' The doctor has no reason whatever to say it 'emanated from an Independent partisan.' It is a Quaker's letter and nothing else. No Quaker would have consulted the Independents in such a matter: no Independent in Lancashire would have written such a letter. Instead of illustrating the state of parties at the time, it illustrates nothing else than the fanaticism of a Quaker, and the inability of the doctor to find better evidence for his unsupported assertion, that in Lancashire the Independents 'were disposed to regard with indifference the struggle of that period except that it brought into collision, to their great joy, three state religions.' The letter is:—

Liverpool, 19 of the 9th Month of the year called 1715.

Friend William,—I hope thou art now fully convinced that these Backsliders from the Truth, who prophane call themselves the Church of England, and the Kirk of Scotland, are nothing but the Worshipers of Baal and Dagon, and thy inward Light will plainly shew thee, that if their Tithes be taken from them, these Priests will turn Boars and Wolves to suck out the Heart Blood of the Deluded Flock: they have the subtilty of the old Serpent in their Blasphemy and Cursing, which is by them called preaching, to turn the Brains of their Giddy Hearers, making them believe Lyes that they all may be Damned. If their private Interest is in the least touched immediately the Ecclesiastick Drum is beaten and Anathema Maranatha is the word for those who will not go out to fight the Battles of the Lord against the Mighty. These Sons of Belial are now knocking their Heads one against another, but let us who are the true Enlightened, rejoice.

Thy Ungodly kinsman who sojourneth here, Joseph Fallman, who is a Worshipper of the Scarlet Coloured Whore is sick almost unto Death for the Defeat of his Friends at Preston.

The Roman Catholics of Lancashire consistently maintained their adherence to the exiled Stuarts. The position of High Churchmen was one in which it was very difficult to preserve in harmony, on the one hand, their faith in the Reformation, and, on the other, their belief in the divine right of kings. Opposed as many of them had been to the unconstitutional exercise of the dispensing power, they had professed their willingness quietly to submit to punishment, if it were needful, in accordance with their principle of passive obedience and non-resistance. After the Revolution they were required to take the oath of allegiance to the new rulers, which oath implied a renunciation of the old and divinely-appointed authority. Such of them as refused we must respect for their honesty; but many, under one pretext or another, professed their allegiance to the new dynasty, and shared the honours and emoluments which it had to bestow upon ecclesiastics, lawyers, and statesmen. The nonjurors, compelled to resign their preferments in the Establishment, formed what, though called by them 'the British Church,' 'the true Church,' 'the Apostolic Church,' or 'the Anglican branch of the Catholic Church,' was as really a dissenting sect, as completely severed from the national Church, and as readily availing itself of the protection of the Toleration Act, as any one of the three denominations. Defective and incomplete in their ecclesiastical organisation, episcopal in name and theory, but controlled by no effective authority, they presented the appearance not of one complete Church but of several independent congregations. One of the most remarkable of these was formed in Manchester, and will hereafter come prominently before us.

The High Churchmen and ecclesiastical Tories who submitted to the arrangements made by the revolutionary government, were remarkable for their invincible, almost malignant, hatred of Low Churchmen, and especially of the bishops who, like Tillotson, Tenison, Burnet, and Patrick, having succeeded to the preferments vacated by the nonjurors, sought to modify the exclusiveness of the established Church, and to comprehend within its pale, by some concessions of liberty, the more moderate of the nonconforming ministers.

The High Church party was numerous in Lancashire, and by a

Roger the High Church Man, laughs yet and says all will be well, and that the Covenanters will fall before them.

The Pagans who descended from the high Mountains of Scotland, play'd the Devil under Command of one M'Intosh, who may be compared to one Beelzebub, the God of Ekron.

Fare thee well! all the Congregation of the Faithful wish thee Health. Several of the Sisters long much to be Refreshed with thy presence.

Notwithstanding all our care, we hear that one of our Sisters named Hannah, whom we hoped would have held forth one of these days, alas! she has fallen down beneath one of the half Naked Braunny Pagans, tho' it's hoped she may rise again, yet she cannot be received into our Bosom till she be twin'd of the Bloody Offspring of that Anakite.

Keep thy Garments clean, and neither trouble Thee whether Rehoboam or Jeroboam the Son of Nebat be the Ruler, and learn to be as Indifferent about their Kings and Priest as thy Friend,

GABRIEL DUTTON.

To William Bradine, Clothier at Berwick.

revulsion from old traditions, to which I have already referred, strong in the eastern district though feeble in the western. They were, however, not on friendly terms with any of the other parties. The nonjurors regarded them as false brethren, who had dishonoured their principles for the sake of their emoluments. The Roman Catholics complained of being deserted, if not betrayed, by these Churchmen, on whose support they had reckoned in their defence of the cause of the Stuarts. Between them and the Low Churchmen the opposition was so fierce, involving as it did the great principles of civil and ecclesiastical polity, that in some places, as in Manchester, although they used the same forms and repeated the same prayers, they would not do so in the same church. The Low Churchmen of St. Ann's had much less of friendly feeling with the High Churchmen of the collegiate church, notwithstanding their uniformity of worship, than they had with their neighbours, the Nonconformists of Cross Street. With Protestant Dissenters the High Churchmen had no good understanding, and as they were determined to resist all proposals of comprehension, they provoked animosity by raising the cry that the Church was in danger.*

We have seen that both Dr. Stratford, when Warden of Manchester, and his successor, Dr. Wroe, although both of them were theoretically High Churchmen, were favourable to the Revolution, and firm adherents of the Prince of Orange and the Protestant succession. The mild and gentle manner in which these amiable Churchmen accommodated their theory to the exigencies of their position did more to promote their principles in Lancashire than the fierce harangues of Sacheverel, and the furious clamours of his angry followers. Such Churchmen as Warden Wroe were, in the speeches of Sacheverel, reprobated as 'false brethren,' very little better, even if they were not worse, than such traitors as Tillotson and Burnet,† or even such schismatics as the presbyterian ministers.

A considerable party in and about Manchester, many of whom were children and grandchildren of Nonconformists, zealously, or rather furiously supported the principles and cause of Sacheverel. His impeachment produced as much excitement in Lancashire as in any county of England. His sermon, preached in London before the lord mayor and ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, was read by almost everybody who could read in Manchester. The mob was roused as if by a message from heaven to defend 'the Church in danger,' and it found leaders, secret and avowed, among the magis-

* It is pleasant to observe some little kindly feeling between even the nonjurors and Nonconformists. Mr. Henry Finch, the non-conforming minister of Birch, *haud ignarus mali*, is said to have 'had a great tenderness for those who refused the oaths and lost their places for conscience' sake, to some of whom he was a charitable contributor.'—*Nonconformist's Memorial*.

† The Low Churchmen, called 'false brethren' by Sacheverel, 'would,' he said, 'renounce their creed, and read the decalogue backwards, and fall down and worship the very devil himself for the riches and honours of this world.' If these words were intended by the orator only for the Whig clergy, the Manchester people very readily applied them to their protestant warden and his High Church friends.

trates and gentry of the town and neighbourhood. The appeal of the orator to the 'true and apostolic priests,' who were called upon to 'denounce unsparingly all Dissenters and false brethren,' obtained a ready response from the clergy of Lancashire, in opposition to the mild and moderate example of their ecclesiastical superiors. The High Churchmen of Manchester gave expression, although in somewhat more guarded language, to all the fierce intolerance and bigotry of the lord mayor's chaplain. They loudly repeated his cry of 'the Church in danger,' and instigated the people to demand the protection of the establishment by the repression and discouragement of dissent. They especially denounced the 'occasional conformity' of Dissenters who, they said, perhaps truly, 'swallowed the sacraments to secure good places.' The punishment of Sacheverel was too lenient to deter other clergymen from avowing their adherence to his principles. The burning of his two sermons promoted rather than prevented their circulation. On the completion of his term of enforced silence, he made a preaching tour over the country, when excited mobs crowded the churches, and followed him through the streets crying, 'Sacheverel for ever! Down with the Whigs and Dissenters!' High Church principles triumphed; the Tories gained the ascendancy; parliament was alarmed through the noise of its own prosecution; a Schism Bill was enacted, by which Dissenters were prohibited from teaching children without a license from a bishop, and schoolmasters episcopally licensed from being present in a conventicle. Although, by the death of Queen Anne on the day before the Act was to come into force, all proceedings under it were suspended, its passing showed the power of the High Church party, the length they would go if they could secure the popular feeling in their favour, the dangers to which the Dissenters were exposed, and the difficulties in which the new king and his advisers would be involved in protecting the liberties of their most zealous friends, the Protestant Nonconformists.

Although Sacheverel, in his triumphant procession, did not visit Lancashire, a large and powerful party in that county carefully observed his progress, preparing to go even farther than he advised, and to make common cause with the Jacobites in subverting the revolutionary settlement and the Hanoverian succession. The declaration of King George that he would preserve the Toleration inviolate roused the indignation of the Lancashire populace. The appeals of Sacheverel were read in the churches, repeated by school-boys, and circulated in alehouses, until multitudes were ready to follow any declaimer who would lead them against Whig bishops and wicked Dissenters. Clergymen cried in the words of Sacheverel, and the people of Lancashire echoed the cry louder than ever, 'The Church is in danger!' 'The Trojan horse is come into our holy city.' 'False brethren neither believe her faith, nor submit to her discipline, nor observe her liturgy.' 'The pure spouse of Christ is prostituted to more adulterers' (the Whig bishops) 'than the scarlet whore of the Revelation.' Tory magistrates, by their silence, countenanced the prevalent notion that they would be very lenient with

rioters who destroyed only the property of Whigs and the conventicles of Dissenters. The mobs of the south-eastern towns of Lancashire, once the strongholds of puritanism, were better prepared for riot and insurrection in defence of the Church than the friends of good order at a distance, or even in the neighbourhood, had any reason to suppose.

The 10th of June, 1715, the birthday of Prince James Francis Edward, was a great day in Lancashire with the Jacobites and Tories. Early that morning in Warrington the bells rang a merry peal, many of the well-to-do people appeared in their Sunday clothes, and a riotous mob shouted in the streets, 'The Church in danger!' 'Down with the Dissenters!' 'God save King James the Third!'

The greatest mob, however, was collected in Manchester. A meeting of the leaders of the Jacobites on the preceding day showed that they were concerting their measures, and the intelligence, having been conveyed to Warrington and other towns, induced the rioters of the neighbourhood to resort to Manchester. Convened by the beating of drums, and inspirited by martial music, they formed a sort of military procession through the principal streets, denouncing the Dissenters, proclaiming King James, and damaging the houses of the friends of the Hanoverian succession. Liquor was supplied to enable them to drink the health of the king, and in some instances supplied so liberally that they forgot to which king they ought to drink. The more cautious tradesmen, who had something to lose, refreshing themselves in the taverns, drank the health of the king over a glass of water, signifying the king who was over the water. The magistrates were cowardly, or culpably negligent, or secretly favourable to the rioters. The town was for some days at their mercy. Led by Tom Syddall, a wig maker, the mob made a fierce attack upon 'St. Plungeon's,'* as the Presbyterian meeting-house was called, smashed its doors and windows, tore down its pulpit and pews, carried away everything portable, broke down the roof, and left only the ruinous walls. They afterwards visited the neighbouring villages,

* The meeting-house received its opprobrious name from its having been built near the pool where scolds were plunged, not from having ever been used by the 'plungers,' as the Baptists were often called. There were two peruke makers, father and son, named Thomas Syddall, both of whom were martyrs to the cause of the Stuarts. The identity of the name and trade has caused some uncertainty and confusion. The father, however, was executed for being concerned in the rebellion of 1715, the son in that of 1745. They were not Papists, as they are sometimes represented, but disciples of Sacheverel. The son was a member of the congregation of Dr. Deacon, the nonjuring bishop of the 'true British Catholic Church' in Manchester, a church disclaiming the errors of Rome and Canterbury. The wig makers seem to have acted a considerable part in these Manchester troubles. There is extant a curious diary of Edmund Harrold, a Manchester wig maker, edited by Mr. Harland. Harrold, to use his own words, was 'remarkable for debates betwixt good and bad thoughts,' for he seems to have spent what time he had to spare either in making merry at the ale-house or in listening to good sermons at church. He very ingeniously describes the scolding of his wife when he got drunk, the comfort he felt in taking the sacrament, and the benefit he derived from reading good books, like *Sherlock on Death and on Judgment*. As he frequented St. Ann's church, and married two nonconforming wives, he seems to

plundered the houses of the Dissenters, and with horrible yells damaged their meeting-houses. On June 20 they pulled down the have been Low Church in his principles. His reflections at the end of each month are very curious, especially when expressed in doggerel rhyme :—

‘O God may I remember
That I have displeased Thee this September,
And give grace this October
To me to keep sober.’

Although he does not often refer to the Nonconformists, his few and slight references are amusing and valuable as coming from a source from which we do not often obtain information. On the death of his wife, whose family were Nonconformists, he says, ‘Her relatives think it best to bury her at meeting-place in Plungeon Field,’ ‘so I will according to her mind.’ Dec. 19. This day about half past four at night, my wife Sarah was carried to meeting-place in Plungeon Field to be buried, and Parson Birch preached on *Be ye also ready*. Then we came home, and had all the relatives and acquaintances that I could get to supper, and treated them handsomely. 23. Paid Mr. Birch ten shillings for preaching at wife’s funeral.’ ‘I was in drink and ramble but came staunch home.’

On the coronation of King George, Harrold being strong for the Protestant succession was very merry, lost his handkerchief in a fray, was ‘ill hurt in the face’ by the Jacobites and other malicious persons, and finished the day in the dungeon for being ‘drunk and disorderly.’ He then resolved to leave off drinking, and on Nov. 11 he wrote : ‘I bless God for enabling me to perform and govern myself so well.’ In the rebellion of 1715 he wrote : ‘Nov. 11. This day is gone Gen. Wills and his men towards camp to meet the rebels who are now at Preston, where they have proclaimed J—m—the 3rd and prayed for him in the church by their own priest, for the minister there would not do it. I never saw so many fine men and horses in my life at one time as is gone through the town on this occasion. O God ! who governest all things, give victory to the righteous and let iniquity be punished, for sin is an evil to be punished by the judges. Do Thou bless and preserve the Church of God in its liturgy, laws, and liberty, as it now is by law established. Unite all its members and make its hill strong, that the gates of hell may not prevail against her, but that she may be Catholic, pure, primitive, and apostolic in all her doctrines and devotions, her children pure in heart, sincere in their words and actions ; that they may be loyal to the supreme Head and Governor of these realms under God, who helps them to right that suffer wrong, who feeds the hungry, hates a false way, but delights in those that are upright in their hearts.’ The wig maker believed his prayers were answered in the defeat of the rebels at Preston. He especially noticed that Tom Syddall, the rival barber, ‘stood at Town’s End with a rope about his neck.’ Then followed a time of ‘ringing of bells, shooting, illuminations, and other matters of loyalty.’ After all this devotion and rejoicing there came on him ‘the barber’s mad fit,’ when he drank for three days, was ill three days more, with ‘broken knuckles, head, and other parts,’ ‘repented sadly,’ and went to church to ‘thank God for the wonderful deliverance of the nation from popery.’

Soon after Tom Syddall and Edmund Harrold there flourished another of their trade, ‘Thomas Podmore, barber and peruke maker in Manchester.’ Podmore like Syddall was a Jacobite, and like Harrold a literary man, but unlike both, a grave, quiet, respectable scholar. He was the intimate friend of Dr. Deacon, and an able defender of the doctrines of the ‘British Catholic Church.’ He published a book entitled *The Layman’s Apology for returning to Primitive Christianity*. In this learned work, in which he showed a critical knowledge of the Greek and Latin fathers, he proved, at least to his own satisfaction, that the Greek Church had departed from the primitive Apostolic and Catholic Church in three great points, the Romish Church in fifteen, the English Church in fifteen (eight in agreement with the Romish Church and seven in opposition to it), and the foreign Protestants and English Dissenters in almost all things, and more than all had unchurched themselves by renouncing bishops. A controversial writer of the time charges the clergy of Manchester with neglect of duty in not answering ‘that queer dog of a barber.’ The clergy acted prudently in avoiding ‘the queer dog.’

meeting-house of Blackley; on the 21st the meeting-house of Monton and that at Greenacres. A party of them marched into Yorkshire, and another into Staffordshire and Shropshire, instigating the people to attack the houses of the Dissenters and to destroy their conventicles. In Shrewsbury, they placarded the streets with the following proclamation: 'We gentlemen of the loyal mob do issue this proclamation to all Dissenters of what kind soever, whether Independents, Baptists, or Quakers. If you, or any of you, do encourage or suffer any of that damnable faction, called Presbyterians, to assemble themselves in any of your conventicles at the time of divine worship, you may expect to meet with the same that they have been treated with. Given under our hands and seals on the eleventh day of July, 1715. GOD SAVE THE KING!'

On hearing of these proceedings, the House of Commons addressed the king, praying that the riotous mobs might be suppressed, the negligent magistrates punished, the laws against Papists and non-jurors rigorously enforced, and compensation given to the sufferers. A proclamation was immediately issued that any person convicted of demolishing a registered meeting-house would incur the punishment of death without benefit of clergy. Troops were sent to Manchester, by whom the rioting was effectually suppressed before the end of July. Tom Syddall, or, as he was then called, Captain Syddall, was apprehended and sent for trial to Lancaster. Being convicted of rioting, he was sentenced to stand in the pillory, where he stood his full time, while nobody threw at him anything worse than flowers. He was then imprisoned in Lancaster Castle, where he remained until November, when the Scotch adherents of the pretender entered the town. Tom got intelligence of their arrival, and mounting the walls of the castle welcomed them with loud huzzas and waving of his handkerchief. The Scotchmen recognized the welcome of a friend, and speedily released him and his companions.

Tom put himself at the head of his fellow-prisoners and joined the Jacobites, who marched to the market cross, and forming round it with colours flying, claymores drawn, and bagpipes playing, proclaimed King James the Eighth of Scotland and Third of England. The burgesses of Lancaster, who were almost all Protestants and Whigs, being disappointed in their expectation of the arrival of Sir Henry Hoghton's dragoons, could offer no effectual resistance. While the Scotchmen were making themselves comfortable with the brandy of the custom house, which they found a tolerable substitute for their native usquebagh, the townspeople sent southward as many of their arms as they could remove, and threw their gunpowder into a well. The Jacobites, however, got possession of six cannons, which were on board a ship in the harbour, and which the owner, a grave and prudent Quaker, is said (I hope falsely) to have sold at an exorbitant price for ready money, first to the mayor of the town for the use of King George, and afterwards to the commander of the Scotch for the benefit of King James, with a Christian wish that neither would do any harm to the other with such barbarous weapons. Only two of the householders of Lancaster avowedly joined the rebels,

and one of them was of Tom Syddall's profession, 'Edmund Gartside the barber.' They were appointed quartermasters of the Jacobite army, and they seem to have discharged their onerous duties with exemplary diligence, activity, and care.*

Although the burgesses of the town avoided the insurgents, many of the Catholic gentry of the county came in at the head of their tenantry and servants. Dalton of Thurnham Hall, Hodgson of Leighton, Tyldesley of the Lodge, Butler of Rawcliffe, Walton of Cartmel, the representatives of the Catholic families who once upheld the banners of Charles I., appeared to support the cause of his grandson.

On Sunday, November 8, the church bells rang for divine service. Some person (the contemporary writers differ as to his name) so cleverly altered the name of George into James in the great prayer book of the desk that the change might have passed without notice. The vicar was requested to read according to the correction, but being a timid or a time-serving priest, he begged to decline the service. The rebels had a zealous chaplain, one William Paul, who immediately went to the desk, and in reading the prayers substituted 'James' for 'George' and the 'king's mother' for 'the Princess Sophia.'

From Lancaster the insurgents, considerably strengthened by Catholics, marched in good order to Preston. Some unpleasant feeling arose among the Scotch Presbyterians because so many Papists had joined them. The Papists, on the contrary, complained bitterly of the jealousy of the Presbyterians and the cowardice of the episcopalian Tories, who, it was said, were valiant in the taverns, drinking 'over the water,' but nowhere else.† On their arrival at Preston, they were strengthened by the adherence of the great Catholic proprietors of the neighbourhood, Townley of Townley, who was attended by an immense retinue, Anderton of Lostock, Chorley of Chorley, Hesketh of Whitehill, Leybourne of Natsby, Standish of Standish, and many others.

Although we have several contemporaneous accounts of this insurrection, it is not easy to form an accurate estimate of the number of the pretender's adherents when they took possession of Preston. Peter Rae, a Whig historian, computed them to have been about four thousand. The Jacobite writers believed them to be considerably more numerous. It would seem that, while on their march they were strengthened by the adhesion of many Lancashire Catholics, they were also weakened by the desertion of many Scotch Presbyterians. In Preston the two parties betrayed their mutual dislike and suspicion by assuming distinctive badges and keeping in separate

* *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1715.*

† The Rev. Robert Patten, in the preface to his *History of the late Rebellion* (London, 1717), says of the Protestant Tories and High Churchmen, that they 'tossed about heads and full bumpers with distinguished names, characters, and wishes, and concluded with confusion, damnation, and destruction, to others whom they durst not name.' Patten had been chaplain to the rebel forces, but having obtained his pardon, he was too anxious to please the government which had generously spared his life to allow us to place full confidence in his statements.

quarters. The Scotch mounted blue and white cockades, the Catholics red and white ones.*

But Preston was a Capua to the Scotchmen. The old Duke of Marlborough sagely called that pleasant town 'the net of the fowler, spread to ensnare those wild birds of prey.' So it proved. The kilted Presbyterians had fallen among the Lancashire witches, and were fascinated with their enchantments. Proud Preston, the gayest of the gay towns of Lancashire, proud of its hospitality, good cheer, and fair charmers, proved fatal to the hopes of the Chevalier St. George. Peter Clarke, the journalist of the Jacobites, writes in their pleasant quarters under date November 9 to 12: 'The ladies in this town, Preston, are so very beautiful and so richly attired, that the gentlemen soldiers from Wednesday to Saturday minded nothing but courting and feasting.' During those four days of 'courting and feasting,' their enemies were collecting forces and making arrangements for an attack upon the town. General Wills, the commander of the garrison of Chester, employed the time in cautiously but continually forwarding troops towards Preston. Having occupied Warrington and secured the bridge and ford of the Mersey to prevent the progress of the rebels southward, he marched with a considerable force upon Wigan, and there prepared to advance upon Preston. The only people south of the Ribble that caused him any anxiety were the Jacobite populace of Manchester. Compelled to send a regiment to overawe the people of that town who, though disliking both the Presbyterians and the Papists of the pretender's army, threatened to make an insurrection on their own account in defence of the Church of England, he concerted measures with Sir Henry Hoghton to raise and arm the nonconforming peasantry of the neighbourhood. It was at this juncture that Woods, the minister of Chowbent, to whose zeal and bravery I have already referred, anticipated the call of the general, and on his own authority raised and armed his large congregation. Within a few hours of receiving the order to act in his majesty's service,† he was ready with all the farmers and labourers of his neighbourhood to march towards Preston. According to the traditions of the village, he drew his sword upon the only member of his congregation who

* *A Journal of Several Occurrences from November 2, 1715, as kept by Peter Clarke, printed in The Lancashire Memorials of the Rebellion of 1715, edited by Dr. Hibbert Ware: Patten's History; Peter Ras's History of the Rebellion.*

† *To the Rev. Mr. Woods in Chowbent, for his Majesty's service.*

CHARLES WILLS,

The officers here design to march at break of day for Preston; they have desired me to raise what men I can to meet us at Preston to-morrow, so desire you to raise all the force you can, I mean lusty young fellows, to draw up on Cuerden Green, to be there by 10 o'clock, to bring with them what arms they have fit for service, and scythes put in straight poles, and such as have not to bring spades and bill-hooks for pioneering with. Pray go immediately all amongst your neighbours and give this notice.

I am your very faithful servant,

H. HOGHTON.

Wigan, Nov. 11, 1715.

—Toulmin's *Life of Mr. John Mort.*

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showed any signs of fear, and ordered the coward 'to leave the men and go home to the women.' He soon sent word to General Wills that he was ready for the king's service, that he would march to the bridge of the Ribble, where he would wait for orders and, in the meanwhile, prevent all communications between the rebels and their friends who on the south of the river were preparing to act in concert with them.

Sir Henry Hoghton had informed General Carpenter, who commanded the king's forces in the north, of the progress of the rebels through Lancaster to Preston. Carpenter immediately marched into Lancashire, and arrived at Clitheroe on Saturday, November 12, when Wills had brought his troops in front of Preston. The Jacobite officers were taken by surprise and struck with consternation. In the festivities of the week they had neglected to obtain correct intelligence of the advance of the enemy, and would not believe that the danger was so imminent. Their commander, General Forster, was in bed on the Saturday morning when the Royalists were advancing to the assault upon the town. Not destitute of personal bravery, he was conscious of the irreparable injury which the cause entrusted to him had sustained by his own negligence, and by the license which he had allowed to his troops. He had no clear understanding with his officers respecting the service which the several parties, Presbyterians and Papists, were to undertake, while without such an understanding they were as likely to fight with one another as with the common enemy. The Scotch, who, trusting to their claymores, were ready to face any number of foot, feared nothing so much as a column of horse, and, therefore, desired to fight as near to the town as possible, where, under the shelter of the buildings, they could maintain with advantage their irregular mode of action. This was the plan proposed by Brigadier Mackintosh, the most experienced officer of the Highlanders. General Forster, on the contrary, intending to march towards Manchester, directed the Earl of Derwentwater to occupy the bridge and oppose the passage of the English forces. No sooner had Forster retired than the earl, acting in concert with Mackintosh, returned to the streets of the town and formed a line of defence more agreeable, if not more favourable, to the Highlanders.

General Wills, on his arrival, was surprised to find the bridge undefended, and inviting his march over the river. Naturally suspecting some stratagem, he proceeded cautiously, having ordered the hedges of the road which might serve as an ambush to be destroyed, and the country on all sides to be carefully examined. Still suspicious, he left Parson Woods with his congregation to protect his rear. The position was critical. A concealed enemy might place the Royalists, while crossing the bridge, between two armies. But he knew from Sir Henry Hoghton that he could depend upon the parson and his people, who would fight to the death rather than allow a Scotchman or a Papist to fall upon his rear. On crossing the bridge and forming his line without opposition in the meadows, Wills sagaciously concluded that the rebels had determined to defend themselves where his cavalry could render little assistance. He

therefore resolved to dismount a considerable proportion of his horse-men, and to send the remainder to take possession of the north road, in order to prevent the Highlanders from making their escape towards Scotland. Of the south road he had little fear, for the rebels might as safely pass the teeth of a herd of lions as the scythes and pitchforks of Woods' Presbyterians. The order was given to burn the houses at the extremities of the town, and to drive the rebels upon the open market-place in the centre.

The defence of the town was intrusted to Mackintosh. It does not appear what General Forster was doing on that eventful day of the assault—whether he was enchanted by the witchery of the Preston charmers, or overcome by the potency of the Preston liquors. Mackintosh probably did better without his commander than he could have done with him. He raised barricades across the streets, behind which his men were to defend the centre of the town, and to render assistance to any of their friends who might be attacked by the Royalists. Having completed four barricades across the four streets which converged towards the market-place,* he intrusted the command of them to four of his best officers. The Earls of Derwentwater, Wintoun, and Nithsdale, and Lord Kenmure, stationed near the churchyard, were ready to advance for the defence of any barricade which might be exposed to the most dangerous assaults. In the course of the day, the Scotchmen, firing from the houses, inflicted severe injury upon their enemies, while, protected by their barricades, they suffered very little themselves. Towards the evening General Forster first made his appearance, and ordered the Scotchmen to make a sally against the enemy. Mackintosh explained the danger to which such a proceeding would expose his men, as well as the whole town. Forster retired, threatening to bring Mackintosh before a court-martial as soon as he had established King James upon the throne. At night-fall, although the Royalists had burned several houses and dislodged the rebels who possessed them, the advantage was upon the whole with the besieged. The next morning Mackintosh wrote in good spirits to the Earl of Mar, and expressed a confident expectation of holding the town until relief could be obtained. His chief trouble arose from the incompetence and mischievous interference of his commander, and from the dissatisfaction of the English Catholics, many of whom, residing in the neighbourhood, had deserted and returned to their homes under shelter of the long nights.

On Sunday morning Forster, alarmed by the arrival of General Carpenter with large additions to the besieging army, resolved, without calling a council of war, to propose terms for the surrender of the town.

The reply of Wills was stern and peremptory. He would offer nothing better than a vague intimation that, surrendering at discretion, the rebels might be treated with less severity than they would be if they offered prolonged resistance. In the meanwhile the Scotch discovered that the English, without consulting their officers, were

* See plan of Preston in *The Lancashire Memorials of the Rebellion*.

treating for a capitulation. Indignant, enraged, uncontrollable, they would die fighting at their barricades, or they would have vengeance upon Forster, who, had he then appeared, would probably have been torn to pieces.

In the evening an officer from General Wills appeared with a flag of truce, requiring an immediate answer to the proposals made in the earlier part of the day. Forster requested that the armistice might be prolonged until the next morning, when he hoped to reconcile the Scotch to the surrender which seemed inevitable. The general consented to prolong the truce on condition of receiving two officers of rank as hostages against any infraction of it during the night. Forster was cunning enough to give him the Earl of Derwentwater and Colonel Mackintosh. The next morning Forster made an unconditional surrender of the town.

To submit to the indignity was bitter and humiliating to the proud spirit of the Highlanders. They declared they would not surrender; they would cut their way through the enemy; they would clear the northern road of the Royalists and go home, leaving the English Papists to the just retribution of their cowardice. But it was too late. Their best officers were confined in the English camp. Those who remained were bound by all the laws of war to accept the humiliating proposals of their commander. Carpenter and Wills, at the head of their respective armies, marched into the town by opposite roads and met in the market-place, where amidst the sound of drums and trumpets they received the swords and colours of the rebels. About fifteen hundred prisoners were secured, almost exclusively Scotch, for the English Papists had run away. Most of them were confined in the church, fed upon coarse bread at the expense of the town, and left without beds or coverings through a bleak November, until they were sent, some to the scaffold, some to the dungeons of felons, and some to the horrors of plantation slavery. The town was given with little restraint to the plunder of the soldiery. The victory of the Royalists was so complete, and the cause of the pretender so utterly crushed, that there was no excuse for the atrocious severities with which the prisoners were maltreated. The barbarities which followed the battle of Preston were a disgrace to the house of Hanover or to the officers charged with the protection of its honour. The bloody assize of Lancashire was not soon, and never will be entirely, forgotten. Had the adherents of the Stuarts been disposed to recriminate, they might have justly said that the cruelties inflicted upon Monmouth's followers in the west were expiated by the terrible sufferings of their friends in Lancashire. One bloody assize may be set over against the other, while both parties may be allowed to hope that if civil war were to break forth in our time, a milder spirit would regulate the passions and restrain the excesses of the combatants. That, however, may be a delusive hope, for the war spirit has ever been an uncontrollable demon.*

The prisoners of rank and distinction were sent to London and

* The anniversary of the defeat of the rebels in Preston, Nov. 14, 1715, was religiously observed for many years by the Dissenters of Lancashire, especially in

distributed in different prisons. The Earl of Derwentwater and Lord Kenmure were beheaded on Tower Hill, where they offered their last prayers for their true and rightful sovereign, James III. The Earl of Nithsdale, when under sentence of death, escaped by a bold stratagem of his devoted countess. The Earl of Wintoun, by his mechanical skill in severing an iron bar of his cell, and Mackintosh by his personal courage in attacking and disarming the guard of Newgate, made their escape, and were concealed by their friends. The heroic conduct of the rebels on the scaffold, especially of their chaplain, who stood on the gallows in his gown and cassock, rejoicing that one protestant clergyman was willing to die for King James, the barbarity which exposed the mangled heads and limbs of political offenders on conspicuous places to the gaze of the multitude, and the horrible accounts of the 'bloody assize in Lancashire,' produced a reaction in popular feeling, and made the juries in London reluctant to convict the prisoners.

When two Lancashire Catholics of station and influence, Townley of Townley and Tyldesley of the Lodge, although they had been seen by many witnesses commanding the troops which they had raised, were acquitted by a protestant jury, the vindictive government of King George began to fear that their barbarities would excite the commiseration of the people rather than deter the disaffected from resorting to arms. The judge, Baron Montague, a sort of Whig Jeffreys with a more gentlemanly exterior but with as hard a heart, severely reprimanded the jury for their verdict; but his reprimand injured rather than served the cause of the government. The citizens of London were neither Papists nor Jacobites; but revenge is not a Londoner's vice, and of all vindictive people he most dislikes a vindictive judge.

Of the horrible details of 'the bloody assize in Lancashire,' I shall take no further notice than is necessary to elucidate the state of religion in that county. Nothing more shocking can be found in our national history than the barbarous execution of the soldiers and gentlemen who surrendered at Preston in the hope of obtaining the clemency of the government. An adherent of the house of Hanover cannot read without a sense of burning shame the several accounts of the proceedings of either the courts-martial or the court of assize.*

Of the Scottish prisoners condemned by the court-martial to be shot in Preston were four gentlemen, Major Nairn, Captain Lockhart, Mr. Shaftoe, and Mr. Erskine. Being Presbyterians, they were attended by English ministers of their own persuasion, who, being

Manchester. Anniversary sermons were preached in Cross Street meeting, and afterwards printed, in 1716 by Jeremiah Aldred, in 1717 by Charles Owen, D.D., in 1718 by Joseph Mottershead (the newly elected minister), in 1719 by Joshua Jones (afterwards assistant minister), dedicated 'to the young gentlemen of the Dissenting Congregation of Manchester.'

* In *The Memorials of the Rebellion of 1715*, 'An Account of the Disbursements of Thomas Crisp, Esq., High Sheriff of Lancashire, attending the trials of the rebels at Liverpool, and the execution of thirty-four of them,' contains, besides the ordinary charges for executions, charges for 'firing to burn the entrails,' and for 'quartering the bodies,' and 'setting up the heads on public places.'

zealous Whigs, laboured chiefly to bring them to an humble and contrite acknowledgment of their great sin in rebelling against the Protestant government of King George. They readily acknowledged many and great sins, for which they hoped to obtain pardon through the merit and sacrifice of the Lord Jesus ; but they could not acknowledge any sin in resisting to the utmost of their power a government founded on the usurpation of divinely constituted authority. They had carefully considered their duty, and resolved to attest with their blood their faith in the righteousness of the cause for which they had fought and suffered. As their last day had come, they would gratefully receive spiritual advice or consolation from the ministers, but they could not spare any of the short time left them for discussing the reasons of their insurrection. The ministers did not understand them, nor they the ministers. Confident in the goodness of their cause, they died with calm and heroic submission. Major Nairn was shot first. His friend, Captain Lockhart, with Scottish pride, entreated the common soldiers not to touch the body of a chieftain, placed it in its coffin, and then kneeled by the corpse of his friend until the signal was given to fire upon him. The other two gentlemen laid his body in its coffin, but as they were shot simultaneously, there was no surviving friend to perform the same service for them. Uncoffined they were thrown into a grave opened on the spot where they fell.

More terrible than these military executions were the proceedings of the judicial authorities. In January 1715-16, Baron Montague and two other judges proceeded with much state and display to Liverpool, where, as its population was then more puritan, loyal, and Hanoverian than that of any other town in the county, it was determined to hold the special assize. There is some discrepancy in the lists of persons tried and condemned for high treason, but we may conclude they were certainly not less than seventy. Of these, as appears from the sheriff's accounts, twelve were executed at Preston, four at Garstang, five at Wigan, five at Manchester, four at Lancaster, and four at Liverpool. Of the entries of the expenses of these horrible executions, the following is a specimen : ' Jan. 27. Erecting gallows and materials, hurdle, fire, cart, &c., in executing Shuttleworth and four men at Preston, and setting up his head, &c., 12*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*' Mr. Shuttleworth, whose head was fixed upon a pole in front of the town-hall of Preston, was the chief of one of the best families of the county. But probably, of the heads exposed at Preston, none excited more commiseration than that of Richard Chorley, Esq., the aged representative of a Catholic family universally respected. His venerable countenance, and white locks waving in the breeze, brought tears into the eyes of many Preston people, and roused the fierce indignation of many more. The head of his son was to have been exposed near his own, but the youth was spared that indignity by his premature death in prison.* A friend of the Preston Nonconformists may be permitted to think that the few surviving Puritans who in their childhood had listened to the loving exhortations of

* It has been said that the head fixed upon the town hall of Preston was not

Isaac Ambrose must have been grieved with the barbarities of their own party.

Among the Jacobites executed at Manchester was Tom Syddall, the leader of the mob that destroyed Cross Street meeting-house.* His head was fixed upon the market-cross of the town. Among those who looked upon it was his only son, a boy of ten years of age, bearing his own name, Thomas. The boy, looking steadily at his father's exposed and insulted countenance, conceived an implacable hatred to Dissenters, Whigs, and all the Hanoverian race. He is said to have there vowed, and he never forgot his vow, that he would seek and find opportunity to avenge the barbarity with which his father was treated. We shall meet with the boy of 1715 among the men of 1745.

The suppression of the rebellion afforded the Whig government the opportunity of rewarding their Lancashire friends who had opposed the advance of the Jacobites. The brave presbyterian parson of Chowbent, and his lieutenant Walker, received the grants which I have already noticed. Assessments were made for the rebuilding of the meeting-houses destroyed by the Sacheverel mobs, and fifteen hundred pounds were voted for the restoration of that in Cross Street, Manchester.†

On this auspicious occasion the Protestant dissenting ministers of the counties palatine of Lancashire and Cheshire resolved to present 'an humble and united address to the king.' A copy of a document entitled 'a rough draft of the address' is preserved among the MSS. of the late Dr. Raffles. This 'rough draft' was 'after correction and engrossing to be delivered to his majesty.' Although it obtained twenty-nine signatures, it was so unworthy of the men who signed it that they acted wisely in not presenting it, whether they did so on more mature consideration or on the advice of their friends. In the first paragraph the ministers, after an awkward sort of apology for not assuring the king of their loyalty on his accession to the throne (as did their brethren in London and many parts of the country), say that they preferred his 'majesty's ease to the gratifying of their own inclinations.' Their gratitude then became 'too great to admit of longer silence, or any longer delay in the public expression of it.' They next expressed their pleasure 'in the growth of religion,' 'the security of liberty and property,' 'the declension of the popish and French faction,' 'the revival of British honour and fidelity,' 'the excellent ministry of the king composed of noble and honest states-

that of Mr. Chorley, but that of James Drummond, a relative of Lord Drummond. At all events the people believed it to be Mr. Chorley's, and unless it was mutilated they could not have been mistaken. In 1817 two decapitated bodies were found in cutting through the gallows hill. Probably both heads were exposed.

* In the list of the condemned he is incorrectly called a blacksmith. In one account given by Baines, he is said to have been executed at Wigan, but of its inaccuracy there can be no doubt.

† The damage to the meeting-house at Monton was assessed at 140*l*. According to a MS. written at the time by Mr. Jeremiah Aldred, cited by Mr. Joshua Wilson, two of the neighbouring magistrates encouraged the rioters.

men,' 'the generous concern of his majesty at the unchristian and barbarous treatment of those of their persuasion,' and 'the compensation so graciously promised.' The next paragraph must not be abbreviated. 'When we consider that the parting tears of your German subjects upbraid the ingratitude of Britons, we are really ashamed of 'em, and cannot but be greatly concerned to hear your majesty declaimed against as a foreigner, whereas the throne you fill is none other but that of your royal ancestors.' The address closed with an extraordinary effusion of loyalty: 'The high perfections perspicuous in your majesty, the noble virtues and exemplary piety of their royal highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the promising endowments of their royal offspring, give us large hopes of such a union at home as will prove effectual to stem the tide of rebellion and immorality and to revive true religion. May your majesty's reign be long and glorious! May you be happy in the affections of all your people; successful against all your enemies; safe and easy in the fidelity of all employed in your service! And when you put on bright immortality, may the British throne be furnished out of your royal house with heirs like yourself, till time shall be no more. These are the unfeigned wishes and hearty prayers of,

'May it please your majesty,
'Your most obedient and dutiful subjects.'

While Preston was occupied by the rebels, the curate, Samuel Peploe, was a decided and zealous partisan of the house of Hanover. As he became Warden of Manchester, and on all occasions defended the liberty of Nonconformists, he claims a prominent place in the history of Lancashire nonconformity. When the Jacobites occupied Preston, he read morning prayers in the parish church, and read with more than his usual emphasis the prayer for King George and the house of Brunswick. A soldier is said to have approached with a drawn sword and required him to substitute James for George. He replied, 'Soldier, do your duty, and I will do mine.' He was, however, compelled to surrender the desk and pulpit to the chaplain of the insurgents, Mr. Patten, who, although a clergyman, had assumed something like a military dress. In a grotesque combination of profane and sacred vestments, a blue coat and lace trimmings and a grave and venerable wig, the chaplain substituted James for George, and the congregation, with the exception of Peploe, reverently kneeled in assent to the prayer.

The death of Dr. Wroe, the silver-tongued Warden of Manchester, in 1718, afforded the Whig government a favourable opportunity of rewarding the boldness and intrepidity of the loyal curate of Preston. But Peploe, in the estimation of the fellows of the college, was not a fitting successor to the deceased warden. The fellows had complained of the inconsistency of Wroe, who, a Tory in theory, was in practice an adherent of the house of Brunswick. As his politics and religion did not harmonise, he acted with decision in no matter of importance. Considerate and gentle to all, he was friendly with Nonconformists

while he preached against their nonconformity, and averse to popery while he maintained High Church principles with as much tenacity as his gentle spirit would allow him to maintain any theory whatever. The fellows desired a warden of more spirit and decision, who would say what he meant, and do what he said, and make everybody understand him. They found such a man placed over them; but his spirit and decision appeared, not in favouring and forwarding, but in opposing and frustrating, their purposes. To them it was the exchange of King Log for King Stork.

Peploe, like Wroe, was a gentleman, but with a very different sort of gentility. Of dignified manners and lofty bearing, he knew what was due to himself, and was not unwilling to assert and maintain his authority. Respectful to others, he required respect in return, and faultless in his own behaviour, he knew well how to take advantage of the misbehaviour or mistakes of his opponents. Of strong will and resolute spirit, he was ever ready at all costs to maintain his own place and execute his own purpose. About him there was not a shadow of weakness or inconsistency. Everybody knew not only what he did say, but before he spoke what he would say, about any public question. His political and religious principles were in perfect harmony. His love of liberty was so strong that, opposed as he was to popery, he asserted what few Protestants would then acknowledge, the right of even Papists to toleration in the quiet observance of their religious ritual. On account not only of his liberal principles, but of the firmness and decision with which he maintained them, the fellows resolved that this man should not reign over them, or that, if he did, they would make his reign troublesome to himself by every annoyance which they could devise. The man who prayed for King George in the presence of the Jacobite soldiery was not very likely to submit quietly to a cabal of Tory fellows, clerks, and chaplains.

But the fellows had the bishop in their favour, Dr. Gastrell, a High Churchman, who then occupied the see of Chester. He refused to inaugurate the warden, and the warden refused to acknowledge his jurisdiction. The controversy excited great interest among ecclesiastical lawyers, who watched its progress with intense party-feeling, until, after many hearings and appeals, it was decided by the highest judicature of the country. Since the Reformation, no question of Church polity has excited more interest than that which was then litigated, the legal right of the Archbishop of Canterbury to exercise the privilege which had been before the Reformation committed to his predecessors by the authority of the pope. A brief notice of the long controversy may be interesting even to Nonconformists.

According to the charter of the collegiate church of Manchester, the appointment of the warden was vested in the crown, and the king had appointed the Rev. Samuel Peploe. So far there was no dispute; but the charter prescribed as a qualification a degree in divinity. As Peploe had not graduated in divinity, the bishop refused to invest him with the office, and assigned as the reason for his refusal that the appointment, being contrary to the charter, was illegal and void. It would seem not very difficult for a king, who

could make dukes and archbishops, to make a doctor in divinity. On an intimation of the royal pleasure, Peploe was created doctor in divinity by mandate of the Whig Archbishop of Canterbury. But Gastrell was not so easily satisfied. He contended, first, that the archbishop had no legal authority to confer degrees in divinity, and next, that even if he had, his degrees were merely honorary titles, of no value in qualifying for an office. In support of the first proposition, he and his lawyers maintained that the authority of the archbishop, having been originally 'legatine,' derived from the pope, had ceased at the Reformation together with its source, the papal jurisdiction. In support of the second proposition, they contended that the charter required some proof of competent learning for the discharge of the duties of the office, and not a merely honorary distinction which would afford no evidence of any such learning. The bishop, instigated by the fellows, fought hard for years to prevent a liberal clergyman from attaining the office; but eventually it was decided by the highest authorities of the land, that by the Act of Supremacy the jurisdiction of the pope had vested in the crown; that the archbishop derived from the crown whatever authority his predecessors had derived from the pope, and that his degrees were in every respect valid, and equal to those conferred by the universities. The bishop could refuse institution no longer. The Whig doctor, triumphing over his Tory fellows, or rather over their empty stalls, for they took care not to be present, was inaugurated, and during the long and eventful period from 1718 to 1781 the two Peploes, father and son, both Whigs, ruled the Manchester clergy, the father with a hard hand, subject to every possible annoyance; the son with a softer hand, and therefore with less trouble. Their rule, however, was a sad mortification to the Manchester Tories, both lay and clerical.

While Peploe on all occasions asserted his authority and made it felt by the fellows, they found some small comfort in complaining of his conduct to Bishop Gastrell, who, by virtue of his office as visitor of the college, had power to correct whatever in any official was proved to be wrong. But Peploe was too vigilant to bring himself, by any illegality, under the power of the episcopal visitor, who, on hearing the complaints of the fellows, could do no more than express his disapproval of the warden's imperious conduct. For that disapproval the warden cared very little, and seldom failed to show by his looks and movements how little he cared for it. The fellows next resorted to the pulpit, and preached the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance; the warden, on the contrary, preached on the right of the people to assert their freedom by the resistance of unconstitutional power. The fellows preached in defence of the divine right of kings; the warden in defence of the glorious Revolution. The Tory preachers by their popular eloquence drew crowded congregations; Peploe was too stiff and dignified a gentleman to work upon the feelings of the populace. As by the charter the warden had to preach only on great occasions, as on Christmas Day and Easter Sunday, the four fellows with their two chaplains possessed the advantage of having at their disposal eight or ten Sundays for every one

claimed by the warden. Constitutional liberty would have fared ill in Manchester, had it not been for the Whig rector and curate of St. Ann's church and the ministers of the presbyterian meeting-house in Acres field. The people were as zealous for their respective parties as were their teachers. Ladies in plaid petticoats, and gentlemen in plaid waistcoats, representing Stuart preferences, frequented the collegiate church except when the warden preached, while other ladies with orange ribands, and other gentlemen with orange handkerchiefs, worshipped in St. Ann's or in the Cross Street meeting-house. In the collegiate church, when the prayer for King George was mumbled over, the people rose from their knees : in St. Ann's that prayer was repeated with especial emphasis and fervour. Such was the religious life of Manchester in the early part of the last century.

Peploe asserted his authority by enforcing with unexampled severity the old rules of the college, and imposing fines upon the fellows for neglect of observances which had long become obsolete. The fellows appealed to the bishop to afford them some protection in their troubles. During the dispute the bishop died, and Peploe, who had powerful friends at court, obtained for himself the episcopal throne, becoming, to the consternation of the fellows, his own visitor. Being thus both bishop and warden, he was absolute over the Manchester clergy, whom he resolved to rule with rigour, and to punish for all the annoyance they had given him. His subordinates resisted. They pleaded that an official could not be his own visitor, that he could not be judge in his own cause, that he could not punish himself for his own faults. An appeal must lie somewhere, to some court ecclesiastical or civil, to the archbishop or to the crown. Peploe had not much to fear from either authority ; but instead of encountering prolonged and expensive litigation, he contrived to have his son, who would do anything he desired, made warden in his place, while he as Bishop of Chester would continue to discharge all the duties of visitor. The fellows were humiliated by being made subordinate to a man much younger than themselves, while they felt as heavily as before the hand of the father, who, by means of his obedient son, and his visitatorial powers, annoyed them more effectually and yet more safely than he could have done had he combined in his own person two incompatible offices. The quarrel became fiercer than ever. The bishop charged a fellow with being no better than a Jacobite ; the parson retaliated by accusing his bishop of being as bad as a Presbyterian. It was strange preaching in Lancashire, when a Tory clergyman preached against a Whig brother for not observing the thirtieth of January, and the Whig preacher retaliated by looking through the windows of St. Ann's church towards the heads exposed on the neighbouring exchange, and affecting to address the Tories, exclaimed, ' These be thy gods, O Israel ! ' Worse than either, a presbyterian preacher, James Owen, a man of much learning, and I hope of some little piety, not satisfied with the terrible severities of the government, was demanding more blood of the vile Papists and rapacious Scotchmen.*

* Owen's worst sermon was preached after the rebellion of 1745, on the anni-

It is pleasing to interrupt the course of the narrative by observing that in the midst of all this violent excitement, John Wesley visited Manchester in 1733,* and preached both in the high place of toryism, and in the temple of whiggery, and displeased both parties by preaching in favour of neither. His mission was to all men, and men of all parties would have been wiser and better had they listened to his evangelical instructions. As he preached peace and the common salvation equally for all men, High Churchmen and Low Churchmen angrily called him a schismatic, and grave Presbyterians shook their heads, and said he was 'very irregular.' 'The common people' of all parties and of no party 'heard him gladly.' †

Amidst the bitter and exasperated feelings which prevailed in Manchester during the interval between the two Jacobite rebellions, a new kind of nonconformity excited considerable attention, not so much by the number of its adherents, as by the indomitable energy and restless activity of its minister and principal supporters.

In theory a great many High Churchmen were Jacobites, although they had taken the oath of allegiance to King George, and desired to maintain the protestant succession in his family. What they would have done had the pretender professed to become a Protestant, or professed his willingness, without becoming a Protestant, to maintain the Protestant Church of England, it is vain to conjecture. There were also several clergymen who, following the example of the non-juring bishops of the Revolution, willingly ventured upon the consequences of refusing the oath of allegiance to the house of Hanover. With something of the integrity and self-denial of the older Nonconformists, they resigned their benefices, and became incapable of holding any office in the national Church.

Of the nonjurors, one of the most remarkable was Dr. Thomas versary of the battle of Culloden. At this time Mr. Joseph Motterahead, a very quiet and peaceable man, was the presbyterian minister in Manchester, and Mr. John Seddon (whom Dr. Priestley called 'a Socinian') was his assistant. Owen, however, although residing at Rochdale, seems to have intermeddled in all the quarrels of the Manchester Dissenters as if he had been their leader.

* *Collectanea relating to Manchester*, compiled by John Harland, F.S.A., p. 168. In 1735 Mr. Wesley paid his second visit to Manchester, and preached in Trinity chapel, Salford. In the same year Mr. Whitefield first preached in Manchester.—*Ibid.*

† In his early visits to Lancashire, Mr. Wesley found the people in the puritan parts of the county very unmanageable. In his *Journal* he says of Rochdale: 'As soon as ever we entered the town, we found the streets on both sides lined with multitudes of people, shouting, cursing, blaspheming, and gnashing upon us with their teeth.' . . . 'We came to Bolton about five in the evening. We had no sooner entered the main street than we perceived the lions at Rochdale were lambs in comparison with those of Bolton. Such rage and bitterness I scarce ever saw before in any creatures that bore the form of men. They followed us in full cry to the house where we went; and as soon as we were gone in, took possession of all the avenues to it and filled the streets from one end to the other. After some time the waves did not roar quite so loud, and Mr. P. thought he might venture out. They immediately closed in, threw him down, rolled him in the mire, so that when he scrambled from them and got into the house again, one could scarcely tell what or who he was.'—Extracts cited in *Centenary Memorials of Duke's Alley Chapel, Bolton-le-Moors*, p. 28. When he was preaching in 1747 in Salford, the people threatened to play the fire-engine on Mr. Wesley.—*Collectanea*, p. 169.

Deacon, the pastor, or, as he was often styled, the bishop of a congregation accustomed to assemble in a building called by the Whigs of Manchester the 'schism shop in Fennell Street.' Although a devoted nonjuror, he differed from the Church of England much more widely than most of his brethren who like himself had refused to take the oath of allegiance. The nonjurors generally had no objection to the articles or formularies of the English Church, and would gladly have continued their ministry in its communion, if they could have done so without swearing allegiance to the ruling powers. Some of them, it is true, like Dodwell, held very strange doctrines, but they would not allow that their doctrines were contradictory to any of the articles of the English Church. Some accredited clergymen probably held them, as well as these nonjurors.

But the schismatics of Fennell Street imputed false doctrine to the Church of England, as well as to all other existing Churches save their own. I have already referred to the errors of the Greek, the Latin, and the English Church which were discovered and refuted by Podmore the learned barber. In his estimate of those errors, the doctor generally agreed with the barber. The book from which we may learn their doctrine is entitled 'A full, true, and comprehensive view of Christianity, containing a short historical account of religion from the creation of the world to the fourth century after our Lord Jesus Christ, as also the complete duty of a Christian in relation to faith, practice, worship, and rituals, set forth sincerely, without regard to any modern Church, sect, or party, as it is taught in the Holy Scriptures, was delivered by the Apostles, and received by the Universal Church of Christ during the first four centuries.'

This title is not only comprehensive but appropriate, for assuredly no 'modern Church, sect, or party,' out of Fennell Street, Manchester, ever believed the religious principles of this remarkable book.

As soon as it was published, the Tory clergymen of the collegiate church were greatly annoyed on account of the Catholic doctrines which it maintained : Catholic doctrines some of them undoubtedly were, as they had been uniformly professed by all episcopal Churches, Latin, Greek, and Oriental, before the Reformation, and yet they were not the doctrines of the Church of England. The collegiate fellows had expected a defence of High Church principles, and had therefore solicited subscriptions for the book ; but they found in it so much contradiction of the articles of their own Church, that they knew not how with a good grace either to defend or to abandon the position they had hastily assumed. Owen, the fierce Presbyterian, had accused them of promoting popery by encouraging Deacon, and they found he had good reason for his accusation. Their old enemy, Bishop Peploe, armed with visitatorial powers, would soon, as they feared, charge them with favouring all sorts of false doctrine. The more moderate of their own party, Tories but not Jacobites, were ashamed of their imprudence.

On the publication of the book, the author appeared so desirous for reunion with the Catholic Church that he was hastily supposed to have renounced the principles of the Reformation. A careful

reading of the work, however, would have shown that there was not much reason to fear on that account. He longed for a union with the popish church, but to accomplish it the pope must be converted, and make such concessions to Dr. Deacon as no pope ever thought of making to an emperor. He would hold communion with the pope, if the pope would accept his creed instead of the decrees of the Council of Trent: just as he would hold communion with King George, if he would return to Hanover, and leave the throne for its rightful owner. Deacon was no lover of schism, for he would gladly have healed all schism by inducing all schismatics to unite with his, 'True British Catholic Church.' Owen came out fiercely against the fellows in a publication entitled 'Jacobite or Nonjuring Principles Examined, in a Letter to the Master Tool of the Faction,' the said 'master tool' being Dr. Byrom, who, though not in orders, had considerable influence over the Jacobite clergy.* One specimen of the style of this presbyterian polemic may be quite enough for the reader. Deacon had contended that exorcism was one of the rites of true baptism which the English Church had renounced. Owen exclaimed, 'Unhappily, infants come out of their Maker's hands possessed of the devil! but a poor contemptible devil it is, to be blown out of his dominion by the breath of a nonjuring priest. The fire of exorcism, says Dr. Deacon, not only burns but drives away the devil. Right! a burnt devil, like a burnt child, dreads the fire.'

The difference between Dr. Deacon's Church and all other Churches is apparent in the following particulars:

According to him there are twelve sacraments: two greater—baptism and the eucharist; ten smaller—exorcism, the anointing with oil, the wearing of white garments, the taste of milk and honey, the anointing with chrism, the signing of the cross, the imposition of hands, the anointing of the sick, holy orders, and matrimony.

The doctor also taught that it was a duty obligatory upon all Christians to abstain from eating blood, and to stand when praying on Sundays and on every day between Easter and Whitsuntide. Indeed, he seems scarcely to have known who was the worse sinner the Churchman who kneeled when praying on Sundays or the Dissenter who stood when praying on Fridays. Praying to saints or angels he strictly prohibited. He utterly denied the doctrine of transubstantiation and the real presence in every form. His doctrine of the oblation of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament was peculiar to his little sect, yet as it secures the authority of the priest in offering the sacrifice of Christ without involving the absurdities and contradictions of the real presence, I wonder that it has not been accepted by other advocates of sacerdotal power. By the repetition

* Byrom was well able to reply in prose or verse to Owen and his presbyterian friends. He was the writer of the lines well known in Lancashire:—

'God bless the King! I mean our faith's defender,
God bless (no harm in blessing) the Pretender!
But who Pretender is, or who is King,
God bless us all! that's quite another thing.'

of the words 'This is my body,' 'This is my blood,' made by an apostolic priest, the bread and wine become the authorised symbols of the body and blood of Christ, and as such they are offered a propitiatory sacrifice for sin, the symbols being accepted for the reality. Of the solemn fasts of the Church he insisted upon the strict observance of Good Friday and Holy Saturday. The doctor condemned both the Latin and the English Church for the insertion of 'filioque' in the Athanasian creed, for the reading of the Apocrypha as Scripture, and for the neglect of the trine immersion. And further, he regarded the fundamental principle of the English Church, the royal supremacy, as the worst of abominations, the scandalous sale of the birthright of the Church for a mess of pottage.

For the use of his church he printed 'A complete Collection of Devotions both public and private, taken from the Apostolic Constitutions, the Ancient Liturgies, and the Book of Common Prayer.'

Of the number of his adherents the accounts are contradictory. One opponent says scornfully that the congregation consisted of 'only a few score of old women.' Another says angrily, 'He has inveigled such numbers that, unable to do his business himself, he has ordained a queer dog of a barber.' It is certain that his books had a large sale, that his influence in Manchester was considerable, and that several of his people were in circumstances to purchase commissions in the Manchester regiment of the pretender's army.

The barbarous severities with which the rebellion of 1715 was crushed perpetuated the bitter and resentful feeling with which the Whig government was regarded by the Catholics and High Churchmen of Lancashire. No man did more than Dr. Deacon to preserve and exasperate this feeling, although he did it with so much skill and contrivance as to escape prosecution. Living on intimate terms with the collegiate clergy, he was suspected of being the medium of clandestine communications between them and the pretender, while they were publicly accused by their enemies, Bishop Peplow and Mr. Owen, of encouraging and promoting, as far as they dared, the treasonable purposes and schemes of the Jacobites. Meetings of the adherents of the Stuarts were regularly held in different taverns of Manchester (frequently known by their signs), in which the Jacobites drank the health of 'the king' over the water (not, I suppose, drinking of the water).* Many of the clergy were known to frequent these convivial meetings, especially at a favourite tavern at Didsbury. The chief and acknowledged agent of the pretender was Colonel Townley, a member of the great Catholic family of that name, whose intimate association with the collegiate clergy was notorious and undeniable. How far he made them acquainted with the plans and purposes which he afterwards worked, or how far he thought it prudent to trust them, there are no means of discovering.†

* The Rev. Richard Asheton assigns, as one of the reasons of Warden Peplow's refusal to admit him chaplain, when elected by the fellows of the church, that he never entered a tavern which was called 'the George,' and never baptised a child with that Hanoverian name.

† The intimacy of Dr. Byrom with Townley is apparent in a poem addressed to

When, in November 1745, Prince Charles marched into Lancashire, Colonel Townley, having carefully made his arrangements with the Jacobites for the reception of the prince in Manchester, joined the pretender's standard at Preston. On the evening of Friday, November 28, the vanguard of the rebels entered Manchester, and on the following morning the main body joined them and encamped in St. Ann's Square, then newly built. Their friends, being prepared for their arrival, collected in crowds, and greeted them with shouts of welcome. The Whigs and Presbyterians were only too glad to keep out of their way. Colonel Townley, who had previously engaged several of the gentlemen and principal traders of the town for officers, speedily mustered and enrolled a Manchester regiment in the service of the prince. Three sons of Dr. Deacon were, on the advice of their father and with his prayers and blessing, among the first who obtained their commissions. Thomas Syddall, who had never allowed to decay within him that inveterate hatred of Whigs and Dissenters which took possession of his soul when he saw the head of his father fixed upon the market-cross of Manchester, showed so much zeal and activity that he was made adjutant of the regiment, and worked incessantly for the cause. Of the officers, some were members of Deacon's church, some were Catholics, and some orthodox Churchmen. Several were so zealous as to purchase their commissions at a considerable price. A captain's commission was bought of Colonel Townley for 50*l*. One of the first enrolled was Captain James Dawson, who was the subject of Shenstone's beautiful ballad entitled 'Jemmy Dawson.'* The Rev. Thomas Coppock of Brasenose College, Oxon, a teacher in the grammar school, was appointed chaplain. Dressed in full canonicals, he accompanied a drummer through the town, and exhorted the townsmen in the name of their God to enlist in the service of their rightful sovereign. How many Manchester men enlisted does not very distinctly appear, but so far as we can the Jacobite colonel, who was sadly addicted to profane swearing :—

'Soldier, so tender of thy prince's fame,
Why so profane of a superior name?
For thy king's sake the brunt of battle bear,
But for the King of kings' sake—Do not swear.'

* 'Young Dawson was a gallant youth,
A brighter never trod the plain,
And well he loved one charming maid,
And dearly was he loved again.'

This 'charming maid' followed her lover as he was drawn on a sledge to the scaffold.

'And then her mourning coach was called,
The sledge moved slowly on before ;
Though borne in her triumphal car
She had not loved her favourite more.

'The dismal scene was o'er and past,
The lover's mournful hearse retired,
The maid threw back her languid head,
And sighing forth his name expired.'

ascertain from the reports of the recruiting sergeant and of Lieutenant Deacon, the secretary of the regiment, they were above five hundred. On that Saturday the prince was proclaimed amidst loud applause in St. Ann's Square, and in several other parts of the town. The Rev. Mr. Clayton, one of the chaplains of the collegiate church, offered before a listening crowd prayers for the new king in the public street of Salford. The rejoicings and festivities of the day were closed with illuminations and fireworks in the evening.

But Sunday, November 30, was the grand day of the Jacobites, one of the great Sundays of which Manchester has seen so many. As it was St. Andrew's day, the Scotch, in honour of their national saint, had the service celebrated in the collegiate church according to the formularies of the Scottish episcopal community. The Manchester regiment mustered in the churchyard around their flag inscribed 'Church and Country.' The men mounted blue and white cockades, and the officers wore waistcoats of Stuart tartan. The ladies with tartan ribbons, shawls, and mantles crowded the church and paraded the streets. Never in Manchester has there been such a magnificent display of tartan plaid as blazed out on that memorable Sunday. Prince Charles occupied the warden's seat, and Coppock preached before him from the text, 'The Lord is King, let the earth be glad thereof.' Men and women, whose grandfathers and grandmothers in that venerable church had felt their souls stirred within them by Warden Heyricke's fierce denunciations of the popish policy of a Stuart, listened with delight to the flattering eulogies offered to his popish descendant. Where Warden Peploe was on that Sunday I do not know, but he showed none of the spirit of his father, who, thirty years before, prayed for King George in the midst of the pretender's soldiery. Nor do I find either the Presbyterians or the Whigs offering any counter-demonstration. The congregations who on that day ought to have been with their orange colours praying for King George in Cross Street meeting-house or in St. Ann's church seem to have confined their devotions to their private houses. Owen preached against the Jacobites, but as far from them as Rochdale. The spirit which thirty years before inspired Parson Woods of Chowbent seems to have departed from the Presbyterians of East Lancashire. Although their brethren in Liverpool were arming in defence of the house of Hanover, and threatening determined resistance to the Stuarts, they had lost their zeal, activity, and courage. Especially in old puritan Manchester the orange plumes seem to have grown pale and faded into white feathers before the bright colours of the Stuart tartan.*

After a day or two the Manchester regiment marched southward with their prince through Macclesfield towards Derby; but they soon returned, in opposition to the earnest and indignant remon-

* Among the most zealous and active of the volunteers who enlisted in the Liverpool regiment for the defence of King George, was Mr. John Johnson, pastor of the Baptist church in Byrom Street, and the founder of the sect of Johnsonian Baptists, whose peculiarities are described in Hurd's *History of Religious Denominations*. See also Thom's *Liverpool Churches and Chapels*, p. 44.

strances of their adjutant Syddall and their chaplain Coppock. Distrusting the skill of their own officers, and observing that many of the Scotch were going the nearest road to their own country with as much booty as they could carry, they yielded to a panic, and, returning to Manchester, broke up the regiment and dispersed in the town. Coppock, Syddall, the Deacons, and a few others, kept together, retreated to Carlisle, and made a feeble effort to hold that city for Prince Charles. They were compelled to surrender at discretion. Coppock was executed at Carlisle. He appeared on the scaffold in full canonicals, and prayed for his true and lawful superior, Prince Charles. Ten of them were sent to London and executed on Kennington Common. Among these were Adjutant Syddall and Lieutenant Deacon, both of whom died with wonderful calmness and heroism. Syddall spent an hour in his private devotions. While he was so engaged, a pile of faggots by which his heart was to be burnt accidentally ignited. He calmly looked on the fire and prayed, 'Lord, help me !' He avowed his faith in the true British Church, not the corrupt Church of the pope nor the schismatical Church of the Hanoverians.* He prayed for James III., his rightful king, and for Charles Edward and Henry Benedict, the true Prince of Wales and Duke of York. He entreated God to forgive his enemies, and protested that he had acted from a deep and settled conviction of the justice of the cause for which he was ready to die. Finally he prayed, 'May all my dear children have grace to tread the dangerous steps which have led me to this place, and may they also have the courage and constancy to endure to the end, and to despise power when it is opposed to duty.' †

The heads of Syddall and Deacon were sent to Manchester, and placed on poles on the exchange.‡ Dr. Deacon was among the first who went to look upon the head of his son and that of his friend. He raised his hat, and uncovered thanked God for their faith and constancy. His friends performed the same act of reverence, and, as long as the heads remained upon the exchange, the Jacobites never passed without respectfully stopping and raising their hats. This was a sad annoyance to the Presbyterians. It was denounced as false worship and idolatry by their intemperate preacher Owen, who not only preached but printed, 'It is one of my principles that showing religious honours to rebels' skulls is false worship in the Christian sense, but true nonjuring and Jacobite devotion.'§

A day of public thanksgiving was observed in Manchester.

* All the Deaconites who were executed made the same profession of their faith on the scaffold.

† A document in the possession of a descendant of Syddall professes to be the dying speech of the martyr. It is signed 'Thomas Syddall,' and dated on the day of his execution ; but it is improbable that the whole of it was addressed to the spectators. It may have been written by Dr. Deacon, and signed by Syddall as the expression of the sentiments to which he briefly adverted on the scaffold.

‡ An entry in the accounts of the constable of Manchester is: 'Expence, tending the Sheriff this morning for Syddall's and Deacon's heads put up, 0*l*. 1*s*. 6*d*.'

§ Owen's scandalous sermon, to which I have already referred, is entitled, *All is well; or the Defeat of the late Rebellion, an exalted and illustrious blessing.*

While the Tory fellows of the collegiate church were sulky and silent, the Whig clergy and the presbyterian ministers preached sermons to prove that 'the rebels and traitors were guilty of the most atrocious crimes, and had no just claim to the distinction of Christian martyrdom.*' The partisans of the house of Brunswick made a grand display of their loyalty. St. Ann's church and Cross Street meeting-house appeared almost as gay with orange ribbons as, in the preceding November, the collegiate church had been with Stuart tartan. The bells rang through the day, the festivities of which were closed with bonfires and illuminations in the evening. A Whig mob was collected and instigated by men who ought to have known better, until it became almost as outrageous and unmanageable as the Tory mob of the previous year. They made a savage attack upon the house of Dr. Deacon mourning for his son, and upon that of widow Syddall weeping with her four orphans for their father, and in cruel mockery of their grief forced an illumination by putting lights in their windows. Byrom's satire was not undeserved :—

'Leave to the low-bred Owens of the age
Sense to belye and loyalty to rage,
Wit to make treason of each cry and chat,
And eyes to see false worship in a hat.'

With the suppression of the rebellion in the middle of the eighteenth century, we may well leave the coarse sermons of Owen and the clever songs of Byrom, and notice the progress or the decline of nonconformity since the building of the venerable sanctuaries, most of which were erected before the accession of the house of Hanover.

In many parts of the county, probably in most of the rural districts, it had considerably declined in numbers, and still more in respectability and influence. In some large towns where the dissenting ministers were popular preachers or exemplary Christians, or where the clergymen were not popular or not exemplary, the nonconformist congregations received numerous accessions of prosperous traders or professional men; but in others, under inefficient preaching, they sadly declined, and seemed ready to die with the aged occupants of the great family pews. Complaints frequently occur in the diaries of their ministers, and in other documents, of the indifference or desertion of their young people. Dr. Priestley, who knew Lancashire well, reckoned that in the reigns of the first two Georges the Dissenters had diminished by a third of their original numbers. The landed gentry, especially of the higher class, had generally forsaken them. Of the old nonconformist families, the Hydes, the Hollands, the Booths, the Asshetons, the Shuttleworths, the Birches, the Mosleys, and many more, had left scarcely a representative in their sanctuaries. Of the higher class of Lancashire gentry, the Hoghtons were almost the only family who continued to take any interest in the dissenting cause. Some of the prosperous dissenting merchants and manufacturers purchased considerable estates in the

* *Sermon of Rev. Mr. Nicholls preached in St. Ann's Church.*

county, but if they adhered to their principles, they did not gain the position or influence of the old families whose names, as the founders of their sanctuaries, seemed a few years earlier likely to be associated with nonconformity as long as nonconformity might exist in the county.

A great change had gradually come over (or rather in the middle of the century was coming over) the theology of the old nonconformist societies. To trace this change to its cause is not easy, nor is it easy to find the solution of several perplexing questions respecting its progress and results. To the founders of the presbyterian meeting-houses in the beginning of the last century it would seem, could the change have been suggested, very improbable, and certainly very undesirable, that their grandchildren occupying the same sanctuaries should listen to the exposition of Arian doctrine, or their great-grandchildren to that of unitarianism. Had they foreseen the change, they probably would not have built their meeting-houses, certainly would not have endowed them. This I may assume from what I know of those founders, without joining in the outcry about spoliation and robbery which some Dissenters (and some Churchmen too who have little concern in the dispute) have raised against men who retain possession of their fathers' sanctuaries while they have renounced the formularies of their fathers' faith. It may be very natural and proper for Dissenters who retain the doctrines of the old Nonconformists to regret, as I do, that their sanctuaries and trusts should have fallen into the hands of the opponents of those doctrines. But so far from giving utterance to any accusation or insinuation of dishonesty against honourable and upright men, I express my belief that if the transition were reversed in a chapel of unitarian foundation, Trinitarians would with an easy conscience take advantage of a change brought about by those who had no purpose or thought of alienating the property. I think it right to say so much, lest I should be misunderstood in expressing, as I may have occasion to express, my wish that the Dissenters of the last century had generally adhered to the faith as well as to the foundations of their fathers.

The change in the theology of many Nonconformists, which, though great, was gradual, has been attributed, I think inconsiderately, to the influence of presbyterian rather than of independent ministers. The greatest offenders or the greatest reformers (however the change may be regarded) were educated among the Independents, more frequently than among the Presbyterians. In London, in the early part of the last century, Nathaniel Lardner, Martin Tomkins, Moses Lowman, and Jeremiah Hunt, educated as independent ministers and accepted as members of the independent board, were the chief supporters of the new theology.* So on comparison of the Lanca-

* Even after Dr. Lardner was elected afternoon preacher in the presbyterian meeting-house in Poor Jewry Lane, he continued a member of the Congregational Board. In a list of independent ministers in 1734 occurs the name of Richard Lardner, Sen., but the words 'Richard' and 'Sen.' are written by a later hand. Mr. James says, in his learned *History of the Litigation and Legislation respecting Presbyterian Chapels and Churches*, 'The original entry appears to have been meant for the son' (p. 715). There can be little doubt about it.

shire ministers belonging to the middle of the century, those educated in the independent academy of Northampton and Daventry, under Doddridge and Ashworth (the academy of Priestley and Belsham), were more decided and active in promoting the new theology than those who had been educated in the presbyterian academy under Dr. Rotherham at Kendal. It is true that some of the independent ministers of the time were among the most zealous and determined opponents of the Arian doctrine. The subsequent differences between the Independents and the Presbyterians, in reference to their adherence to the old faith or reception of the new doctrine, may be explained partly by the difference in the character and habits of their ministers, and partly by the difference in amount of influence which the laity exercised in their respective societies.

As to their ministry, the presbyterian ministers, as they appear to me, were, in the middle of the last century, generally good, quiet men, moving with the times, but moving slowly, doing their pastoral work steadily, but doing little else, living to be old in a sort of comfortable and respectable poverty, having little to fear or to expect from innovations, provided they came gradually and did not rudely disturb their nonconformist traditions. They were not the men to impel or to resist a religious movement. The probability was that in such a movement they would preserve a middle course, the more active restraining the extremes, the less active resting between them. Many of them desired to maintain the confidence of both Calvinists and Arians, and therefore said little about controverted doctrines. They betook themselves to preaching on evidences, or moral duties, or Scripture histories, without noticing the controversies of their time. The people who loved the puritan theology either forsook such preaching, or lost under its influence their early predilections. It is very difficult to say what the doctrine of some of these preachers was, or whether they had any doctrine at all. Arianism has not proved a resting-place for religious teachers who come into collision with other people, but it was a comfortable resting-place for some of the presbyterian ministers so long as they could contrive to say nothing about it.

The independent ministers, on the contrary, belonging to a younger sect, subjected to a different training, and having smaller endowments and therefore more work, were more disposed to take an active part in the polemical discussions of the time, and to become prominent in impelling or resisting the progress of the new theology. It seemed strange to the regular Presbyterians that such men as Thomas Ridgley and Thomas Bradbury on the one hand, and Moses Lowman and Nathaniel Lardner on the other, should belong to the same board and sip their rum and water together at the same tavern.* Whether they thus softened or exasperated their polemics I do not

* The only test I can find of the Independent Board or Third Body, as it was sometimes called, was that every member should at their meetings 'spend two pence for the good of the house' that afforded them accommodation. This I find stated in the MSS. of the late Dr. Humphreys, principal of Mill Hill Grammar School, as a rule of the Independent Board when he joined it towards the close of the last century.

know, but they acted fairly in their elections, for on the appointment of six to represent them as a deputation to the throne, Mr. Bradbury, Dr. Ridgley, Dr. Watts, Mr. Hurriion, Mr. Lowman, and Mr. Asty, men representing various opinions, were elected.* Whatever may have been their theological differences, they were of one faith in their politics, for they were all fierce Hanoverians, and probably forgot their religious polemics as well as their puritan traditions in drinking to the health of King George and confusion to the pretender. The difference, however, in their theology was so great as to justify the conclusion that the departure from the old faith of the Nonconformists was zealously promoted on the one hand, and resisted on the other, by ministers of the independent denomination.

It is often said that the laymen of the Presbyterians were more favourable to the new doctrine than those of the Independents. It would be more correct to say, they offered less opposition to it. This may be attributed partly to the unwillingness of the presbyterian laity to oppose a ministerial movement, but chiefly to the constitution and practice of the Independent churches, in which discussion was common, and every member might speak and vote against the teaching of his pastor. Among the Presbyterians a layman who did not approve of his minister's doctrine would probably go elsewhere, as many did go to church. Among the Independents a dissatisfied member would probably raise a controversy with the minister or propose a change in the ministry. Very few independent churches became unitarian, while some presbyterian societies remained orthodox. After a few years, the societies concurring in doctrine became uniform in discipline and connected by friendly association. When they were distinguished by different names, such as retained the old theology were commonly called Independents, and such as lapsed into the new were as commonly called Presbyterians, without much regard to the appropriateness of their respective designations. Indeed, in many parts of England, and especially in Lancashire and Cheshire, the distinction of the two denominations was practically obliterated after the passing of the Act of Toleration. Students from the academies of one party often became ministers of the meeting-houses nominally belonging to the other. The most important difference was that to which I have alluded. In the societies originally independent there was a traditional disposition of the members to interfere in ecclesiastical matters, while in those originally presbyterian the traditional disposition was to acquiesce in the proposals of the minister and managers of the meeting-house. The former proved conservative of the old theology, where at first it seemed in the greatest danger; the latter proved favourable to the growth of Arianism, not so much because it was Arianism, but because it was the creed of the preachers. To the freedom and self-government of the independent churches, preserved not only in theory but in practice, they are, I believe, chiefly indebted for the preservation of evangelical doctrine when it was lost in so many of the presbyterian societies. Their freedom—their democracy, as some

* James's *History*, &c., p. 713.

call it—has been their conservative principle in seasons of danger and religious declension.

When, in the middle of the eighteenth century, there was observed among the dissenting ministers of Lancashire a prevalent departure from the old puritan theology, it was, I think, not generally understood or accepted by their congregations. The silence respecting evangelical doctrine was supposed to arise from dislike of the old modes of stating the truth, rather than from dislike of the truth itself. Hearers were sometimes reconciled to the absence of any statement of doctrine by the assertion or the insinuation that dogmatism was offensive and controversial preaching unprofitable. With this negative sort of theology there remained about the dissenting pulpits not a little of the puritan spirit, or at least the semblance of it. The preachers' manner often betrayed their origin and early education. They talked their fathers' language after they had lost their fathers' faith. The phraseology of Ambrose, Newcome, and the Heywoods was often heard with pleasure by old people, who gladly received it as a remembrance, after it had ceased to be a representation, of puritan doctrine.

But all this was unreal, and therefore could not long continue. The ministers who had scarcely any doctrine to teach felt little interest in their own teaching, and consequently excited little interest in their hearers. Many who were Arians came, from the mere habit of saying nothing about Arianism, to care very little for it. Their preaching almost of necessity became vague, indefinite, and very unimpressive. In their gloomy meeting-houses it was often hard work for people to keep awake through the sermon. Some men cannot but speak earnestly upon any subject on which they speak at all; but such men are not numerous, and the position of a dissenting minister of that time, especially in country places, was singularly unfavourable to earnest and impassioned address. Strangers were not expected to visit the meeting-house, and therefore no effort was made to interest them. The countenance of every hearer in the pews was as familiar to the preacher as his own cushion or his big Bible. Devotional feeling, unless it were of the most calm, quiet, and subdued form, was often considered fanaticism. The common people had little sympathy with critical or ethical disquisitions. The children were expected in the evening to give some account of the afternoon sermons; but of all things in the world those afternoon sermons must have been the most uninteresting and wearisome to children. The religion of the meeting-house in the decline of puritanism became little more than a tradition and a formality. Some persons continued to worship, or at least to sit still, for an hour or two on the Sundays in the sanctuaries where they had been baptized and their fathers buried; but while they endured the dullness, others found opportunities, especially on the death or removal of a minister, to go elsewhere, the wealthy to more fashionable places of resort, the poor to the exciting services of the itinerant preachers of the Methodists, then beginning to travel through the country. In some instances the declension was stayed by the eloquence of the preacher, by

his careful attention to pastoral duties, or by his pleasant and conciliating manners. But the decline of the dissenting interest was freely spoken of by its own ministers, preached about at their associations, lamented by the more religious of them, and attributed to various causes, seldom to the true cause, their own loss of their fathers' evangelical power to interest and affect the people. In several villages, and in some towns, the sanctuaries themselves, ill-kept, ill-repaired, ill-cleaned, were melancholy witnesses of some 'abomination that maketh desolate.' Had it not been for assistance from London or for their own scanty endowments, many of them would have fallen or have been utterly forsaken. How sadly they needed for the revival of their religion the incessant activity of Oliver Heywood, the pathetic expostulation of Isaac Ambrose, the affectionate address of John Angier, the quickening power of their first preachers! But in the middle of the eighteenth century there was in Lancashire no Heywood, nor Ambrose, nor Angier, nor any man like the founders of Lancashire nonconformity.

I do not attribute the decline of the dissenting interest in Lancashire exclusively to Arianism, concealed or avowed, nor to Arminianism, which generally preceded it. The Calvinism of the time, such as it was, must bear no small proportion of the blame. A sort of creeping paralysis had come upon the nonconforming societies, whether they professed an orthodox or a heterodox faith, or had no faith at all. The puritan theology, where it was preserved, seemed too often a tradition rather than a faith, an old religion which had grown infirm and decrepit, and lost the spirit and strength which had once worked wonders on the earth. The wrestling with evil spirits, the constraining love of Christ, the glorying only in the cross, the terrors of the world to come, the bright and blessed hope of everlasting life, had become unmeaning phrases on the lips of many who professed to retain the faith as well as to speak the language of their puritan ancestors. The old Calvinism which had worked so mightily in the hearts of the reformers, the Puritans, and the founders of nonconformity, had been in New England formulated into a metaphysical creed, and, however identified in theory, had become in practice and experience almost another religion. The feeling of the father's heart became a logical deduction of the son's intellect. The Calvinism with which the Puritans fought popery, prelacy, Arminianism, and sin, became philosophical necessity among the metaphysical divines of the last century. Irrefragable as was their reasoning, it could not be made to work upon the hearts of the common people, nor even upon the hearts of the metaphysicians themselves. 'The depravity of the human heart' and 'the necessary defectibility of all dependent moral agents' might mean the same thing, as might 'the electing love of God in Christ' and 'the indissoluble connection of all events mediately or immediately with the First Cause,' but the new phraseology as uttered in the pulpits of nonconformity had lost the power of the old divinity. President Edwards and many of his school were undoubtedly and pre-eminently devout and earnest men, but their devotion and earnestness no more grew out of their reason-

ing upon necessity and contingency than Dr. Priestley's devotion, of which I shall speak presently, grew from the source to which he attributed it—the materialism of Hartley. Refute them!—who would be foolish enough to attempt it? As a man weighs none the heavier by believing the laws of gravitation, so he becomes none the more devout by the help of a metaphysical demonstration of Calvinistic theology.

It may be said that the dissenting congregations of the last century, whether lethargic Calvinists or sleeping Arians, were not much addicted to metaphysical reasoning. Generally they were not. But some teachers of both creeds resorted to modes of reasoning which their disciples were taught to regard, whether they understood them or not, as the oracles of God. Men with small reasoning powers often trust the deductions of a logical preacher as firmly as a rustic trusts the calculations of an astronomer for the eclipses of the coming year. Religion, whatever may be the creed of the intellect, is always a feeble and worthless thing if it do not grow out of the affections and sympathies of the moral nature of man, that is, if it be not faith but philosophy.*

I offer these remarks, not to account for the decay of the religious life among the Calvinistic Dissenters of the past age, but to call attention to the fact that Calvinism had lost its old power, and had become weak as Arminianism in breathing life into the dying churches. Nor let the Arminian boast, for Arminianism, almost universally prevalent in the established Church in contradiction of its articles, did quite as little for the religious life of that communion as either Calvinism or Arianism did for that of the Dissenters. Religion everywhere and in every form was becoming a speculation under whose withering influence the devotions of every communion were nigh unto death. When the revival came, as if to show how small is the practical importance of these speculations, it worked with equal and mighty power through the Calvinism of George Whitefield and the Arminianism of John Wesley.

In the change which after the middle of the last century was produced in the theology of a large part of the Dissenters of Lancashire, two men acted so conspicuous a part that they claim particular notice. I refer to Dr. JOHN TAYLOR and Dr. JOSEPH PRIESTLEY. Although they were both brought into the county by the trustees of the Warrington academy, yet as the former did the greater part of his work before he became connected with the academy and the latter after he left it, I may notice the influence which they exercised upon the dissenting societies before I give some account of the academical institution itself.

In their wide departure from the puritan doctrine, both Taylor and Priestley retained much of the puritan spirit and character. In Taylor it appeared in his love of free prayer, his veneration of the ejected ministers, his respect for puritan traditions and modes of

* With those Calvinistic preachers to whom Edwards's *Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will* was too dull or too profound a work, Augustus Toplady was a great authority.

service, and his outburst of indignant feeling against the introduction of a liturgy into the sanctuaries of nonconformity. In Priestley it assumed the form of an intense love of freedom, and an abhorrence of all restraint upon religious enquiry or religious profession. Both were pious men, each after his own manner, which was a very strange manner with both of them. Taylor's seems to have been an ill-tempered sort of piety, with which his love of his neighbour did not combine so kindly and pleasantly as, according to the teaching of St. John, it ought to have done. Priestley's piety, if he understood himself, was nourished by strange aliment, his faith in Hartley's materialism,* and yet it was simple, loving, confiding, meekly submissive to God, and tenderly benevolent to men. Both reasoned on religion, but Taylor reasoned on the philology and criticism of Scripture; Priestley on the philosophy of cause and effect, the phenomena of the material, and the laws of volition. Taylor, an Arminian and an Arian, was evidently disposed to go further from the puritan theology than his puritan respect for the letter of Scripture would allow him; Priestley, though beginning his studies at Daventry as an Arminian, was compelled by his philosophy to renounce as absurd and unintelligible his early notion of free will, and to maintain the simple humanity of Jesus, the Christ. Taylor gradually led his hearers to his own position of Arminianism and Arianism; Priestley forcibly drove the Arians to his conclusions of necessity, materialism, universal predestination, and simple humanitarianism. Both were firm believers in the miraculous attestation of Christianity, as both professed unreserved submission to the authority of Christ and His Apostles. To neither was Christianity, as it is to modern rationalists, merely an echo of the Divine voice within the soul, or an illustration of the truths of natural religion. To both it was a revelation of doctrines which never could have been discovered by the light of nature, and especially of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, attested and verified by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

Dr. Taylor was a native of Lancashire, having been born in the neighbourhood of Lancaster in the year 1694. He received his education and training for the ministry in the dissenting academy over which the Rev. Dr. Dixon presided at Whitehaven, and from which proceeded in the early part of the last century some of the best ministers of the northern counties. On completing his preparatory studies, he became the pastor of a small congregation at Kirkstead in Lincolnshire, where for twenty years, in addition to his ministerial labours, he taught a grammar school, and acquired that extensive learning by which his subsequent life was honourably distinguished. Thence he was invited to preside over a large and respectable con-

* Priestley, in his *Memoirs*, edited by J. T. Rutt, says, part i. p. 24, 'It,' (Hartley's *Observations on Man*) 'greatly improved that disposition to piety which I brought to the academy.' 'Indeed I do not know whether Hartley's theory contributes more to enlighten the mind or improve the heart: it affects both in so supereminent a degree.' It must have been uncommon piety which converted a philosophical defence of materialism into a book of devotion.

gregation at Norwich, where he continued from 1733 to 1757. Having acquired great reputation as a theologian and scholar by his 'Paraphrase on the Romans,' and his 'Hebrew Concordance,' he was invited by the founders of the Warrington academy to become the first president of that institution, or, as he was styled, Rector *Academiæ*, where he exercised considerable influence upon the non-conformity of his native county, not only by his scholarship, but also by his earnest and energetic opposition to several attempts to introduce among Dissenters a liturgical service, and to encroach upon the simple forms of puritan worship. Finding him at the head of the Warrington academy, we must now notice the origin and the history of that institution.

The necessity of a new theological institution was felt by several of the Lancashire Dissenters on the failure, in 1752, of the academy which had been ably conducted at Kendal by the Rev. Caleb Rotheram, D.D., and from which the presbyterian congregations of Lancashire had obtained some of their ablest ministers. Dr. Rotheram and Dr. Taylor had both been students at Whitehaven, and, as they were born in the same year, they must have been contemporaries, probably were class-mates, and apparently were the two best scholars of the many theologians educated under Dr. Dixon. Alike in theological learning, unlike in everything else, their uncongenial dispositions seem to have prevented the formation of any intimate friendship between them. Rotheram was gentle, amiable, yielding and modest; Taylor ill-tempered, arrogant, dictatorial, and pertinacious. In the funeral sermon preached for Dr. Rotheram by his pupil, Mr. Daye of Lancaster, it is said: 'His friendship for his brethren in the ministry was truly cordial. I do not know whether I might not justly call him the cement of love and harmony in the friendly association of the two counties' (Lancashire and Westmoreland). 'His learning, piety, sincerity, experience, and good sense gave him authority among his brethren, whom he always treated with affection, freedom, and respect.' Nothing like this was ever said of Dr. Taylor.

Of the ministers educated by Dr. Rotheram, the following settled in Lancashire: John Seddon of Manchester; James Daye of Lancaster; John Hardy of Bispham; Benjamin Sandford of Ormskirk; Richard Meanly of Platt; Titus Cordingley of Whitworth; Thomas Dixon of Bolton; John Holland of Chowbent; Joseph Valentine of Wharton; Robert Andrews of Platt; James Benn of Blackley; John Helme of Walmesley; Richard Godwin of Gatacre; John Seddon of Warrington; William Gaskell of Tunley; William Davenport of Hindley; James Woods, who succeeded his father the fighting parson, of Chowbent; George Walker, mathematical tutor of Warrington academy, and afterwards theological professor in the Manchester New College.

A glance over these names is sufficient to show the influence which Dr. Rotheram's students had upon the nonconformity of Lancashire. The two Seddons, Holland (who died young), Dixon, and Godwin were men of great ability and of extensive influence. George Walker,

according to the estimate of the young Socinians (not the old Arians) of his time, was the most wonderful man in the world; an 'astonishing' mathematician, an 'exquisite' poet, and in eloquence 'outrivalling' Burke and even Cicero.*

Most of these students, like their teacher, held some form of Arianism. A few of the younger were Unitarians, though probably they were not so at the commencement of their ministry. Dr. Priestley, referring to the time he spent at Warrington from 1761 to 1767, says: 'The only Socinian in the neighbourhood was Mr. Seddon of Manchester, and we all wondered at him.'† He was probably the first pastor of a nonconformist congregation in Lancashire who taught the doctrine of the mere humanity of Christ.

In 1752 the academy of Dr. Rotheram ceased with the death of its founder. As several other domestic academies were closed about the same time,‡ both the Presbyterians and the Independents felt the need of academical institutions of a more public and permanent character than were those which depended upon the life, the health, the convenience, or the continued ability of any one man, however well qualified he might have been.

The academy of the Independents at Daventry had, through the support of Mr. Coward's trustees, ceased to be private property, and the Independents of the north were contemplating the establishment of a similar institution in Yorkshire. The Presbyterians held several consultations on the subject of ministerial education in different parts of the country, but their ministers in Lancashire were the first to commit themselves to the responsibilities of a complete and expensive collegiate institution, with commodious buildings and an appropriate staff of officers and teachers. The project was laudable. Its history, if we could impartially write it, would be valuable; its failure, if we could ascertain the cause, very instructive. It promised to be a great success; it became, as its best friends acknowledged, a lamentable failure. It had liberal supporters, an active committee, able professors, convenient buildings, a good library, high reputation, and withal to strengthen it not a little party spirit; and yet the tradition of Lancashire is that the academy was a sad failure, and that the trustees acted wisely in leaving it to its fate in Warrington, and in establishing its successor in Manchester.

To whatever cause the ill success of the academy is to be attributed, its auspicious commencement is to be ascribed to the energetic and

* 'His doctrine of the sphere is an astonishing work.' Of an address prepared by him, 'Mr. Burke declared he would rather be the author of it than of all his works.' After a speech he made at Mansfield, 'the late Duke of Portland declared that he had outrivalled Cicero himself.' See a Review of his life in the *Monthly Repository*, vol. v. October 1810. The authority for these statements was Mr. Walker's son, but as he in the same volume accused the Trustees of the Manchester New College (as honourable men as any in Lancashire) of having violated their engagements with his father, I should be glad of some better authority for them.

† *Memoirs*, &c. part i. p. 59.

‡ The respectable academy of Dr. Latham, at Findern, near Derby, was closed in 1754.

persevering exertions of the Rev. John Seddon, at that time minister of the presbyterian congregation of Warrington. As the result of an earnest address and of unwearied personal application to the wealthy Dissenters of Manchester, Liverpool, Warrington, Bolton, and other towns, he obtained promises of subscriptions amounting to 217*l.* a year. According to our modern notions, this would seem a small sum to warrant the commencement of so respectable an institution as Mr. Seddon and his friends contemplated. They, however, thought these promises so encouraging that they resolved, in accordance with their circular address, 'to elect tutors of known ability and good character, in theology, moral philosophy, including logic and metaphysics, natural philosophy, including mathematics, and in the languages and polite literature.' To any who may wonder at the faith of these confiding Presbyterians, it should be said that before the academy was opened, the subscriptions were raised to what they seem to have thought the munificent sum of 469*l.* Some shrewd observers suspected the founders were proceeding rather too fast, and ventured to predict the failure of the institution. Possibly they belonged to the class of prophets who prophesy after the event. It is, however, evident from the reports of the committee that the institution suffered from the want of an income sufficient to secure the continued services of the very able professors whom they had the good fortune to obtain, and to provide them with such colleagues or assistants as the complete accomplishment of their plan urgently required. The committee, with good reason, complained of poverty, but poverty, though an early, was not the only cause of their difficulties.

With a pardonable vanity, often observed in declining sects, who in their declension seem fond of exhibiting the relics of their former glory, these Lancashire Presbyterians elected a sort of supposititious lord (the only lord left them), the Right Honourable Lord Willoughby of Parham, to be the president of their new academy.* The vice-president was John Lees, Esq., the representative of the old nonconformist family, the Worsleys of Platt, whose name he subsequently assumed, and called himself John Carill Worsley, Esq. The treasurer was Arthur Heywood, Esq., a descendant of Nathanael Heywood, the ejected minister of Ormskirk. The Rev. John Seddon was its indefatigable secretary. The subscribers elected for their first professors Dr. John Taylor, divinity tutor and rector; the Rev. John Holt, tutor in mathematics and natural philosophy; and Mr. Samuel Dyer, teacher of languages and 'belles lettres.' Of the last gentleman I am relieved from the necessity of saying anything, for

* The Willoughbys of Horwich were zealous Puritans, connected by marriage with the old puritan family of Whittall, whose property they inherited. In 1685 Thomas Willoughby was erroneously summoned to the House of Peers as Baron Willoughby of Parham. The Rev. Canon Raines says: 'The title was ill supported without an estate by several presbyterian Lords Willoughby until 1765, when the right heir was restored.'—*Notes to Notitia Cestriensis*, vol. ii. part i. p. 42. The true Lord Willoughby, however, must have had a favourable opinion of the academy, for he placed among its pupils his son George, the last of the family who bore the title.

he declined the invitation, and, as we are told by an intelligent writer in the 'Monthly Repository,' 'it was a happy thing for the institution he did not accept it.'*

Through the first year, therefore, 'the whole burden of teaching' fell upon Dr. Taylor and Mr. Holt, but as there were for some time only three students, and for the remainder of the year only five, that 'whole burden' could not have been very oppressive. As during that year Dr. Taylor had only one divinity student, it would be pleasant to know how he poured the abundance of his theological learning into his solitary disciple, John Drake, who died soon after the completion of his academical course.

The appointment of Dr. Taylor was not so fortunate as his great learning and extraordinary ability reasonably induced the friends of the institution to expect, when they congratulated him upon his introduction to his honourable office. They expected much from the appointment of the most distinguished theologian within their reach, especially as the faults which counterbalanced his excellences could not have been easily discovered at the time. He seems to have been troubled, especially in his declining years, with a singularly uncomfortable temper. A well-informed writer in the 'Monthly Repository,'† describing his mode of instruction, says: 'Notwithstanding his amiable dispositions and agreeable manners in the general intercourse of life, in his class-room his manner was somewhat dictatorial, and while he invited his pupils to judge for themselves, he was not very patient of contradiction.' If the statements of Gilbert Wakefield are to be credited, he betrayed in the class-room a great deal more than 'impatience of contradiction.' Wakefield says of him, notwithstanding the professed liberality of his formal addresses, 'he was in reality a very peevish and angry disputant, and dictatorial even to intolerance.'‡ In a very impressive manner he charged his pupils that 'you steadily assert for yourselves, and allow to others, the inalienable rights of judgment and conscience;' while his pupils well knew that any expression of dissent from his doctrine would incur some unmistakeable expression of his displeasure. The writer in the 'Monthly Repository,' already cited, offers as an extenuation of his impatience of dissent, a suspicion that the students 'removed to Warrington from' the Independent academy of 'Daventry, where they were indulged in the greatest freedoms, and where they were referred indiscriminately to writers on all sides, were not content with being seldom referred to any but the doctor's own writings.' 'Whether the plan of indiscriminate reference to writers on all the controversies of the day was not, in Doddridge's "Lectures," pushed

* Vol. viii. p. 4. A curious account of this gentleman may be found in Sir John Hawkins's *Life of Dr. Johnson*. I wonder how he could ever have been elected, and still more how he could have obtained the recommendations of Drs. Avery, Ward, Benson, and Chandler.

† Vol. viii. p. 89.

‡ *Biographical Dictionary*, article 'Taylor, John, D.D.' On the other hand, in a funeral sermon preached by Dr. Harwood, he was praised for 'his kindness and affability.' But the funeral sermons of that time are not of much authority.

to an exteme, and has not a natural tendency to generate a sceptical or else a disputatious spirit, will perhaps admit of doubt.*

Whatever may have been the merits or the faults of Dr. Taylor, his spirit would not bear the interference of the trustees. When they attempted to mediate between him and his students, he complained that he was deprived of the authority necessary to maintain the dignity of his office. Before he had completed his fourth year of teaching, his incessant disputes with his students, his colleagues, and the trustees, his opposition to all dogmatism except his own, and his intemperate maintenance of his own opinions on every subject, broke his spirits, enfeebled his constitution, and, as the good man often said, shortened his days. When life was, as he assured his friend Harwood, no longer an 'object of desire,' and he looked for rest in the grave, he left no resting-place in the academy for his successors. Although he made many enemies, he had some friends who considered him ill-treated and dishonoured. Dr. Priestley says, 'all his friends became our enemies,'† that is, the friends of Taylor became the enemies of his successors. The evil done both by him and to him adhered to the unfortunate academy, through its troubled course from its unpropitious commencement to its disastrous conclusion.

It may seem ludicrous to say so much about the liberality or the dogmatism of Dr. Taylor's theological teaching, when for the first year there was only one theological student upon whom he could 'exercise his gifts.' Three others were in the second year placed under his teaching; and so far as I can ascertain from the accounts accessible to me, eleven students were all who in Warrington received the benefit, or endured the infliction, of his theological prelections.

Mr. Holt, his colleague, does not seem to have been much more fortunate in the management of his department. Although he was well acquainted with his subjects, he seems not to have known how to teach or how to keep his pupils in good order. The writer in the 'Monthly Repository' says: 'His department does not seem to have been popular, and several instances occur in the minutes of interferences, sometimes rather impertinent ones, with regard to the management of his classes.'

In these circumstances Dr. John Aikin, a pupil, assistant, and friend of Dr. Doddridge, was appointed at the close of the first session to occupy the classical chair. This was, upon the whole, the best appointment made by the trustees, for of the eminent men who were associated with him, some more able, some perhaps more learned, no one possessed so many and varied accomplishments, and especially such accomplishments as were desirable for a teacher. Learned, laborious, active, prudent, affable, ever willing to encourage the timid, and ever able to rebuke with dignity the impertinent, he

* *Monthly Repository*, vol. viii. p. 90. This remark is curious as coming from the pen of a Unitarian apologist of Dr. Taylor. It, however, confirms a suggestion I have made respecting the influence of the Independent academy upon the Presbyterian theology of the last century.

† *Memoirs of Dr. Priestley*, part i. p. 64.

did much to heal the injuries which the institution had received from his colleagues, and to remedy the inherent defects of its constitution. The life of the academy seems to have been inseparably associated with his own. It began to flourish when he joined it, it was at its best estate while he was strong and active, it declined as he grew feeble, and it perished soon after his death. He became the classical tutor in 1758, and was removed by death from the theological chair in 1780, only three years before its dissolution.

The first home of the academy was in a respectable terrace which stood in a pleasant garden overlooking the Mersey, a little westward of the bridge, a much pleasanter situation than the square in the eastern part of the town, to which it was subsequently removed. In the terrace a common hall, suitable class-rooms, and accommodation for the tutors, were provided. Accustomed to the liberal donations by which literary, philanthropic, and religious institutions are supported, in these times, we may wonder at the difficulty with which the trustees obtained the moderate sum required to adapt the premises to the comfortable accommodation of the professors and students. They were, however, fortunate in the acquisition of a library, having received, in addition to several smaller donations of books, the valuable collection of Dr. Benjamin Grosvenor and that of the Rev. Samuel Stubbs. Of the Warrington students, their Alma Mater might well have been proud of the first name on the list, that of Thomas Percival, who afterwards became well known as an eminent physician of Manchester, the able author of 'Medical Ethics,' and the accomplished founder and first president of the Manchester Philosophical Society.

The vacancy caused by the appointment of Dr. Aikin to succeed Dr. Taylor, was filled by the Rev. (afterwards Dr.) Joseph Priestley, who was invited from Namptwich, where he had been minister for three years, to become the teacher of the classics and polite literature. Although this was scarcely the professorship which he would have chosen, as his tastes and pursuits were at that early time scientific rather than classical, yet, with unwearied industry and extraordinary flexibility of mental power, he prepared to meet with promptitude and efficiency any demand which might be made upon him by his pupils, his colleagues, or his supporters. In the twenty-sixth year of his age he taught Latin, Greek, Hebrew, modern languages, oriental literature, logic, history, the principles of universal grammar, of criticism, of civil law, of oratory, and apparently of a great many other things. Having an impediment in his speech, of which he often complained, he nevertheless made it his 'province to teach elocution.' During the six years he continued at Warrington—that is, from 1761 to 1767—Arianism widely prevailed among the dissenting ministers of Lancashire, although he knew only one Unitarian. Speaking of his colleagues and of Mr. Seddon, the minister of Warrington, who frequently held meetings for friendly discussion, he says: 'I have often thought it not a little extraordinary that four persons who had no previous knowledge of each other should have been brought to unite in conducting such a scheme as this, and all

be zealous necessarians as we were. We were likewise all Arians, and the only subject of much importance on which we differed was respecting the doctrine of the atonement, concerning which Dr. Aikin held some obscure notions.*

It was 'not a little extraordinary' that the doctrine of philosophical necessity should have been then maintained by four presbyterian ministers, fortuitously brought together in one town, considering how generally the Presbyterians had lapsed into Arminianism, and how much they were influenced by that zealous defender of 'the liberty of the will,' Dr. Price of Newington. But the philosophy of Hartley was then beginning to influence one class of dissenting ministers, and the metaphysics of Edwards another. It is remarkable that these nonconforming necessarians, whether Arians or Calvinists, were not only 'very zealous' but uncommonly fierce in the defence of their favourite doctrine.†

Dr. Priestley's resignation of an office which must have been on many accounts very agreeable to him was occasioned by the inadequacy of his salary, and apparently by the apprehension of its diminution through the failure of several promised subscriptions. If the piety of these necessarians was nourished like that of their celebrated professor on Hartley's materialism, their generosity does not seem to have proportionately grown from the same aliment. It seems strange that the wealthy Presbyterians of Lancashire should allow such a man to leave them rather than provide the moderate income which he required for the support of his family. The pecuniary difficulties with which the academy was embarrassed prevented the trustees from filling the vacancy so effectually as they would gladly have done in more favourable circumstances. Mr. Seddon, the unwearied friend of the institution, was induced to take a part of the work resigned by Priestley, while Dr. Aikin in addition to his many engagements undertook to give instruction in the Greek and Latin

* *Memoirs of Priestley*, part i. p. 59.

† See a remarkable letter on this subject from that eminent Calvinist the Rev. Augustus Montague Toplady, addressed to Dr. Priestley, which, dated from Broad Henbury, thus commences:—

'REV. SIR,—Condescend to accept the thanks of a person who has not the honour of being acquainted with you, for the pleasure and improvement received from the perusal of your spirited (and for the most part just) animadversions on the three northern doctors. Allow me also to thank in an especial manner the good providence of God, which has raised up no less a man than yourself to contend so ably for the great doctrine of necessity, a doctrine, in my opinion, not only essential to sound and rational philosophy, but abstracted from which I could not, for my own part, consider Christianity itself as a defensible system.'—*Memoirs of Priestley*, part i. p. 257. Especial thanks to God for raising up Dr. Priestley to contend for a 'doctrine,' without which Christianity itself would not be 'a defensible system,' seems strange language from the lips of a high Calvinist. His defence of necessity seems to have sanctified the materialism, Socinianism, and all other heresies of Priestley in the estimate of an orthodox theologian who attacked the Arminianism of John Wesley with almost the venom and more than the coarseness of South. It is true that Toplady was not a dissenter, but he associated with the Calvinistic Dissenters, identified himself with the Calvinistic Methodists, preached in their tabernacles, and promoted their interests. Virtually, though not professedly, he belonged to them.

classics. On the death of Mr. Seddon in 1770, Dr. Enfield, at that time minister of the meeting-house in Benn's Gardens, Liverpool, succeeded both to the pulpit and to the academical chair of his accomplished friend. Although well qualified by his great attainments for the work of a tutor, Dr. Enfield does not appear, even in the estimate of his friends, to have wisely exercised the authority entrusted to him as the rector of the academy. His biographer says: 'In emergencies where firmness, resolution, and dignified severity were requisite, there was reason to apprehend a failure,' which, I suppose, is a euphemistic method of saying he did fail in emergencies. In fact, in his hands the discipline of the academy became inexcusably relaxed and irrecoverably lost. 'He was sometimes treated with a scornful insolence, which nothing but forbearance like his could tolerate. He made several attempts to deliver himself from his burden, and after the failure of repeated attempts to obtain a successor, he addressed a strong remonstrance to the trustees, which put an end to the institution.*

Not immediately. Some ineffectual attempts were made to preserve it, but after the lamented death of Dr. Aikin its recovery was hopeless. Subscribers became dissatisfied; few divinity students applied for admission: fewer still on completing their term of study succeeded in the dissenting ministry. The academy became unpopular in the town, and declined in the estimation of the congregations of the county. In 1781, Dr. Clayton of Liverpool, who had been a pupil of Doddridge, was invited to succeed Dr. Aikin as the divinity tutor. Unhappily for himself he accepted the invitation. After two years of irritating contention and hopeless anxiety, when every attempt to prolong the institution with credit had failed, he 'retired with broken spirits and shattered health,' and after some attempts to secure the services of eminent men to preside, the trustees announced the dissolution of the academy. It left a lamentable history, which, however, suggests the thought that the Dissenters of this age are wiser than were their fathers in the management of academical institutions.†

With Dr. Aikin were occasionally associated as assistants or colleagues some remarkable men, as George Walker, Gilbert Wakefield, and Pendlebury Houghton; but even their extraordinary abilities did little to prolong the existence of an institution which, from its

* *Monthly Repository*, vol. viii. p. 429. The only rector who successfully maintained good order was Mr. Seddon, although his method seems to us very strange. 'He kept a weekly register of all violations of the laws, which register was read over every Saturday afternoon *publicly* before all the students, and such reprimands and admonitions were given by him and the other tutors as to them seemed necessary.—*Monthly Repository*, vol. viii. p. 427.

† In 1785 proposals were made to the Rev. Thomas Belsham, the divinity tutor of the Daventry academy, to become the rector, and as these proposals were accompanied by an invitation to the pastorate of the presbyterian congregation, some hopes were entertained of a successful issue. The Rev. John Yates of Liverpool conducted the correspondence with Mr. Belsham on the subject. In his letters he intimated that if Mr. Belsham did not accept the proposal, the academy would probably be closed.—*Life of the Rev. Thomas Belsham*, by John Williams, pp. 264-318.

commencement to its close, had to struggle against the contentions of its supporters, the mismanagement of its trustees, the inability of its tutors to maintain discipline, and the unwillingness of its students to submit to authority.

Of nearly four hundred students who received more or less of their education at Warrington, several of whom became eminent in the medical or the legal profession, very few succeeded in the dissenting ministry, and of those few (if I compute rightly) only about six rendered any service to the presbyterian interest of the county for the benefit of which, according to the statements of the founders, the academy was originally established and laboriously sustained. The six to whom I refer were : Dr. Barnes, Mr. Ralph Harrison and Mr. John Gore of Manchester, Mr. John Yates and Mr. Pendlebury Houghton of Liverpool, and Mr. John Harrison of Lancaster.

In connection with Warrington academy, I may notice its restoration, or rather the establishment of a similar institution, in Manchester. It was hoped that the evils of the academy, which had rendered its suppression inevitable, might be avoided or corrected in an institution removed from the old associations, in a new situation, under new management, with new professors and new regulations. Manchester seemed to the committee selected for the management of the new institution to afford the most inviting situation, as it certainly provided two able and accomplished tutors, the Rev. Dr. Barnes and the Rev. Ralph Harrison, who, being resident in that town, could undertake the duties of their office without disturbing their official relations with their respective congregations. The new academy was opened with some formality in 1786, when 'a sermon was preached' by Mr. Harrison, and 'a discourse was delivered' by Dr. Barnes. In his public discourse the doctor candidly admits that 'every hope was at length cut off' of preserving or restoring the academy in Warrington. Its hopeless condition, if it had not previously been known, was thus made a matter of public notoriety by announcement from a Manchester pulpit. One of the reasons for selecting the situation of the academy for young divines seems to us very curious as it was expounded in the inaugural discourse : 'Of Manchester, much may be said in favour of the regularity of its police.' I do not profess to explain this reason, because I do not understand how divinity is best taught under the vigilant eye of a regular police. But the Manchester police seem to have been especial favourites of the founders of the academy. In their prospectus issued to conciliate support to their proposal, they observe that 'the town is remarkable for a well regulated police.' For their selection of Manchester they also offer another reason, which appears to me quite as unintelligible : 'The industry, ingenuity, and enterprising spirit which characterise the people cannot fail to influence by example, and may catch the minds of youth by a secret and powerful sympathy.' Great attention was promised, and I doubt not was paid, to the discipline of the college. According to the printed rules, 'no student shall be permitted to ride out of town, or to be in a tavern, without leave from Dr. Barnes or Mr. Harrison.' It was 'earnestly recommended to the students to use

great plainness in dress.' Taught 'by the experience of the academy at Warrington' of the evils of residence in one building, Dr. Barnes says: 'The safer maxim seems to be to divide in order to govern.' All this sounds strange in the ears of living people. But, notwithstanding the police, and the powerful sympathy, and the plain clothes, and the prohibition to ride, and the dividing to conquer, the new academy in Manchester was not more fortunate than its predecessor in Warrington. On the death of Dr. Barnes, the celebrated Dr. George Walker succeeded as theological professor, and in addition to the duties of his office he taught classics, mathematics, and, according to his biographer, almost everything else. 'The whole institution was upon his shoulders.' He seems, however, to have brought with him the evil genius of Warrington—a quarrelsome spirit. Old quarrels were revived, new quarrels excited. Dr. Walker misunderstood those who acted with him, or they misunderstood him. He seems to have assumed all sorts of work, and to have complained that all sorts of work were imposed upon him. The academy was removed from the county to York, where I have no doubt it was much better managed and much more successful. As, however, it returned to the county only for a short time, and on its final removal retained, so far as I know, no other connection with Lancashire than the name, 'The Manchester New College,' I have no reason to pursue its history any further.*

Soon after the establishment of the Warrington academy, an attempt was made by some of the Arian ministers to introduce a liturgical service into the presbyterian meeting-houses of the county. The ministers chiefly concerned in this project were Mr. Seddon of Warrington, Mr. Holland of Bolton, and Mr. Godwin of Gatacre. Each of these eminent men is said to have composed one service for the Sunday, and to have submitted it to the consideration and correction of the other two. Their book was printed, and became known as 'The Liverpool Liturgy.' The religious sentiments were vague and indefinite, as might have been expected from the declension of evangelical, and indeed of all earnest feeling which prevailed among the Dissenters of that time. It produced an angry controversy, and encountered so much opposition from some of the older ministers, and so much more from their congregations, who retained the puritan abhorrence of all formalities, that it was found impossible to introduce it into the old meeting-houses. Even where the ministers were favourable to its use, the people would have resisted its imposition, and would have seceded and formed independent societies had it been introduced into their venerable sanctuaries. In Liverpool, however, some wealthy Dissenters, either ashamed of the simplicity of their fathers' worship, or expecting to attract some dissatisfied members of the English Church to what might seem to them a corrected edition of their own formularies, erected an Octagon chapel, and introduced their reformed liturgy. In 1763 Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Clayton was invited to officiate in the chapel. The popular address, dignified

* I have been informed that the meetings of its supporters are still held in Manchester.



manner, and great respectability of the minister forbid us to attribute to him personally the failure of the undertaking. But fail it did, and that utterly. Few Church people came; those who did disliked the novelties; while the Presbyterians preferred the old associations of their fathers' sanctuary in Benn's Gardens, and the puritan simplicity which was there preserved, even when they had lost their love for the puritan doctrine. In his farewell sermon, Dr. Clayton acknowledged that the Octagon had proved an utter failure. The chapel was sold to a clergyman, who had it licensed for 'the genuine worship of the Church of England.' This failure affords another illustration of what I think is undeniable, that no liturgy other than that of the English Church is ever acceptable to English people. Many who dissent from some expressions in the English liturgy would, rather than use a different form of prayer, be silent while they are read, as the Jacobites in Manchester church were silent when the response was expected to the prayer for King George.*

The most memorable thing in this controversy was the earnest and effective protest against the introduction of a liturgy into the sanctuaries of nonconformity, written by Dr. Taylor amidst the infirmities and sorrows of his old age. Roused by what he considered a grievous betrayal of the principles of his fathers, he felt his mental power undiminished by bodily weakness, as he never in the days of his strength wrote anything more eloquent or vigorous than his pamphlet entitled 'The Scripture Account of Prayer, an Address to the Dissenters of Lancashire, occasioned by a New Liturgy some Ministers of that County are composing for the use of a Congregation in Liverpool.' He breathed his last before the pamphlet was brought through the press. His eloquent eulogy on the founders of Nonconformity, and especially on the 'burning and shining lights' of Lancashire, has already been cited in this narrative. After referring to 'their great devotion and eminent ability in prayer, uttered as God enabled them from the abundance of their hearts and affections, men of great eloquence in pleading at the throne of grace, raising and melting the affections of their hearers, and being happily instrumental in transfusing into their souls the same spirit and heavenly gift,' the dying Nonconformist utters his last lamentation over the decline of nonconformity, which he had done much to hasten: 'Now, alas! we are pursuing measures which have a manifest tendency to extinguish the light which they kindled, to damp the spirit which they enlivened, and to dissipate and dissolve the societies which they raised and formed.' Alas! Dr. John Taylor had good reason to exclaim 'alas!' when he compared the nonconformity of Lancashire as he knew it in his boyhood with the nonconformity of Lancashire as he observed it in his old age. 'How is the gold become dim! How is the most fine gold changed!'

* *Forms of Prayer for the use of a Congregation of Protestant Dissenters in Manchester* were printed in Birmingham, 1789, pp. 100.

CHAPTER XX.

MODERN DISSENT.

ABOUT the middle of the last century might be observed the rise of what with some, although not with exact, propriety has been called the New Dissent. The phrase is not accurate, at least in the extent in which it is frequently used, because several congregations included in that designation occupy the sanctuaries of their fathers, or others that have been erected on their sites, and retain an uninterrupted succession of ministers originating in the beginning of nonconformity. Its congregations also have adhered to the articles of the old theology, and have preserved, with a few unimportant variations, the forms, services, and traditions of the early Dissenters. It is true that the old dissenting congregations who have retained the puritan doctrines, as well as those of more modern foundation, have generally assumed the name of 'Independents,' but their great principle, the self-government of each separate society, was, after the Act of Toleration, practically the principle of all the three denominations. They have also retained or adopted quite as many of the forms and methods of the early Presbyterians as have the Arians or Unitarians, who have been sometimes considered as entitled to the name of the Old Dissent. Although the modern Independents are not Presbyterians, they are quite as much so as the congregations which retain that designation. They have, in fact, as much presbyterianism as any English Nonconformists (I exclude Scotchmen) ever had since nonconformity obtained a legal standing in this country. The modern Independents have, moreover, renounced most of the peculiarities by which their fathers were distinguished from the Presbyterians. They no longer acknowledge the distinction of pastor and teacher; they are no longer troubled with 'the gifted brethren;' their ministers occupy a position in almost every respect more like that of the old presbyterian minister than that of the old independent teacher; and their deacons are entrusted with much of the spiritual service which was entrusted to the ruling elders of the Presbyterians. Practically the deacons' vestry is the elders' court, or the kirk session, at least quite as much so as any committee of English Presbyterians. In all important respects the modern Independents, more nearly than the Unitarian dissenters, resemble the old Presbyterians. In some particulars both parties, though in a different manner, have introduced innovations which have neither improved nor strengthened the original dissent. The intimate connection and blending of the two denominations were especially apparent in Lancashire, where, from the Act of Uniformity, Newcome, Harrison, Heywood, and the other presbyterian leaders

came to a good understanding and harmonious co-operation with Jollie, Eaton, Birch, and their independent brethren.

On the other hand, there arose in the last century so complete a disruption on account of doctrinal differences among the Dissenters, that new names became necessary to distinguish the two parties. Neither was presbyterian. The lineal connection of those called Presbyterians with the old nonconformity may have been more apparent, since they have retained the greater number of its sanctuaries and endowments, especially in Lancashire, while the rapid rise of independent congregations, having no lineal connection with the earlier and formed by a new agency, may authorise our calling them, even when united with the older Calvinism, by the name of Modern Dissent. Stronger objections may be felt to calling the Unitarian party the Old Dissent, as they have much less than the modern Congregationalists of the traditions of the early Nonconformists. The names, however, are convenient, as they express my meaning better than the terms Presbyterian and Independent. I am willing to accept them from Unitarian writers who consider themselves the representatives of the old dissent.*

I have already noticed the prevalence of Arianism in the middle of the last century among the dissenting ministers of Lancashire. To many persons perplexed with expositions of the doctrine of the Trinity, and yet regarding unitarianism both as opposed to any fair interpretation of the New Testament, and as derogatory to the dignity of the Founder of their Faith, Arianism seemed to afford a quiet and promising resting-place between two offensive extremes. It appeared so to many who were educated in the dissenting academies. Their teachers naturally cherished, in those quiet retreats from the discussions of the world, a love of moderation and a dislike to extreme opinions. There prevailed in them a disposition to avoid giving offence to either party in the controversy which was beginning to disturb the peace of the Nonconformists' little world. There was inculcated a reverential submission to the letter of Scripture, to which Arianism appealed, while Unitarianism did violence to all their traditional canons of interpretation. But somehow or other Arianism did not long continue to be the creed of any church. It was not the resting-place which it promised to become to the dissenting ministers who first listened to its proposals. Many of them who, in the last century, became Arians in their youth, avowed, like Dr. Priestley, Socinianism in their old age; † while others, as if afraid of the consequences of the change, quietly retraced their steps, and returned to the old theology. Some seemed so perplexed as to be afraid to commit themselves to any definite expression of opinion on the person of Christ. Of those who retained the Arian doctrine to the close of their ministry, if they survived the last century, very

* I refer chiefly to Mr. Hunter, who, in his *Life of Oliver Heywood*, thus distinguishes the old and the new dissent.

† I here use the word 'Socinianism,' not offensively, but because Dr. Priestley used it. I think it wrong to call any persons by a name which they dislike, even though I do not know why they should dislike it.

few had successors to perpetuate their faith in their own pulpits. The decline of Arianism has been so decided that I know not an Arian minister preaching in Lancashire, or indeed in any part of England.

The Arian ministers were usually quiet, peaceable, pleasant pastors, not addicted to controversy, but trying to make their preaching agreeable and useful to all parties. They seldom roused the bad feelings of their regular hearers by any direct or earnest opposition to the traditions of their fathers. In many instances the Arian doctrine was never distinctly asserted in the pulpit, and in many others it was proposed as a personal opinion of the preacher to which he had no desire to convert his hearers. Many of them held, more or less distinctly, the doctrine of the atonement. Whenever they spoke of the death of Christ, they spoke of it, in some vague sense, as redeeming sinners from guilt and misery. What Priestley said of Dr. Aikin might be said of many of his time: 'He held some obscure notions respecting the doctrine of the atonement.' Without making myself responsible for an uncharitable clause in the extract, I might say of their doctrine what a writer in the 'Monthly Repository' says of Dr. John Taylor's: 'His doctrine of the atonement was an ingenious attempt to construct a scheme which should be consistent with the moral perfections of the Father of mercies, and at the same time enable a man to use the language of reputed orthodoxy.' While I do not endorse the insinuation that the Arian ministers ingeniously contrived to 'construct a scheme,' they did 'use the language of reputed orthodoxy' in a manner to be attributed not so much to ingenious contrivance, as to vague and obscure views belonging to the transitional state through which they were passing.

But their preaching did no good. It did not meet the wants of their age. The vagueness of their opinions, and the want of decision in their expression, gave an appearance of doubt, indifference, or apathy to their preaching, and appearance in them became reality to their hearers. Unless the preachers were, like Dr. Barnes, endowed with considerable oratorical power, their congregations declined, the younger members of their families forsook them and went, if anywhere, to church. Strangers brought under religious influence, instead of joining them, were attracted by the earnest and lively preaching of men who seemed to them irregular and unauthorised, encroaching upon their boundaries and disturbing their quietude, but who believed what they said, felt what they preached, and were intent, with God's help, on making others believe and feel as they did. The old dissent seemed nigh unto death, and many of its foes predicted, as some of its friends feared, that it would not outlive the eighteenth century, or outlive it in no other sense than as a few old ministers lived upon its endowments.

Some of the Arian preachers, especially those whose Arianism was of the form most nearly resembling orthodoxy, were very much afraid of what they called Socinianism, and spoke of it as likely to prove destructive to the dissenting interest. Had it been so, it would only, so far as their interests were concerned, have been death to the

dying, destruction to that which was ready to perish. In some instances it probably hastened the dissolution of Arian congregations, but in others it awakened interest by its novelty, or by the earnestness, ability, or ingenuity of its advocates. Even a fierce polemic in the pulpit excited more attention than a reverend man who seemed to preach in his sleep to a sleeping congregation. If he repelled some of the old hearers, he attracted new ones, and infused among the people who remained some party spirit, some interest in the new doctrine, and some zeal for its promulgation.

But the revival of religion in the spirit and after the traditions of the original Nonconformists came about in another manner in the latter part of the eighteenth century. We have to trace the growth of the evangelical dissent in Lancashire until it became the power it now is in that county.

Although the present Congregationalism of Lancashire is, in its doctrine, its principles, and its spirit, really the old nonconformity, in only a few instances can its lineal descent be directly traced from the old congregations. In a few instances, however, it can; and as they show how naturally and easily presbyterianism, where it retained its original doctrine, passed into modern congregationalism, I had better notice them before I describe the rise of other congregations in the principal towns of the county. The congregations to which I refer are those at St. Helen's, Greenacres, Darwen, Whitworth, Elswick, and the "little flock" at Tockholes, almost lost in the transition of which I have spoken.

The Nonconformists of St. HELEN's, as I have already said, retained possession of the ancient chapel of the town until after the death of their minister, Mr. Naylor, in 1710, when they resigned it to the bishop of the diocese, and erected a meeting-house into which they could introduce a minister of their own choice. During the critical time of transition, from 1710 to 1770, when so many of the Lancashire societies lapsed from their early faith, only two ministers occupied the pulpit, both of whom were decidedly evangelical, and were well qualified by their ability and character to maintain the influence and popularity of the old doctrine. During the prolonged ministry of the Rev. Joseph Gellibrand and the Rev. Jonathan Mercer, the congregation, though called presbyterian, was practically regulated in accordance with congregational principles. After a short interval, in which the pulpit was occupied by the Rev. Samuel Braybrooke, a student from Daventry, under whose ministry the congregation considerably declined, the people, unwilling to negotiate with another Daventry student, and estimating their religious principles as of greater importance than an unmeaning designation, obtained a minister from the independent academy then recently established at Heckmondwike. Under the ministry of the Rev. Isaac Sharp, the old faith was perpetuated, the evangelical spirit was revived, and the congregation increased, until it became, what Dr. Raffles says it was when he first knew it, 'the most respectable congregation for wealth, numbers, and talent, in the county.'*

* *Independency in St. Helen's.* See the speech delivered by Dr. Raffles on occasion of the jubilee meeting of the Sunday School in that town.

during the pastorate of Mr. Sharp, making no other change than that of avowing the principles in accordance with which it had acted from the day it left the episcopal chapel, connected itself with the Congregational Union of Lancashire.

In many respects the history of the dissenting congregation at GREENACRES resembles that of the congregation at St. Helen's. The Rev. Robert Constantine, the ejected minister of Oldham, who founded the interest in 1672, lived until the close of 1699. Although he was too infirm to discharge the duties of the pastoral office, his affectionate people seem not to have secured any successor until after his decease. The Rev. Benjamin Denton, who commenced his ministry about 1700, continued with the people until his death in 1743. Thus for seventy-one years the people had known only two pastors. Mr. Denton was succeeded by the Rev. James Burgess, a firm adherent of the old puritan theology. Under his ministry, and that of his successor the Rev. Edward Harrison, who, having no academical training, had what the people valued far more, an earnest desire to teach evangelical doctrine, the congregation preserved the faith of its founder, and by an easy and natural transition scarcely noticed in its history, became connected with the independent churches of the county as one of their own denomination.*

The history of dissent in DARWEN is unlike that of dissent in St. Helen's or in Greenacres Moor. The tradition of the Darwen people, the truth of which nobody doubts, is that 'our fathers worshipped in this mountain.' Before the Revolution the Nonconformists of the neighbourhood are said to have held their religious services in an unfrequented part of the moors, near the spot where the Lower Chapel was afterwards erected.† Their first minister was Mr. Charles Seager (or Sager), who had been educated in St. John's College, Oxon. On his leaving the university, he was appointed master of the public school at Blackburn, where he gained the respect and confidence of the governors as well as of the neighbouring gentry, and was allowed to retain his office for some years after the passing of the Act of Uniformity. While at Blackburn he frequently preached in the neighbouring villages, and especially to a congregation accustomed to meet on the hills of Darwen. Some Churchmen, having discovered that he had not conformed, insisted upon his dismissal from his office as master of the school, and afterwards Major Nowell (whom Calamy calls 'his great enemy') sent him to Lancaster Castle, where he was confined for several months. On his release he resumed his preaching at Darwen, and after the passing of the Act of Toleration he licensed a large barn, and had it fitted and adapted for religious services. His eminently useful ministry was well sustained by his affectionate spirit and blameless life. He died in 1697, and was of course buried near the pulpit of his humble sanctuary.‡

* *History of Greenacres Chapel*, by the Rev. Geo. G. Waddington.

† The Lower Chapel, often supposed by strangers to be situated in the valley, is inconveniently high on the mountain. It was called the Lower Chapel because another chapel stood a few yards higher on the ascent.

‡ Palmer's *Nonconformist's Memorial*, vol. i. p. 335. For some reason which I

He was succeeded in 1701 by the Rev. Griffith Griffiths, an earnest, affectionate, soul-stirring Welshman, whose popular preaching attracted greater numbers to the meeting-house than it could accommodate. The people, therefore, resolved to build a new sanctuary. Having purchased a piece of land a few yards distant from the old place, they set to work, minister and people, men, women, and children; everybody who could do anything did something with a spade, or a barrow, or a trowel, or carpenters' tools, or with something else. In a short time the building was completed, sufficiently large to accommodate a thousand people. Though rudely, it must have been well built in 1719, for it remains to the present time, having been on that bleak mountain exposed to many a storm. Mr. Griffiths continued minister there for many years, and on his death, previously to 1737, he was laid in his proper place near the stairs of his pulpit.*

After his death, during the time of doctrinal transition among the Dissenters, the pulpit was occupied by preachers who gave little prominence to their doctrine whatever it may have been, or stayed too short a time to leave any definite impression upon the people, or, like the good man in both cap and wig, were careful to give no offence to any party.†

There was, however, one exception. A student from Daventry preached Unitarianism, and afterwards denied that he had preached anything of the kind. His conduct, however, became so irregular and immoral as to render his ministrations intolerable. Whether he was or was not a Unitarian, the people believed he was one, and imputed to his doctrine the scandal of his life.

Amidst these changes the congregation sank into a low state of irreligion and even of immorality. While they retained some sort of connection with the old sanctuary, many of them seldom attended its

cannot discover, Palmer places him in Derbyshire. His contiguity to Blackburn and imprisonment in Lancaster might have shown that the scene of his ministry was Darwen in Lancashire.

* Letter of Rev. Mr. Blake and MS. of Rev. Richard Bowdon, cited in Dr. Raffles's *Collections*. Dr. Raffles has preserved a curious anecdote of this good Welshman which, if not true, deserves to be. It is given on the authority of one of his successors. During the time of his ministry, the black cap of the puritan minister was going out of fashion in genteel congregations. Some of the young people of Darwen had been to Liverpool, and had seen the graceful wigs which polite ministers wore in that town. Esteeming their minister worthy of so honourable a decoration, they generously purchased one for him. The old gentleman, pleased with this mark of respect from his young friends, somewhat incautiously, without consulting the elders, appeared the next Sunday doing duty in his fashionable wig. It was a sad scandal to the elders. Was their minister conforming to the fashions of the world? Or was it a new sort of conformity to the Church? Had he appeared in a surplice, they could not have been more offended. They left the place, and in the afternoon their seats were vacant. The good minister was sorely distressed. He wished to conciliate both old and young, and succeeded by appearing the next Sunday with his black cap over his wig, the graceful curls of which hung beneath it. Endeavouring to 'please all men in all things,' he seems to have succeeded.

† Among them was the Rev. Joseph Barrett, afterwards well known and greatly respected as the minister of Carter Lane, Doctors' Commons.

religious services, and of many others it was not easy to explain the more regular attendance. They had a sort of proprietary interest in the Lower Chapel, for there were their family pews, there they were baptised, and there they claimed their burial-places inside or outside the building. It was commonly said that if all the Lower Chapel people had gone on the same Sunday to their sanctuary, they could not have found room within its walls. There was, however, little fear of such a crowd. The Rev. Richard Bowdon, who was invited to be their minister in 1797, says of them: 'Among the people were professed infidels, while the greater part were working all iniquity with greediness. Many, however, were sufficiently religious to express their approbation of earnest and faithful address, when delivered from the pulpit.'

In the winter of 1805, as he was returning late in the evening with his wife from a Christmas party, his horse was carried down the overflowing water of the Darwen stream, his wife was drowned, and his own life was in imminent peril. Deeply affected by his danger and deliverance, he from that time preached more earnestly, and the people, careless and wicked as many of them had been, felt the power of his new manner of preaching. An extraordinary revival of evangelical and practical religion was the happy result. The majority of the congregation were established in the truth, and regarded it as the power and grace of God for their salvation.*

Since the removal of Mr. Bowdon the congregation has obtained an uninterrupted succession of evangelical ministers, as have several other congregations which have been formed from it.

The congregation founded at WHITWORTH, near Rochdale, was, in the middle of the last century, in a state of indifference or uncertainty respecting religious doctrine. For some time the people listened to the preaching of a student from Warrington, who did not succeed (even if he made the attempt) in promoting the Arianism which he is supposed to have held. He was succeeded by Mr. Titus Cordingley, 'a very useful and acceptable minister.'† His successor was an extraordinary man. Although not a Calvinist, for he seems to have held the theological opinions of John Wesley, the Rev. James Burgess zealously preached the puritan doctrines of justification by faith, salvation by grace, redemption by the death of Christ, and regeneration by the influence of the Holy Spirit. Living by this faith, he laboured earnestly to establish it in his church and promote it in his neighbourhood. But he was a strange as well as an evangelical preacher. When his wild imagination gained the ascendancy over his judgment, he often startled his hearers by his incautious and extravagant assertions.‡ As years advanced he became moderate and sober-minded. His later method of preaching may be conjectured from the charge he gave to Mr. Towers, his successor,

* *Memorial of the Power and Grace of God manifested in the Account of the recent Awakening and Conversion of many Persons in the village of Darwen.* London, 1806.

† Dr. Raffles's MSS.

‡ One of his strange sermons was printed, and is still preserved as a curiosity. It is entitled *Beelzebub driving and drowning his Hogs.*

'to preach doctrines practically, and to enforce duties evangelically.' The congregation, originally presbyterian, thus became connected with the Congregationalists.

The presbyterian congregation at **ELSWICK**, founded immediately after the Act of Uniformity, was, in the last century, very much in the same state with regard to doctrine as that of Darwen or of Whitworth. I have already observed that the Rev. Cuthbert Harrison obtained a licence for the parochial chapel in 1672. After his death the place was occupied by ministers who had been educated at Kendal or at Warrington, under whose ministrations the congregation gradually declined, while no very definite influence was felt in forming or modifying their religious opinions. The few people who remained in connection with the chapel were willing to hear any plain and earnest man who would teach them 'the way of the Lord more perfectly.' In the year 1780, Mr. Robert Simpson (afterwards Dr. Simpson of Hoxton Academy), having completed his term of study at the Independent academy of Heckmondwike, became the pastor of the church. Although he continued but a short time in this retired situation, he excited so much interest by his earnest and affectionate preaching, and his devoted and exemplary life, that on his departure the people would listen to the preaching of no other gospel than that which he had preached. Simpson was their model minister, and as they found no one like him among the Presbyterians, they connected themselves with the congregational denomination. We shall soon meet with their beloved pastor settled and doing good service in Bolton.

The presbyterian meeting-house in **TOCKHOLES**, near Blackburn, was, as I have already observed, erected soon after the passing of the Act of Toleration. Although the congregation was small, it had for a considerable time a kind of respectability under the countenance and patronage of the great family of Hoghton Tower. I can scarcely say it flourished under their liberality as well as their patronage, for they did not consider it beneath their dignity to allow their minister to derive a considerable part of his support from the funds of the London mercers, grocers, and other traders. In this respect, however, they were not worse, but rather better, than many other wealthy nonconforming families in the county. Among the earliest ministers of Tockholes were Mr. Atkinson and Mr. James Towers, under whose ministry about one hundred persons from the neighbouring farms, together with the servants of 'the Tower,' usually attended. Both of them were strictly orthodox.* The former was a sound, if not a high, Calvinist, as appears from a treatise which he published on 'God's Sovereign Election.'

Mr. Towers was succeeded, though not immediately, by Mr. James Scott, a native of North Britain. At the time of his settlement, the presbyterian congregations of Lancashire were generally falling into that state of religious declension which I have already described.

* Letter of the Rev. Noah Blackburn, afterwards minister of Tockholes, cited in Dr. Raffles's MSS. Article *Tockholes*, in his *Nonconformist Churches of Lancashire*.

So far as the devotional feeling of the people of Tockholes was concerned, Mr. Scott did much to raise and sustain it by his plain, affectionate, and earnest preaching; and as to their doctrine, he took the most effectual means of securing its orthodoxy, not by controversy, but by inducing almost all of them to learn the Assembly's Catechism. As he made his pastoral visits, he catechised the several families, of which 'some more than seventy years old would stand up like children,' and repeat the answers of the catechism to his great satisfaction.* Mr. Scott removed to Heckmondwike in Yorkshire, where he was greatly respected and eminently useful.

He was succeeded by Thomas Waldegrave, a converted Papist, who, Dr. Raffles says, 'was almost deified in Tockholes and Manchester.' He removed to Bury St. Edmunds, and eventually rose to the dignity of a 'Tabernacle supply' in London, where he annually collected great crowds to hear his fervid declamation.†

Mr. Waldegrave was followed by James McQuhae, who had been educated at Edinburgh for the ministry of the Antiburghers. During some years he laboured at Tockholes, where, although the congregation was very small, he never preached without committing his sermon to memory. As his thoughtful preaching brought several Scotchmen from Blackburn to hear him, they induced him to remove to their town, where they could regularly attend on his ministry. We shall meet with him again doing a good work in his new situation.‡

* Information of his successor, the Rev. Noah Blackburn, in Dr. Raffles's MSS. Instead of observing the orthodox custom of burying his family inside the meeting-house, he had his wife interred outside in a grave which, when preaching, he could see through the window, 'that he might be perpetually reminded of his own dissolution.'

† Memoir in *Evangelical Magazine*, vol. xxii. p. 262.

‡ While he was at Tockholes he was charged by some of the neighbouring ministers with trimming, so as to please the Hoghton family, who were then supposed to have departed from the doctrine of their fathers. Dr. Raffles supplies the following anecdote, which he heard from that unfailing repository of dissenting anecdotes, Mr. Charrier of Liverpool. Mr. McQuhae complained of a sermon preached at a meeting of ministers, as deficient in evangelical doctrine, and said to his brethren at the dinner-table, 'It is not, as they say, that I have a crop for all sorts of corn.' 'No,' replied Mr. Charrier, 'they say you have corn for all sorts of crops.' Another statement, however, respecting Sir Henry Hoghton, the last baronet who attended the meeting-house at Tockholes, scarcely harmonises with the notion that he wished ministers to 'trim.' To Mr. Waldegrave, his favourite preacher, he frequently said, as well as to the praying members of the congregation, 'Pray for me! for there are very few in my situation that go to heaven.' Dr. Raffles makes this statement on the authority of the Rev. Noah Blackburn.—MSS. as before.

Among other curious information, Dr. Raffles supplies in his MSS. the following, as communicated to him by the Rev. Noah Blackburn and the Rev. Peter Samuel Charrier. A very strongly marked separation distinguished Dissenters and Churchmen in that neighbourhood. People never thought of changing their religion. Church folk were Church folk through life, and Presbyterians were Presbyterians, and their children after them. If a Churchman married a presbyterian woman (a very unusual occurrence), each continued to attend the accustomed place of worship, while, of their children, the boys uniformly went with their father, and the girls with their mother, to church or meeting as the case might be. A conversion of a brother to his sister's religion was scarcely ever known. The old puritan notions of athletic sports were long preserved in that presbyterian society. Dr. Raffles

Among his successors were Mr. Noah Blackburn, afterward of Delph, Mr. Thomas Whiteley, and some others who remained only a short time. The congregation, as may be supposed, is now very small, although it has retained its ancient faith and, I hope, its first love, in all the changes through which it has passed.

From the preceding statements it appears that Congregational Dissent gained no strong or prominent position in Lancashire until after the middle of the last century. The old Independency, never powerful in that county, had become closely connected, or rather identified, with what was often, though improperly, called Presbyterianism, while the few Nonconformist congregations, whether originally Presbyterian or Independent, which had retained the faith of their founders, readily associated in one denomination with the dissenting societies which, assuming a somewhat new form of congregational nonconformity, were rising and rapidly growing around their ancient sanctuaries. These old congregations, the reader may have observed, were small, feeble, and situate in rural if not obscure villages. In the great towns—Manchester, Liverpool, Bolton, Rochdale, Bury, Preston, Lancaster, Warrington, Wigan—there was in the early part of the last century no professedly congregational church of any importance.

Several causes contributed to the production, vitality, and growth of the new congregationalism, or rather to the revival of evangelical nonconformity. The Methodists soon came into Lancashire, and found there the means and opportunity of doing a great and good work. John Wesley, on his first visit to Manchester, as he belonged to no party, was allowed, as we have seen, to preach to the Tories in the collegiate church, and to the Whigs in St. Ann's; although on subsequent visits he produced upon the crowds who heard him in unconsecrated places, as barns or factories, more deep and permanent impressions than he had ever produced upon the genteel people assembled in either ecclesiastical edifice. Many of his hearers, retaining their religious impressions after he had left them, gladly associated in various places and with different forms, anywhere or anyhow, as they could, with preachers or without them, for their mutual edification and comfort. Their prayer-meetings and other irregular services, as they were called, produced an interest in religious truths which spread among many of the Dissenters, and was received by them as a revival of the religious life of the Heywoods, the Jollies, and the other fathers of Nonconformity. In many respects the Methodist resembled the old Puritan, as his descendants knew him by their family traditions, or read of him in their favourite books. But they saw resemblance with difference. The methodist doctrine was not exactly that of their fathers, nor was the manner of preaching says, 'Church members and deacons would go a-hunting or shooting, and never dream of any impropriety in the practice.' Why should their sleep be disturbed by such dreams of impropriety? Dissenting ministers eat with as little scruple as most men a hare or a partridge for supper, and 'never dream of any impropriety.' Why should my dear friend have supposed that evil dreams would scare the huntsman or sportsman, rather than the parson who feasted on the game?

according to their model. They were interested, excited, stimulated, but they wanted for their spiritual nourishment something different from that which they found in the Wesleyan services. The chapels were not meeting-houses, though often very much like them. Many Dissenters religiously affected, feeling no personal obligation to Mr. Wesley, preferred to obtain religious instruction in the orthodox way of their childhood and of their fathers, though with more life than their fathers knew, rather than to connect themselves with the new religious organisation spreading around them. Preachers adapted to this class of hearers occasionally appeared in different parts of the county. Some of them preached according to the Calvinistic theology of the Puritans, and inculcated the principles of the Assembly's Catechism. Others confined themselves to earnest, evangelical, practical preaching, without startling their dissenting hearers with the strange and unmeaning conventionalisms of the Wesleyan fraternity—free will, falling from grace, experiencing justification, and obtaining perfection. As these preachers, many of whom, like St. Paul, worked with their own hands to minister to their necessities, said little, and probably cared little, about ecclesiastical polity, their hearers, even if they had not been previously connected with dissenting churches, easily and naturally adopted the simplest form of congregational organisation, that is, the form which allows any number of people, who meet in one place for their mutual edification, to make such regulations as may seem to them most convenient and useful. Such congregations in a short time became Independent churches, often acting on the advice of some neighbouring Independent minister.

The growth of congregationalism may also, in some degree, be attributed to the immigration of many Scotch weavers and traders into the manufacturing and commercial districts of the county. These strangers, disliking a liturgical service, and finding the doctrine of the English Presbyterians very unlike the gospel of the Shorter Catechism, were pleased to find in the independent meeting-houses the doctrine and services of their own kirk. They naturally sought, or were induced to accept, religious association with the people most like themselves. Although they were occasionally troublesome to their new associates about very small matters, and desired a closer approximation to their own modes of government, they were compelled to acquiesce, as they were neither sufficiently numerous nor sufficiently generous to erect sanctuaries in which they could worship according to their own pleasure. Many of them, on growing accustomed to the congregational discipline, overcame their early prejudices, and became its able and decided advocates. The Scottish element was not without its influence in forming the character of Lancashire congregationalism. To a considerable extent it counteracted some irregular and unpuritanic tendencies which had come from methodistical association. Organs, for instance, would have been set up earlier in many independent meeting-houses, had it not been for the strong opposition of Scotchmen to 'that profane noise' of machinery.

The change, on occasion of a vacancy in a nonconformist pulpit, from an Arian to a Unitarian preacher, contributed in many places to the growth, and in some to the formation, of congregational churches. On the death of a quiet, peaceable, charitable Arian minister, the introduction into his pulpit of a Unitarian, especially if he were gifted with controversial powers and fond of exhibiting them, frequently caused a considerable secession from the presbyterian meeting-house. In some instances the seceders returned to the Established Church, but in many, especially where the congregational minister was a peaceable man and a good preacher, they united with the Congregationalists. This I can elucidate by my own recollections. Although I settled in Manchester nearly thirty years after the death of Dr. Barnes, the last Arian minister of the venerable sanctuary in Cross Street, I found several old people in the congregational societies of that town who had been his regular hearers, and even devoted admirers. They had much of primitive puritanism about them. Although not avowedly Arians, they would have gladly listened to a peaceable, moderate sort of Arian, preaching evangelically, or making use of puritan phraseology. Above all things they disliked controversial preaching, whether on the side of Arianism or of Calvinism. In the large towns of Lancashire, almost all the congregational churches had, in the early part of this century, some representatives of the presbyterian nonconformity which was passing away.

The growth of congregationalism at the time of which I have been speaking may, to a great extent, be attributed to the torpid state of the Established Church, and to the incompetency, indolence, and even immorality of many of its clergy. Happily, this state of clerical delinquency has passed away, and it is not pleasant to refer to its past existence. The truth, however, must be told. The clergy who complain so bitterly of the growth of dissent should be taught that the only remedy for the evil which so grievously troubles them is to be found in a course of conduct on their part the reverse of that which, in the days of their fathers, brought upon their Church the loss of the religious part of the middle classes of society. Lancashire was not without its proportion of ignorant, negligent, worldly, and even immoral clergymen; and the English Church, never very strong in that county, suffered there a loss quite proportionate to its loss in other parts of England. Methodism and congregationalism were the denominations which, on the revival of religion, obtained the larger part of the religious people who left the Church of England.

When so many people, influenced by devout feeling, were leaving the national Church, attempts were made in several populous towns, as in Manchester, Preston, and Rochdale, to form congregations either in connection with the Calvinistic Methodists, or in no recognised connection with any nonconformist denomination. Seceding from the English Church because they desired more earnest and evangelical preaching, or more free and unrestrained exercise of their religious activities, than they could obtain in the Establishment,

many zealous persons met for worship as they found opportunity, erected sanctuaries which they called chapels, encouraged a more free and animated style of preaching than that of either the church or the meeting-house, introduced the liturgy, provided clerical robes for their preachers, set up organs, instituted evening services, and although they required the reading of prayers, with some inconsistency would not tolerate the reading of sermons. For some time their chapels succeeded. Large congregations were brought together, especially in the evenings, of religious people who cared little about the old reasons of nonconformity, and whose only inducement to go to chapel was, that they liked its services better than those to which they had been accustomed at church. But, somehow or other, notwithstanding their auspicious commencement, the preachers of these chapels, often boasting that they had the advantages of both Church and dissent without the evils of either, failed to retain the congregations which they had attracted. Their hearers, frequently, on the settlement of a better preacher or a better man than the clergyman whose ministry they had forsaken, returned to the religious home of their youth. Others became theoretically as well as practically dissenters, avowed their principles, and joined the congregational societies of their respective neighbourhoods. Many were induced to frequent those meeting-houses where the dissenting ministers, either from preference or from policy, adopted the popular style of methodistical preaching which, however intelligent readers may wonder, has done marvellous good to the common people of this county wherever it has been well managed and well supported by a blameless life. And further, like the Unitarians of Liverpool in the last century, many Calvinists of Manchester and Preston in the present, disliking to hear the liturgy out of its proper place, the parish church, either went to enjoy it there, or worshipped without it in the meeting-house.* So complete has been their failure that, of several Calvinistic Methodist chapels which were erected in the county in the beginning of this century, some in the connection of the Countess of Huntingdon and others distinct from it, that in Rochdale is, I believe, the only one that still retains its original character and formularies. However their failure may be regretted on account of the good influence they once exercised upon a class of persons usually neglected by the Church and inaccessible to dissent, it has proved a source of considerable increase and strength to the congregationalism of the county. Nor has their brief existence been without some influence upon the form and character, as well as upon the strength of nonconformity. A few of their ministers became pastors of congregational churches, and, like Mr. Roby of Manchester, were among the best pastors those churches ever acquired. In many instances, congregational ministers wisely adopted their free mode of preaching,

* In my younger days I knew good people who, although they had no objection to hear dissenting ministers pray or preach, thought them chargeable with arrogant assumption if they read the liturgy, which belonged not to them but to the clergy of the Church of England. Some such feeling still lingers in country villages.

foolishly their semi-clerical robes, and, whether wisely or foolishly I leave musical people to determine, their instrumental music. Since the introduction of these changes, the meeting-houses have gradually but generally assumed the name of chapels.

Still more than to any of these causes, the vigorous growth of congregationalism in Lancashire in the latter part of the eighteenth and beginning of the present century is to be attributed, under God, to several ministers who, by their earnest preaching and incessant working, raised new congregations or revived old ones in many parts of the county, and excited a spirit like their own among the people of their charge. Not only by their powerful preaching, which, when there were few effective preachers near them, worked wonders in the land, but also by the instrumentality which they originated for the promulgation of their evangelical doctrine, they produced a great change in the religious character of many of the principal towns and populous villages of the county. These men, not content with preaching as often as their strength and pastoral duties would allow, induced itinerant preachers to visit the places which in their neighbourhood were destitute of religious instruction, often afforded these itinerants guidance and help as to their manner of preaching, promoted the building of chapels, encouraged the opening of Sunday schools, and in short began that evangelical work which, carried on by successors inspired by their spirit and cheered by their success, has given, in place of the few evangelical nonconforming societies of the past century, the hundred and seventy congregational churches which are now established in the county. Some of these churches consist singly of as many members as would be nearly equal in number to the membership, taken collectively, of all the congregational churches which existed in Lancashire in the year 1748.* Congregationalism, which was at that time, relatively to other denominations, feebler in Lancashire than in any other populous county of England, has now, estimated in the same manner, become probably stronger than in any other. The men who did this great work are well worthy of being kept in remembrance; and although I can attribute it especially or pre-eminently to no one workman, I can easily select a few of the more prominent and successful.

I have already noticed the good service done to the dissenting interest in Lancashire by two Scotchmen, who began their ministry in the old presbyterian meeting-houses of two obscure villages of the county, Mr. McQuhae in Tockholes and Mr. Simpson in Elswick. They continued their labours with great energy and success, the former in Blackburn, the latter in Bolton.

The Rev. JAMES MCQUHAE removed from Tockholes to Blackburn about the year 1777. The few English Nonconformists who resided previously to that time in Blackburn had been connected with the

* In the *Congregational Year Book* for 1868 the Independent chapels of the Lancashire Union are enumerated as two hundred and thirty-three, with a fellowship of 20,362 members. Looking to the accounts of one hundred and twenty years ago, I do not know where to find five, or even two, consisting of a hundred members.

congregation meeting in the Lower Chapel, Darwen. Their fathers had thought little of the inconvenience of travelling three miles out and home every Sabbath across the bleak moors of that unsheltered country. Let us hope that their children, who determined to build a sanctuary near their home, were induced to do this not so much from regard to their own convenience as by a laudable desire to introduce their evangelical doctrine into a populous and increasing town.* These Englishmen conversing with their Scottish neighbours who were in the habit of going every Sunday to Tockholes, it was suggested by one party or the other that probably if the English and Scotch would unite, Mr. McQuhae, whose preaching they all approved, might be induced to remove to Blackburn and become the pastor of their united church. As a prospect of greater usefulness and comfort was thus presented to him than he could hope to see in his secluded village, he readily accepted the proposal. In his new position his preaching was very effective, and much liked by all classes of people, Presbyterians, Independents, and Methodists. As some Church people and Arian dissenters frequently attended his services, the old tale was revived, that 'he had corn for all sorts of crops.' The truth, however, was, if we may depend, as I am sure we may, upon the testimony of his intimate friend, the Rev. Edward Parsons of Leeds, that he preached the evangelical doctrine faithfully but not angrily, practically rather than controversially, and in a manner which interested intelligent hearers, whether they assented or not to his statements. For twenty-seven years he continued his useful and successful labour in Blackburn. He educated several young men as preachers, who, encouraged by his example and assisted by his friends, collected congregations in the more destitute parts of the county. Sudden death terminated his useful labours in 1804, in the sixty-third year of his age. His funeral sermon was preached by his friend, the Rev. Edward Parsons, who describes him as 'a minister having few equals,' 'under whose judicious preaching every doctrine became a test of Christian experience and an incentive to practical holiness.' †

Mr. McQuhae had not been long in Blackburn before he introduced his countryman and friend, the Rev. ROBERT SIMPSON, to a congre-

* In 1777 twenty respectable families of Blackburn who had regularly attended the ministry of the Rev. Robert Smalley of Darwen, separated by mutual consent, and built a new chapel in that improving town. Letter of the Rev. Robert Blake of Darwen, in Dr. Raffles's MSS. *Memorials of Nonconformist Churches*, p. 12.

† *Sermon preached on May 20, 1804, on the sudden death of the Rev. James McQuhae*, by Edward Parsons. In this sermon Mr. Parsons says: 'He was unassuming, liberal, and affectionate. He thought for himself, and left others to the full enjoyment of the same liberty. No preacher has been better esteemed at home, or more generally acceptable abroad.' Mr. Parsons notices his 'hospitality to his brethren,' for which virtue 'he was distinguished.' I am glad to adduce this testimony in contradiction or explanation of strange stories which were told of his penurious habits, especially when minister of Tockholes. A minister having nothing else to live upon than the 'chapel wage' of Tockholes, under 5*l.* a quarter, the gift of 5*l.* from the Presbyterian Fund every year, and the subscription of the baronet of Hoghton, might well be excused for forming 'penurious habits.' Mr. McQuhae, like an honest Scotchman, preferred penury to debt, and scanty living to loss of credit.

gation in Bolton which had been previously under the ministry of the Rev. James Wraith, who commenced his evangelistic labours as a village preacher, and, like many village preachers of that time, became the pastor of a considerable congregation. On his removal Mr. Simpson was invited to the vacant office, and on October 2, 1782, was publicly ordained according to the usages of congregational dissenters. The discourses preached at his ordination were published, and among them an affectionate, wise, and most impressive charge addressed to him by Mr. McQuhae. At the time of Mr. Simpson's settlement in that 'famous seat of the Reformation,' the old puritan spirit of 'the Lancashire Geneva' had grievously declined and seemed ready to die. The presbyterian congregation which in its better days had a thousand communicants, though still very respectable and influential, had lost much of its popularity and strength. Its ministers, although maintaining a high character and preaching with considerable ability, were unable to attract strangers, to conciliate opponents, to prevent secessions, or to fill up the vacancies occasioned by the inevitable changes of time. Under the ministry of Mr. Simpson, the old spirit of the presbyterian meeting-house seemed to revive in the congregational chapel.* Nonconformity again became a power in its ancient resort. His simple, devout, earnest spirit breathed a blessed influence over all his labours, and made him, like the old Puritans whose doctrine he restored in Bolton, 'mighty in wrestling with the God of Jacob.' Much interest was excited; a large and influential congregation was gathered; the puritan spirit grew with the puritan doctrine; under his guidance and care that spirit and doctrine were carried by itinerant preachers into the populous villages of the district. After nine years spent in Bolton, the report of his successful labours reached distant places and brought several invitations to exercise his ministry in larger towns. Some he refused, but one came to him as the call of God to leave Bolton. The committee of the Evangelical Academy, then recently established at Mile End near London, could find no one so able as the puritan preacher of Bolton to inspire young men with an irrepressible desire and determination to preach Christ crucified simply, earnestly, and

* The congregation to which Mr. Simpson preached originated in the labours of the Methodists, although it was considerably strengthened by a large secession from the presbyterian meeting-house. Both Mr. Wesley and Mr. Whitefield had preached with great success in Bolton. One of Mr. Wesley's companions, Mr. Bennet, becoming Calvinistic in his theology, promoted the erection of a congregational chapel in Duke's Alley, in 1754. Soon after the opening, the important secession which had previously removed from the presbyterian meeting house joined them. Mr. Bennet was succeeded by Mr. Whitford, who had also been a methodist preacher; Mr. Whitford by Mr. Wraith; and he, as I have observed, by Mr. Simpson.—*Centenary Memorials of Duke's Alley Chapel*, by William Hope Davison, the present minister.

A second Independent church was formed in Bolton in the year 1807. The original members seceded from the chapel in Duke's Alley, and were encouraged by Dr. Simpson, who continued to feel great interest in the religious movements of Bolton, to unite in church fellowship, and to invite Mr. William Jones, one of his own students, to become their pastor. Under the ministry of Mr. Jones a large congregation was gathered, and the spacious chapel in Mawdsley Street was erected and opened in 1809.

affectionately, and to instruct them in sound biblical and theological science. On his removal, the people of his charge were sufficiently attached to his doctrine and imbued with his spirit to choose for his successor a likeminded man, the Rev. Wm. Maurice of Rotherham College, afterwards the able, learned, and respected minister of the Independent church in Fetter Lane, London.

Happily, also, Mr. McQuhae was succeeded in Blackburn by the Rev. JOSEPH FLETCHER, A.M., a minister in every respect able and willing to continue and extend the work of his predecessor, both in that town and in its neighbourhood. His persuasive preaching, unwearied labours, Christian spirit, gentlemanly manners, and extensive influence, raised evangelical nonconformity in Blackburn to an attractive eminence to which it had never before attained. His removal to Stepney was long regretted, as his memory is still precious to a few survivors in the hundred of Blackburn and throughout the county of Lancaster.

Those who have read the 'Memoirs of the Rev. GEORGE BURDER' will readily believe that he did not minister for six years in Lancaster without producing important results. The independent church in that town originated with some itinerant preachers, who by their popular ministrations attracted a congregation in a large room, fitted and furnished for religious worship. A few respectable families who were wearied with the dull preaching of the Church encouraged these services, and associated with their promoters in securing a small chapel which had been abandoned by its original occupants. Having constituted a church, they elected for their first pastor Mr. Henry Hunt, a native of Dublin, who continued with them little more than three years. On the erection of a more commodious chapel, some dispute arose between him and the principal contributors respecting the expenses of the building, and the arrangements for liquidating the debt which had been incurred. So much unpleasantness followed, that Mr. Hunt resigned his charge, and Mr. Burder commenced his ministry in the new chapel.* Although he remained in Lancaster only from 1777 to 1783, he greatly promoted the interest of evangelical nonconformity in the town and neighbourhood. Not content with the regular labours of his chapel, he frequently visited the surrounding villages, and preached in such rooms and barns as he could procure and appropriate for afternoon or evening worship. To the rustic congregations of those villages he induced several of his friends to preach, or to read plain sermons which he himself often furnished. The author of the well-known 'Village Sermons,' at that time a young man, probably supplied his itinerant preachers, who travelled in the rural districts of Amounderness and Lonsdale, with the outlines of sermons which were afterwards preached in many country churches of England and Wales. On his removal from Lancashire, he settled in Coventry, and eventually in London, where he succeeded his friend

* Mr. Hunt, after preaching in several towns of the north of England, eventually settled in Horselydown, London, where he continued to preach until he became the oldest independent minister in the metropolis. He died in 1815, in the ninety-first year of his age.

the Rev. William Maurice, already mentioned, as pastor of the independent church in Fetter Lane.*

The work which he auspiciously commenced was happily continued by his successor, the Rev. Peter Samuel Charrier, who, having laboured in Lancaster about twenty years, removed to Bethesda chapel, Liverpool, where his valuable ministry was prolonged until his death in 1826. Among those who have contributed to the revival and strength of nonconformity in Lancashire, Mr. Charrier is worthy of honourable remembrance.†

Modern congregationalism in Manchester originated in the middle of the last century with a few good people who cared much more for Evangelical doctrine than for ecclesiastical polity. Some of them had seceded from Cross Street meeting-house on account of the new doctrine which had been introduced into that venerable sanctuary of nonconformity; some had immigrated from Scotland; and some had been religiously excited by the earnest preaching of the Methodists or Calvinistic itinerants from Yorkshire. They met for worship in a small and inconvenient meeting-house in Cold House Lane, which has been, successively, the first religious home of Presbyterians, Independents, Scotch Baptists, and some minor sects of Methodists. Their first pastor, the Rev. Caleb Warhurst, a man of fervent piety, exemplary character, loving spirit, and incessant labour, was ordained in 1756. In 1761 a meeting-house was erected for him in Hunter's Croft, now called Cannon Street, in which he laboured for about ten years, much to the satisfaction and benefit of his people, but much also to the injury of his own health.‡

* While resident in Lancashire he published a little book entitled *The Good Old Way*, of which, his biographer says, 'more than a hundred thousand were sold.' Of his *Village Sermons* it was computed some years before his death that 'between sixty and seventy thousand volumes had been circulated.'—Wilson's *Dissenting Churches of London*, vol. viii. p. 470.

† The growth of the independent congregation during the ministry of Mr. Charrier in Lancaster, in so far as it was consequent upon the decline of the presbyterian interest, may to some extent be attributed to the strange conduct of the Arian minister of that town, who, although a very attractive preacher when he was in good humour, was almost incessantly quarrelling with his people. On occasion of the death of a lady of his congregation connected with several of the principal families of the town, he observed a large audience expecting to hear her funeral sermon. After announcing his text, he said, 'I perceive an unusually large audience. You are come no doubt to hear the character of Mrs. —; but you will all be disappointed, for be it known to all of you that I and my people are at open war. I see or know nothing of them except as they appear on Sundays in the corners of their pews. As the deceased was a constant attendant here, let us hope she is gone to a better world.'

In order to express his disapproval of the illiberality of his people in contributing inadequately to his support, he would frequently lay aside on Sunday evening the clothes in which he had preached, and walk through the principal streets of the town dressed in a ragged coat, patched breeches, old shoes, and dirty linen, taking care, as he had opportunity, to tell those who accosted him that he was dressed in a style befitting the contributions made for his support. I cite these particulars from the MSS. of Dr. Raffles, who says of them 'communicated by Mr. Charrier.'

‡ For particulars of the early history of this church I am indebted to a copy of the minutes of the church book of Cannon Street chapel, extending from its origin to the secession of the members who built Mosley Street chapel. These seceders had with them the secretary of the deacons, who seems to have copied the church book before he restored it.

He was succeeded by the Rev. Timothy Priestley, a brother of the celebrated Dr. Joseph Priestley. Mr. Priestley, although a preacher of considerable ability, was not very successful nor very happy in Manchester. He was troubled, either with a quarrelsome temper or with quarrelsome deacons, for the church book contains abundant evidence of discord in the vestry. The deacons lectured him about his irreverence and irregularities, while he paid very little respect to their lectures. He was charged with irreverently ascending the pulpit with his hat on his head, and with making packing-cases on Sunday nights. As to his wearing his hat on the pulpit stairs, he seems to have treated the charge as an impertinence unworthy of notice, and as to the packing-cases, while the deacons kept him miserably poor, he thought it was his duty to 'provide things honest in the sight of all men,' as well as to 'remember the Sabbath day.' When the demand for these cases was urgent, as it often was previously to the sailing of an American vessel from Liverpool, he and his family worked in the night intervening between Sunday and Monday, but he never acknowledged that he began before the clock struck twelve.

After some years, which were sadly disturbed by disputes with his deacons, he resigned his office, and was succeeded by the Rev. David Bradberry, who betook himself to the making, not of packing-cases, but of epic poems. His employment, although more respectable, was, I fear, less lucrative than that of his worthy predecessor. In addition to the perplexity of a limited income, he was troubled by the disputes of his people, and especially by the pertinacious attempts of some Scotch members to appoint ruling elders, and to introduce some other presbyterian usages into the church. Mr. Bradberry was not the man to be ruled by either Scotchmen or Englishmen, elders or deacons, and therefore, after much unhappy controversy and a large secession of members, he resigned his charge and left the neighbourhood.*

* His chief work is entitled *Tetelestai, the Finale Close*. It has prefixed the following dedication:—

To the Most Sublime,
Most High and Mighty,
Most Puissant,
Most Sacred,
Most Faithful,
Most Gracious,
Most Catholic,
Most Serene,
Most Reverend and Righteous Majesty,
Jehovah Emmanuel,
By indefeasible right
Sovereign of the Universe,
Prince of the Kings of the Earth,
Governor General of the World,
Chief Shepherd and Archbishop of Souls,
Chief Justice of Final Appeal,
Judge of the last Assize,
Distributor of Rights and Finisher of Fates,
Father of Mercies and Friend of Man,
This Poem

The seceders from Cannon Street, including the Scotch members, erected their sanctuary in Mosley Street, which was the largest dissenting chapel at that time in Lancashire. Although they elected Mr. Kennedy, a Scotchman, to be their first minister, they never appointed ruling elders, nor, so far as appears in their church book, attempted to obtain what they so much desired when it was beyond their reach—a kirk-session.

Of the diminished and unpromising congregation which remained in Cannon Street meeting-house the Rev. William Roby undertook the pastoral charge. Recollections of his ministry are still cherished by the aged Nonconformists of Lancashire, and traditions of his goodness and power will be long preserved in their families.

He was born March 23, 1766, at Haigh near Wigan, where his father kept a grammar school, in which he received his early education. Having completed the course of study prescribed in the school, he became an assistant to his father, and, with his parents, regularly attended the services of the Established Church. While he was thus engaged, a young friend invited him to hear the preaching of Mr. Johnson, who, as a minister of the Countess of Huntingdon, had recently introduced evangelical doctrine into Wigan. Like his father, a sound and orthodox Churchman, William Roby could not be induced to enter a chapel until he learnt that the prayers of the Church were read with much propriety, and that the service had nothing of a dissenting character. Believing that the licensed room was intended to be supplemental rather than opposed to the church, he agreed to spend a Sunday with his friend in Wigan. In the morning he was so much pleased with the apparent devoutness of the minister while he was reading the common prayer and preaching evangelical truth, that he was quite disposed to go again in the afternoon. Mr. Johnson then read, as he frequently did on Sunday afternoons, one of the homilies, and read it much better than Roby had ever heard it read in the parish church. The youth, still more gratified with a service so well conducted, and with a minister so respectful to the Church, gladly attended in the evening. Mr. Johnson then preached like a Methodist a sermon, plain, earnest, affectionate, lively in its illustrations, direct in its appeal, alarming and yet encouraging. For the first time Roby heard the kind of preaching which, then new in Lancashire, worked mightily in the county, and he heard it with an interest in its truths which he never lost. Dr. Raffles, who dearly loved the puritan dialect, says, 'There it was that God met with his soul.'* I trust I understand it. From that day William Roby became an earnest, religious, devout, God-fearing boy.

(a public testimony of his obligations and hopes)
is gratefully and humbly presented
by His Majesty's
highly favoured and very unworthy
Subject and Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

* MSS. vol. ii., *Collections for a History of the Nonconformist Churches of Lancashire.*

His father observed the change, and, good man as he was, greatly feared lest his boy should become a Methodist, and pervert the orthodox principles of his scholars. As William avowed his determination to continue his attendance on the ministry of Mr. Johnson, the old man thought they had better amicably separate than live in continual unpleasantness. Shortly afterwards the son obtained a situation as master of the free school at Bretherton, where he sought to promote the religious instruction and spiritual welfare of his pupils. Among other methods of accomplishing his object, he called them together on Sunday evenings, when there was no service in the church, for catechising and prayer. As the schoolroom was accessible to any visitors, the parents of his scholars attended, and as they represented the services to be very instructive, many of the neighbouring cottagers crowded his room. Seeing so many persons present, he frequently said a few good words to them, and thus, unexpectedly to himself, without conferring with any, either Churchmen or Dissenters, he became a sort of methodist preacher.

The clergyman was much offended with this unauthorised assumption of his prerogatives by his own schoolmaster. He first advised, next commanded, the young preacher to desist; and eventually threatened to deprive him of his situation. Mr. Roby resigned his office, and, acting under the advice of Mr. Johnson, became a student in the Countess of Huntingdon's college at Trevecca. He was soon afterwards ordained a minister in the connection of the countess, and according to the forms prescribed by her ladyship.

After spending a short time at Worcester, he returned to Wigan, where he preached and worked with great energy and success for about seven years, first as assistant and afterwards as successor to Mr. Johnson. In 1795 he accepted an invitation to become the pastor of the church in Cannon Street, Manchester, where we have already met with him commencing his ministry in a diminished, divided, and unpromising congregation.

Under his earnest, judicious, and instructive preaching, sustained by his wise administration and exemplary life, the congregation gradually increased, and improved in Christian character as well as in social position and influence. In earnest himself, he inspired his hearers with his own spirit, stimulated them to religious exertion, wisely directed their zeal, and induced them to build such a chapel as would afford him the opportunity of collecting a large and influential congregation. The spacious sanctuary erected for him in Grosvenor Street was soon occupied by a people who loved their pastor, venerated his piety, admired his zeal, confided in his judgment, imbibed his spirit, and imitated his good example. Educated in a grammar school of the English Church, and associated in his early ministry with the preachers of the Countess of Huntingdon, he was free from the narrow prejudice and formal precision of the old dissenting ministers, and yet he became in conviction and principle a firm and decided Congregationalist. A man of pleasing simplicity, he affected none of the formalities of a clergyman, while the style of his preaching retained from his early associations something

of a clerical character. Churchmen and Dissenters who loved the gospel loved to hear William Roby preach it, while neither heard anything offensive to their feelings or their prejudices. By training pious young men for the ministry, and directing the labours of itinerant preachers over a wide extent of country round Manchester, he originated or strengthened many independent congregations amidst a rapidly increasing population.

In connection with his labours in preparing young men for the dissenting ministry, honourable mention ought to be made of the liberality of his friend Robert Spear, Esq. While Mr. Roby gratuitously devoted his time and labour to teaching, Mr. Spear generously contributed to the support of such students as were unable to provide for their necessary expenditure. So long as the two good men were thus associated, there was scarcely a religious institution among the evangelical Nonconformists of Lancashire which was not indebted to the labour of Mr. Roby and the liberality of Mr. Spear. They rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.

Mr. Roby died on January 11, 1830. Three sermons preached on the occasion of his death have been published: one by the Rev. John Ely; one by Dr. Clunie; and a third, which, however, was not printed until after the death of its author, by the Rev. Dr. McAll.

While Mr. Roby was preaching in Grosvenor Street, the Rev. Joseph Smith, an exceedingly popular preacher, collected a large and influential congregation in Mosley Street chapel. From these two congregations were formed several others: as in New Windsor; in Chapel Street, Salford; in Jackson's Lane, Hulme, since removed to the Stretford Road; and in Rusholme Road, Chorlton-upon-Medlock. The spirit of William Roby breathed in them all. Around these congregations, which existed in 1839 when the writer settled in Manchester, new sanctuaries have been provided as they were needed, and have been liberally supported. The 'Congregational Year Book' for 1872 enumerates in Manchester and Salford some twenty-nine Independent churches.

In Liverpool the oldest chapel belonging to the Congregationalists is that of Newington. I have already observed that the ancient chapel of Toxteth Park was, after the passing of the Act of Uniformity, occupied by two ministers, one a Presbyterian and the other an Independent. The difference between them was so unimportant that they worked together harmoniously, and apparently to the satisfaction and comfort of their collegiate charge.* The ministers who succeeded them in the early part of the last century seem, like many nonconforming ministers of that time, to have held no very definite theological opinions, or if they did, to have given them little prominence in their public ministrations. Of Mr. Gellibrand and Mr. Kenyon little more is known than that they were very quiet, gentlemanly, scholarly men, who, whatever may have been their private opinions, said very little about them to their congregation.

* At that time the residents of Toxteth Park were almost exclusively Nonconformists. In a MS. of Dr. Baffles, it is said, 'there was neither a Churchman nor a Catholic in the whole district.'

About the year 1738, William Harding, a Cheshire farmer, endowed with the gift of preaching, was invited to become the minister of the ancient chapel. Such settlements were not frequent among the Nonconformists of that time, and Mr. Harding's was not a fortunate one. He seems to have mistaken his 'proper gift of God.' Having been useful as an extemporaneous preacher, he became ambitious of a higher distinction, and, to show that he was no longer a Methodist itinerant but a regular dissenting minister, he assumed a clerical dress, wore a becoming wig, and betook himself to the reading of long and elaborate sermons. The congregation, as might have been expected, speedily declined, and its pastor was compelled to resume, in connection with his ministry, his old occupation of farming and grazing. Much to the mortification of his reverence, his daughters had to carry the milk and butter of his farm to Liverpool market.

Although in his declining years his ministrations were forsaken by almost all the hearers, they considered themselves as properly belonging to the ancient chapel, and called it their own. Many of them attended only on special occasions, as of funerals or anniversary celebrations. Mr. Harding, like many of the nonconformist ministers, always 'remembered the fifth of November,' on which day he roused himself to give interest to an appropriate and eloquent sermon, and usually attracted to the otherwise desolate chapel a considerable audience.

On his death a pleasing memorial of the old times, or what would have been so, had it not through his negligence lost its significance, was discontinued by the congregation. In the time of persecution, the good people of the Park were accustomed to meet for religious worship in different houses, in order to elude the observation of the informers. On the passing of the Act of Toleration, they perpetuated the memory of their sufferings by licensing those houses (no fewer than twelve), holding monthly prayer-meetings in them successively, and so completing the rotation every year. It may seem strange that these assemblies should have been continued throughout Mr. Harding's long and negligent ministry. They were so, because he allowed them to degenerate into convivial meetings, in which drinking ale and smoking tobacco took the place of exhortation, psalm-singing, and prayer.*

Some of the people retained, through that dull and dreary time, so much love of the doctrine to which they had listened in their childhood, as induced them to invite the Rev. James McQuhae to become their minister. On his declining their proposal, Mr. Hugh Anderson obtained an invitation and accepted it, much to the dissatisfaction of a considerable minority, who desired to hear more of the evangelical doctrine than he preached to them. Their dissatisfaction was not allayed by the reply which he is said to have given to their remonstrances, that 'if the people would only agree about their doctrine and let him know what it was, he would gladly preach it.' Seceding from the venerable sanctuary in which they had worshipped

* MSS. of Dr. Raffles.

in their infancy, and to which on the death of Mr. Harding they had hoped to return, they formed themselves into a congregational church, for which Newington chapel was eventually erected.

The seceders proposed to build a small meeting-house in the Park for themselves and their families; but, yielding to the advice of Mr. McQuhae, who thought the time had come for a more bold and aggressive movement, they resolved, though with some hesitancy, to erect a commodious chapel near the town.* Their first minister, Mr. David Bruce, a student from Heckmondwike, commenced his labours in 1776, and continued them with considerable success in the new chapel. Among the MSS. of Dr. Raffles is a curious letter of this gentleman, addressed to one of the deacons, in which he acknowledges having preached in 'a black gown' to a London congregation. His explanation of this conduct, which he thought would excite some disagreeable surprise in Liverpool, was that 'as he was in London to collect for the payment of the chapel, and as he had obtained larger contributions from the Calvinistic Methodists than from the Independents, he thought it lawful and prudent' to humour their prejudice by preaching to them in the vestment they liked to behold. He died, as is stated on a mural tablet in Newington chapel, on January 28, 1808, in the fifty-seventh year of his age and the thirty-second of his ministry.

In 1811 that extraordinary youth, Thomas Spencer, was ordained pastor of the church, although he had not then completed the twenty-first year of his age. After his ordination he preached only on six Sundays, but his brief ministry in Liverpool produced great and permanent results. His friends, encouraged by the numbers who crowded to hear him, resolved to erect a spacious sanctuary in which accommodation would be provided for some of the many who desired to listen to his simple, natural, but most insinuating and impressive preaching. His unexpected death (he was drowned while bathing in the Mersey) was a terrible disappointment of the fondly cherished hopes of his friends, who were observing with great interest the rise of the new chapel. In mourning their loss they felt distressing forebodings that their labour would be in vain, and their large sanctuary nothing else than a sad memorial of departed worth and disappointed expectations.

Their sanctuary, however, as soon as it was completed, became to them something better than a house of mourning. On the auspicious day of its opening, the prospect was as pleasing as the retrospect was painful. The church had secured the services of the Rev. Thomas Raffles, who had been settled for a short time at Hammer-smith. In this happy settlement among them, although his friends could not forget Mr. Spencer, they found alleviation (I do not hesitate to say, abundant compensation) in their loss, by the acquisition of Mr. Raffles. What Thomas Spencer might have done had he lived fifty years in Liverpool it is vain to conjecture; what Thomas Raffles did in his prolonged pastorate, not only the town, but the whole

* Objections were made to the site of Newington chapel because it was too far from the town, and had to be approached over a stile and across a field.

county, gratefully acknowledges. His works bear witness of what he was when he ministered for nearly thirty years in the chapel erected for his predecessor, and for more than twenty years in the more spacious chapel erected for himself, after the former had been destroyed by fire.

I have already noticed the removal of the Rev. P. S. Charrier from Lancaster to Bethesda chapel, Liverpool. The congregation, at that time small, considerably increased under his earnest and evangelical preaching. He died in 1826, and in 1829 his place was filled by the Rev. John Kelly, under whose able ministry the congregation became so large as to require additional accommodation, and so powerful as to erect the commodious chapel in Everton Crescent. The two congregational churches accustomed to assemble for worship sixty years since in two small chapels, Newington and Bethesda, have become twelve, of which almost every one exceeds in number either of the two from which they have grown.

In the other towns of Lancashire congregationalism has been of more recent introduction, although in many of them it has made considerable and rapid progress. Its introduction and progress are to a great extent to be attributed to the suggestion, encouragement, and co-operation of the ministers who have been mentioned as settled in Manchester, Liverpool, Bolton, Blackburn, and Lancaster. These five towns were the sources from which evangelical nonconformity has been diffused through all parts of the county.

In ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE, as early as the year 1795, Mr. Roby, by the help of his divinity students and itinerant preachers, made several attempts to collect a congregation and form an independent church. Although disappointed in the immediate object of their labours, these good men so far succeeded as to induce some of their hearers to unite in fellowship, and to erect a chapel in the neighbouring town of Dukinfield. Twenty years afterwards Mr. Roby and his friends renewed their efforts with more success. The room occupied by the itinerant preachers had become so inconveniently crowded as to induce the attendants, encouraged by promises of liberal assistance from Manchester, to resolve upon the erection of a commodious and permanent sanctuary. They had great difficulty in obtaining a site, for almost all the land in Ashton, the great inheritance of the puritan family of the Booths, was the property of its representative, the Earl of Stamford, who peremptorily refused a home and shelter for the faith which had been dear to his ancestors. Eventually, however, a site was found over which the earl had no control; and, although not so eligible as some others which the people would have purchased of the great proprietor, they gladly availed themselves of the opportunity, and erected a large and convenient chapel. It was opened for public worship on April 17, 1817, when Mr. Roby preached to a crowded congregation. Happily, on his recommendation, the people invited the Rev. Jonathan Sutcliffe, a student from Idle, to become their minister. The indefatigable labours, kindly spirit, generous devotedness, exemplary conduct, and honourable reputation of Mr. Sutcliffe, consistently maintained for

more than thirty years, while he lived in the esteem of his large congregation, are not forgotten in Ashton; nor will they be forgotten as long as any live who knew him in the days of his well-deserved prosperity.

Since his removal the church has been happily provided with successors well qualified to carry on his work, and from it other congregations have been formed at Staleybridge, at Rye-croft, and at Mossley. May they long and well sustain the reputation of the parent society!

At OLDHAM there seemed for a short time less urgent reason to establish an independent church, as the presbyterian congregation of Greenacres in its neighbourhood had preserved the faith of its founders, and had, like many other evangelical societies of the old nonconformity, adopted, to a considerable extent, the congregational discipline. Although in Greenacres meeting-house some presbyterian usages continued in association with independency, they were either readily accepted or gradually modified by the Independents who connected themselves with the people of that sanctuary. When, however, Oldham grew so populous as to require more accommodation for its religiously disposed residents, Mr. Roby's preachers and students found their way into the town and did a good work among its people. A congregational church was formed in 1816, and another in 1825. Under the encouragement and care of their ministers, several smaller congregations have been formed in the adjacent townships.

In ROCHDALE independency obtained no settlement until the year 1814. Probably the existence in the town of a Baptist church, both evangelical and moderate, may have induced Mr. Roby and his zealous friends to select more destitute places for their first missionary labours. As early as 1769, some Baptists who resided in Rochdale were accustomed, when the weather was favourable, to travel over some twelve or fourteen miles of bleak moorland in order to attend on the instructive ministry of Dr. Fawcett of Hebden Bridge. When unable through stress of weather to walk to Hebden Bridge, they kept Sabbath together with prayer and fraternal exhortation. Finding the benefit of a day of rest rather than of travelling, they formed a church, and invited Mr. Thomas Littlewood to become their pastor. The Independents had then no dealings with the Baptists, partly through the narrow sectarianism of the time, and partly through the prevalent exclusiveness of the Baptists, both in doctrine and in discipline. But with such a minister as Mr. Littlewood, esteemed by all who knew him, the Independents of Rochdale, if there were any, might have lived in peace, worshipped with comfort, and enjoyed religious communion. When, in 1814, a few Independents resolved to form a church, we may hope their purpose was not to promote sectarianism, but to extend the influence of evangelical religion in some proportion to the wants of a rapidly increasing population.

Mr. Roby was here, as elsewhere, actively engaged in the movement. Soon after the formation of the church, he introduced Mr.

John Ely from Hoxton academy, who became its pastor, and during his prolonged residence in Rochdale proved an efficient associate of Roby, Fletcher, and Sutcliffe in their evangelistic labours in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire. With the affectionate regret of all parties in the town in which he had preached for more than twenty years, he removed to Leeds. As the result of his labour, continued by able successors, there are now two congregational churches in the town and several in the neighbourhood, as at Small Bridge, Middleton, Bamford, Calderbrook, and Todmorden.

In BURY, where the puritan doctrine survived, though feebly, in its venerable meeting-house until the close of the eighteenth century, the Congregationalists made no attempt or received no encouragement, to raise a sanctuary for themselves until the year 1792. The character of the ministry conducted in the presbyterian chapel previously to that time may be inferred from the correspondence of the Rev. Job Orton with his friend Mr. Hughes, who was ordained in 1773, and continued his ministry in Bury for some years. Mr. Hughes, a native of Shrewsbury, had been recommended by Mr. Orton for admission to the Daventry academy, and had, while a very young minister, received much affectionate and faithful advice, encouragement, and warning from the pastor of his youth. In one of his letters Mr. Orton, referring to previous ministers at Bury, says: 'I could wish to see revived something of that spirit which appeared so eminently in your predecessors, Pendlebury, Roghel, and Braddock. I hope you will never give any of your aged hearers reason to complain that it is not with them as it was in years past, but will support the high credit which the ministry at Bury hath long been in for seriousness, zeal, and usefulness.' Of the immediate predecessor of Hughes, Mr. Orton says: 'I can hardly wish for you anything better than that you may resemble your most excellent predecessor' (Mr. Braddock), 'who had few equals in every part of his office and character. Such an amiable mixture of cheerfulness and gravity; such a deep seriousness in speaking of religion; his discourses so plain and yet so judicious, so rational and yet so evangelical. Did you ever enquire of his widow of the charge he delivered at Mr. Meanly's ordination? I could wish you to read it.*' On the introduction of Arian doctrine into the presbyterian meeting-house, the Congregationalists felt it to be their duty to support their own principles. The first congregational church in Bury was formed in 1792, a second in 1805, and a third in 1838. At Park, near Bury, a congregational church was founded in 1798.

In PRESTON the oldest congregational church originated in the labours of the Calvinistic Methodists. The cock-pit, a place of favourite resort in past times for Lancashire people of all religions,

* *Orton's Letters*, vol. i. pp. 132, 142.

Mr. Braddock, 'so rational and yet so evangelical,' was a sort of connecting link between the old and the new dissent. He died, at an advanced age, about 1771, having 'been considered for many years as at the head of the Lancashire Provincial Meeting, having probably delivered more charges than almost any minister among the dissenters.'—Addition to Dr. Raffles's MSS., signed J. W. (Joshua Wilson).

having become towards the close of the last century (let us hope through a milder spirit instilled by the faith common to them all) little frequented, was hired by some religious people, and fitted, though rudely and uncomfortably, for a place of worship; in which Mr. Aspinwall, one of the Countess of Huntingdon's preachers, conducted religious services according to the forms and in the habiliments (or something like them) of the clergy of the Church of England.

Mr. Carter, his successor, desisted from reading the liturgy, dispensed with the clerical robes, and associated in religious services with regular Nonconformists of the county. During his ministry the congregation removed from the comfortless cock-pit to a convenient chapel erected through his exertions in Fisher-gate. In this sanctuary a church was formed in accordance with the principles of the Independents. It continued to occupy a respectable position in the estimation of the good people of Preston under the ministry of William Morgan, educated in the Wrexham academy, Eli Chadwick from the Rotherham academy, and David Thompson Carnson from the Blackburn academy. Under the ministry of Mr. Carnson, the congregation grew too large for its sanctuary, and erected the commodious chapel in Cannon Street, which was opened on July 9, 1826.*

The independent church which meets in Grimshaw Street originated in the labours of the Rev. William Manning Walker. Mr. Walker was a nephew of the Rev. George Walker, whom I have already noticed as a professor in the Warrington and Manchester academy. Educated under the care of his uncle, he was for some time minister of the presbyterian meeting-house in Preston. While occupying that position, his religious opinions were considerably modified, and after long and anxious consideration he avowed his intention to preach the evangelical doctrines of the founders of the society. The trustees, being 'rational dissenters,' and, like many other liberal people, claiming more liberty than they allow, very rationally requested him to resign his charge. As the majority of the congregation adhered to him, it was doubtful whether the trustees could legally dismiss him, but his meek and gentle spirit, and his regard for his nearest relatives, would not allow him to defend by any litigation even a good cause. He quietly retired, and his adherents and numerous friends erected for him the chapel in Grimshaw Street, in which he was ordained in accordance with the usages of the independent denomination.

On account of a distressing asthma, Mr. Walker was compelled to resign his charge in 1821. After a short and unfortunate settlement of another minister, the Rev. Richard Slate, of Stand near Bury, became the pastor of the church, and continued his ministry, beloved and respected by all who knew him, until in the infirmities of age he was compelled to retire, being on his resignation the oldest dissenting minister in Lancashire.

A third congregational chapel was opened at Preston in 1860.

In WIGAN, as in Preston, congregationalism originated in Calvin-

* MSS. of Dr. Raffles.

istic Methodism. In 1786, a chapel was erected in Standish gate, and received from its supporters a name which the old Dissenters would have pronounced with horror or grief, 'St. Paul's chapel.' Mr. Johnson,, whose preaching has already been mentioned on account of its effect upon William Roby, officiated in it until his removal to Manchester, where a chapel was erected for him bearing another ominous name—'St. George's.' Mr. Roby, his assistant, continued for a short time to preach in St. Paul's, until his removal to Manchester. Among his successors, two names are worthy of honourable mention and affectionate remembrance, Joseph Parkin and Alexander Steel. The church is now thoroughly identified with the Congregationalists.

Another dissenting congregation, founded in 1812, although sometimes called presbyterian, is really independent, as it acknowledges the authority of no presbytery nor governing body distinct from its own officers.

In WARRINGTON the fortunes of independency have been uncertain and fluctuating. Congregations have been gathered more easily than preserved, in small and inconvenient chapels, and occasionally opposing interests have injured each other. Chapels in this town have been occupied by Calvinistic Methodists and by Scotch Presbyterians, but they have not been more prosperous than their congregational brethren. The once influential presbyterian congregation has sadly declined, but congregationalism has not here, as it has in several other places, grown from the decay of presbyterianism. The independent congregation now meeting in Wycliffe chapel, although not large in proportion to the population of the town, is probably more numerous and influential than ever has been any one of the independent congregations which have rapidly risen and fallen in Warrington.

In the smaller towns, and in many of the villages, congregationalism has been introduced and established in the course of the present century. In that time chapels have been erected in many parts of the county where Congregationalists had previously been without a religious home, and in many other places small, uninviting, and inconvenient meeting-houses have been exchanged for large and commodious chapels. The instances are too numerous to mention.

The rapid growth of congregationalism is to be attributed to the labours of Roby, Simpson, Burder, Charrier, Joseph Fletcher, McAll, Raffles, Ely, Sutcliffe, Richard Fletcher, Poore, and other like-minded ministers, some of whom still survive in the affectionate regards of the Lancashire Nonconformists. But it must not be overlooked that these ministers have been well sustained and encouraged by the active, liberal, and persevering co-operation of Christian gentlemen, who have acted worthily of the instruction and example of their pastors. In no county of England have contributions been more generously made (I might say so generously) for the erection of chapels and school-houses, for the support of home missionaries and itinerant preachers, for the education of poor theological students, and for almost every kind and form of evangelistic

operation. In no county has congregationalism found more active, energetic, devoted Sunday-school teachers, or raised larger or better managed Sunday schools. Of the Manchester Sunday schools, I can say (and I doubt not the same thing may be said of other schools), some of the most successful manufacturers and opulent merchants, some of the foremost leaders of public opinion (whether they acknowledge it or not), and some of the most enterprising missionaries, have in them received their earliest education, and their most favourable opportunities for the commencement of an honourable and successful course of elevation and advancement. That moral and religious training ought not to be despised or hastily abandoned which has been, and still is, represented by eminent ministers, successful authors, editors of the periodical press, authorities in the chambers of commerce, legislators in parliament, and missionaries speaking in strange tongues at the ends of the earth. The seeds have been unsparingly sown by the Congregationalists of Lancashire, and the harvest has been proportionately abundant.*

Of the means employed for the extension of evangelical religion in the congregational form throughout Lancashire, notice ought to be taken of the Theological Academy, and of the County Union.

We have seen that when in the last century congregationalism was feeble in Lancashire, it was indebted for some its best ministers to the theological seminaries of Yorkshire. As the Lancashire Congregationalists became more numerous and powerful, they resolved to do their part in educating their own ministry. The first attempts of Mr. McQuhae at Blackburn, continued and improved by Mr. Roby in Manchester, provided many valuable ministers for the destitute churches of the county. Several of the students were encouraged and assisted to pursue their studies with greater advantages in the academies of Idle and Rotherham.

The imperfect education of some who had become pastors in Lancashire, and the manifest advantage with which others had studied in Yorkshire, induced Mr. Roby and his friends who acted with him to found an academical institution in which a more regular and prolonged course of study than he could superintend might be secured, and adequate provision be made for the board and lodging of the students. Meetings of the principal ministers and generous

* Sunday schools were established in Manchester in 1784, in accordance with certain resolutions passed at a public meeting of the inhabitants convened by the borough-reeve and constables. The following advertisement, which appeared in the *Manchester Mercury* of January 2, 1792, illustrates the manner in which they were managed: 'The Committee of the Sunday Schools request the visitors in Manchester will deliver to the Overseers of the poor a list of the names of all the children who are instructed in each respective school, also the names of their parents or friends with whom they reside. It is presumed that every school is provided with a book, in which are entered the names of all the children who attend, and marked every Sunday whether *present* or *absent*. This book being produced to the Overseers once or twice every month will answer the full intent. All parents receiving pay from the town, and neglecting to send their children regularly to a Sunday School will by this means be strictly noted.'—*History of Blackley Chapel*, p. 105.

laymen from different parts of the county were convened in Manchester, when it was resolved, after careful consideration, to place the academy at Blackburn, and, as Mr. Roby declined the office of theological tutor, to commit the responsibilities of tuition to the Rev. Joseph Fletcher, M.A. The founders of the academy never had reason to regret the appointment. Honoured with their confidence, which Mr. Fletcher well deserved, he devoted himself with characteristic diligence to the arduous labours of his office. Although he continued faithfully to discharge his duties as the pastor of a prosperous church, the academy under his care met the expectations of its attached friends, and proved the means of accomplishing much good. Several congregations were gathered by the preaching of its students in parts of Lancashire which, in those days of slow travelling, were too remote from Manchester to derive benefit from the itinerating services of Mr. Roby's preachers. On the removal of Mr. Fletcher to the pastorate of the ancient church of Stepney, much anxiety was felt for the continuance and prosperity of the academy. It continued, however, to do good service under his successors, Dr. George Payne and the Rev. Gilbert Wardlaw, until, in 1843, it was removed to the commodious home provided for it by the liberality of its numerous friends, at Moss-side, near Manchester. It has there continued, as the Lancashire Independent College, under the able presidency of the late Rev. Dr. Vaughan and of Henry Rogers, Esq., to retain the confidence, as it has deserved the liberal support, of the Lancashire Congregationalists.

The Lancashire Congregational Union was formed in 1806. In the sixty years of its operation it has accomplished a great work, and extended its influence over all parts of the county, as well as in several adjoining districts. Some of the small villages in which its itinerants laboured have since grown into populous towns, in which spacious chapels have been erected and large congregations have been gathered. When Southport consisted of one hotel and a few cottages, scarcely provided with furniture for the accommodation of the visitors who rusticated in its sandy desert, one of the first agents of the Union, Mr. Greatbach, preached in the summer to the visitors, and occasionally in the winter to the few residents of the place. In that resort of people of easy circumstances there are now two commodious chapels, occupied by large and respectable congregations.

Some years later, the Union sustained preaching, during the summer months, in the village of Blackpool, where a small chapel was built in 1825. As the hamlet grew into a town, the chapel was found incapable of providing accommodation for the numerous visitors who resorted to it, or would have done so if they could have found room. The present chapel was erected chiefly through the unwearied labours of the late James Dilworth, Esq., whose name ought ever to be associated with the memorials of that commodious sanctuary.

But while the members of the Union may look with satisfaction and pleasure upon the results of their labours in Southport, Blackpool, Lytham, Fleetwood, and other places of summer resort, their

greatest success has been obtained in the manufacturing districts of the county. Often, through the liberal encouragement and assistance of the Union, where a new factory has drawn round it a working population, a congregational chapel has risen almost simultaneously with the mill, and a Sunday school has quickly been opened to afford good training for the children, and good Sunday work or Sunday singing for the young men and maidens. In many instances the work has prospered where the manufacturers have opposed, as well as where they have encouraged, the agency. Modern congregationalism in Lancashire, having little of the stiffness and formality of the independency prevalent in the southern and eastern counties, has accommodated its working with remarkable facility to the feelings and habits of the manufacturing population. What Methodism has been among the mines of Cornwall or the furnaces of Staffordshire, that to some, though not to the same, extent Congregationalism has been among the cotton mills of Lancashire. If in other populous counties it is to do the same good work, it must, instead of adhering to its old formalities, form associations with the working people, learn of them as well as teach them, engage their sympathies, appropriate their energies, speak to them in their own tongue, which is often as good English as (sometimes much better than) the rhetorical, metaphysical, or theological cant of some collegiate preachers, and with as little interference as possible allow them to do, what cotton-spinners male and female love to do—to manage their religious concerns in their own way. Making its first aggressions upon a working population by itinerant preachers blessed with common sense, and Sunday-school teachers endowed with fervent piety, the County Union has afterwards introduced, as the hearers were prepared to receive them, higher ministrations of Divine truth. It has in many instances happily secured both kinds of ministries, as they were needed. It has found many agents, and will, I hope, find many more, who by their good sense, plain speech, earnest manner, and blameless lives, have been successful in attracting congregations of working people, until other ministers, not over educated, but sufficiently educated for their positions, have consolidated those congregations, and ‘taught them the way of the Lord more perfectly.’

In hastily sketching the progress of modern dissent in Lancashire I ought not to overlook the growth and present state of the Baptist denomination. Whether Baptists, who are of late introduction (I mean in any considerable number) into the county, have been as flexible as the Independents in adapting their usages and forms to the dispositions and habits of the working people, I am not able to say with any approach to confidence. My opinion is (although I express it with hesitation) that in this respect they have learnt something from the Independents, and to some small extent have, without any compromise of principle, yielded to the requirements of the people among whom they desired to maintain and enlarge their influence. That they have not done so as readily or as generally as

the Independents, may be attributed to several causes. Their distinguishing practice of adult baptism suggests the notion of a wide separation, wider in appearance than in reality, between them and Christians of other denominations, and often prevents them from receiving, it may be from offering, as decided an expression of sympathy and confidence as is due from either party to the other. Where mixed communion prevails, this wall of separation is to some extent broken down; but mixed communion, although it was practised in the northern part of the county before John Bunyan taught it in Bedford, has been until recently almost unknown in the manufacturing districts.

Nor, on the formation of the Baptist churches in the early part of this century, were they so much affected by associations with Scottish Presbyterians on the one hand, or with Calvinistic Methodists on the other, as were the early Congregational churches. They stood alone and apart from many influences to which the Independents were necessarily subjected. It is true that the General Baptists of the new connection were, especially in their early state, a sort of baptized Methodists, retaining much of connectional discipline, and more of Arminian doctrine. But these Baptists have never been able to establish themselves in Lancashire. Feeble attempts have been occasionally made by them to form churches in two or three of the large towns, but their attempts have failed, or the churches which they formed, 'because they had no root' in the sympathy of the people, soon 'withered away.' As to the old General Baptists, who passed through the common transition from Arminianism to Arianism, and from Arianism to Socinianism, scarce a vestige of them can be discovered in the religious history of Lancashire. The Baptists of this county have been always Particular, and sometimes very particular indeed, so particular that they would have despised the weakness of desiring the fraternal love of others, or of offering to others their own.

So many of the Lancashire Baptists, however, as are neither very general nor very particular, neither low Arminians nor high Calvinists, especially where they practise mixed communion, are passing, like their pædo-baptist brethren, though perhaps more slowly, from the hard rigidity of Independency to the kindly flexibility of Congregationalism. Sights may be seen and sounds heard in some of their sanctuaries, which would have sorely grieved their ancestors who came down from the Hill Cliffe of Cheshire, or the fells of Yorkshire, to baptise in the streams of the county. Organs and chants may be heard among the descendants of those who could scarcely tolerate even the slow music of their old psalm-singing. Whatever may be in other respects the consequence of these changes, they are doing much to facilitate the union of two denominations of Evangelical Nonconformists.

Of the ancient Baptist church meeting in Byrom Street, Liverpool, a division occurred in the early part of the last century, on account of the peculiar doctrines of its pastor, Mr. Johnson, who was said to be a Sabellian, although it is not very easy to say what the good

Baptists of that time meant by Sabellianism. Mr. Johnson's adherents retired, and built a meeting-house in Stanley Street, where he continued, it is said by Dr. Thom, 'until his death, at the advanced age of ninety, in 1791.*' It is not extraordinary if under his prolonged ministry, whatever may have been the vigour and ability of his earlier years, the Johnsonian Baptists, as they were called, considerably declined, and, after his death, were content with a smaller chapel in Comus Street, where they seem to have become extinct.

The congregation remaining in Byrom Street continued under the pastorate of Mr. John Oulton and his successor Mr. Samuel Hall, from 1748 to 1771. During that time it had so declined that, in 1772, when Mr. Samuel Medley was invited to take charge of this once flourishing church, its revival seemed hopeless to many, though not to its new pastor. Mr. Medley had served as a midshipman on board the 'Intrepid,' and fought and bled for his country in the action off Cape Lagos in 1759. Brought under religious influence, he left the service, and for some time kept a school in London, where he became acquainted with Dr. Gifford, of the British Museum, by whom he was encouraged to enter the ministry, and to undertake the pastoral charge of a baptist church at Watford. He was soon afterwards invited to the vacant pastorate in Byrom Street.† Under his earnest, popular, and prolonged ministry, the church recovered its former prosperity, and through the influence of his liberal and catholic spirit became happily associated with the independent societies of Liverpool. During his lengthened residence in that sea-port, he never forgot his early connection with sailors, to whose spiritual benefit he devoted much of his time and labour. He would often converse with them in the streets, address them on the wharves, and preach especially to them in his chapel. He was a small poet as well as a great preacher, and published a volume of original hymns, of which, I fear, very few are found in modern selections. While he was their minister, the congregation left the old sanctuary, and erected, in 1789, a commodious chapel which, being in the same neighbourhood, retained the name of Byrom Street.‡ On his death, in 1799, he was succeeded by Mr. Richard Davies, and he again by Mr. Moses Fisher, whose ministry is still pleasantly remembered by many Liverpool people of his denomination.

Although I do not profess to give a detailed account of either the congregational or the baptist churches of the county, nor a biography of their several ministers, it would be ungracious to leave this notice of Liverpool without some reference to the Rev. JAMES LISTER, for many years the respected pastor of the baptist church worshipping in Lime Street. A native of Glasgow, he entered a

* *Liverpool Churches and Chapels*, by the Rev. David Thom, D.D., p. 44.

† *Memoirs of the Rev. Samuel Medley*, compiled by his son. London, 1806.

‡ The old Baptist meeting-house was consecrated and made a church, concerning which Dr. Thom gives the following curious information: 'Common report says that the church and advowson were for several years the property of William Shepherd, LL.D., presbyterian minister at Gatacre.'

student in its university, where he is said (I believe truly) to have gained a prize for a poetical translation from the Greek, for which Thomas Campbell was his competitor. Brought while a student under the influence of the extraordinary religious excitement which prevailed in the west of Scotland at the beginning of the present century, he grew dissatisfied with the discipline of the Established Church, and relinquished his purpose of becoming one of its ministers. Adopting stricter views of purity of communion, he associated with the Congregationalists, who at that time had formed a society in Glasgow. Soon afterwards he connected himself with the Baptists, and became, in 1803, the minister of a newly erected chapel in Lime Street, Liverpool.

The congregation had been formed by some separatists from the church in Byrom Street on the death of Mr. Medley. Their first minister, Mr. Aitken, a young Scotchman of great promise, is said, just before his premature death, to have recommended his people to secure the services of his intimate friend James Lister. The people had much reason to be grateful to him for this last token of interest in their welfare. Mr. Lister retained his pastoral charge until 1847, when his congregation had been for some time settled in the new chapel in Hope Street. Thus, during forty-four years, he maintained his honourable position, greatly to the advantage of his church, the honour of his denomination, and the interests of evangelical nonconformity. He died in 1851, in the seventy-third year of his age.*

On the eastern side of the county, the baptist churches have flourished in connection with a high (or, as many would call it, a narrow) form of Calvinism. Particular redemption, being the doctrine by which one class of Baptists is nominally distinguished from the other, has often been regarded as of undue importance, and propounded in an extreme and offensive manner. In Manchester, Rochdale, Bacup, on the boundaries of Yorkshire, and in the forest of Rossendale, these high Calvinists have collected large and flourishing congregations, who have been taught to regard their moderate brethren as no better than Arminians. They are also distinguished by some other peculiarities as well as their extreme Calvinism. They universally practise strict communion. They carefully preserve that plainness, in their religious services, of which all classes of Baptists were formerly very observant. They avoid every approximation to fashionable modes of worship. They allow no instrumental music. They admire no clerical vestments. They can see nothing worse in a surplice and cope than they do in a gown and bands. They call no man Reverend, a word to them indistinguishable from Rabbi or Master. They preserve more consistently than any other sect, unless it be the Quakers, the puritan principle that whatever stimulates devotion through the action of the senses, by means of colour, or form, or fragrance, or music, is to be shunned as a profane mimicry of religion. True Puritans and staunch Nonconformists they unquestionably are, and in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire they have been very useful in bringing large congregations of

* *Liverpool Churches and Chapels*, p. 80.

working people under the salutary influence of practical religion. That the Calvinistic Baptists and the Arminian Methodists have, notwithstanding their conflicting doctrines, produced great and good results in the hearts and lives of multitudes of the working classes of Lancashire, as effectually as if they preached one and the same doctrine, shows how small among uninstructed people is the effect of dogmatic theology where 'Christ crucified to save sinners' is simply and earnestly preached, as these Baptists and Methodists, much as they condemned one another, alike knew how to preach it. I have known plain working people, when not intolerant (and they are seldom as intolerant as logicians), pass from a preacher of one extreme to a preacher of the other, and find in the change little to disturb their opinions, though much to excite their religious feelings. What these preachers have in common which more moderate men have not, unless it be plainer speech and more earnest manner, I cannot tell; but the good effect of their preaching upon a large class of people has been obvious and undeniable.

In the manufacturing districts of Lancashire, baptist ministers holding moderate views of the disputed articles, although they have been men of acknowledged ability and piety, have done little for the working classes compared with their extreme Calvinistic brethren. As in these days of charity and tolerance it is considered proper to speak well of all sects excepting these particular Calvinists, I should like to say a good word even for them. They have undoubtedly done a great work in Manchester and in several of the neighbouring towns. It may be said that more moderate and correct expounders of Christian truth would have done it better, to which I must add, provided they could have done it at all. They might have made better Christians of Mr. Gadsby's converts if they had been the agents of their conversion; but could they have influenced in any way the men and women who listened with intense interest around the pulpit of William Gadsby?

What gave to Mr. Gadsby his great power over working people? Not his Calvinism; for his principal rivals, who did the same sort of service as well as he, were Wesleyan or other Arminian Methodists. It may be instructive to observe him carefully, for he seemed a preacher made on purpose for the working classes. The common people heard him gladly. His popularity with the factory people of Manchester was extraordinary, and the more extraordinary as he was not a Lancashire man. A native of one of the midland counties, when he came to Manchester he could not speak the dialect of the place; he had none of the intonations and modulations of voice which, especially fifty years since, were so agreeable to the ears and hearts of Lancashire folk. He had to speak to hearers who seldom gave heed to strange speech; but he knew his business well, and succeeded where many greater men than he have utterly failed. A man of plain sense, he sought to be nothing more than a plain preacher of Christ's plain gospel. He spoke thoroughly good English, perhaps more like the English of William Huntington (some say of William Cobbett) than that of any other preacher of his time.

Scripture he knew well, and quoted it with verbal accuracy and often with great effect. One author he had certainly studied, John Bunyan, and he was much the better for his study. Besides Bunyan's books, I cannot doubt he had read many a page of racy English with great delight. He had no learning, but he had no small share of mother wit and native humour. A little learning would probably have spoiled him. Illiterate as he was, he sometimes attracted men of learning and culture (I could mention remarkable instances), who heard him with great pleasure. His thoughts were natural, closely connected, logically arranged, and lucidly expressed. Quietly earnest, never impassioned, never vehement, but always arresting attention, he is said to have presented, in manner as well as in doctrine, a remarkable contrast to the popular Methodist preachers of his early days. His voice was wonderful, and he well knew how to manage it. I heard him once in the old Free-Trade Hall of Manchester, that huge building, ill-constructed for public speaking. When other speakers had made strange efforts to be heard, sometimes in vain, he seemed to me, sitting near him, to be speaking in a pleasant conversational tone; but the voice of the old man rolled like an equable wave of sound across the great hall, and filled the ear of every auditor. His expressions were sometimes coarse, inexcusably so, but on devotional subjects no man spoke with more seriousness and gravity than he usually did. He was called an Antinomian, and probably he did not speak with sufficient discrimination or exactness on the nature of moral obligation, but no minister in Manchester lived a more moral life or presented to his hearers a more beautiful example of Christian discipline and self-control. How far, in its practical effect upon his congregation, his example was marred by his doctrine, or his doctrine mended by his example, I have no means of ascertaining. It is commonly reported that he publicly said harsh things of other ministers. In doing so he did very wrong; but whether in this respect he was not more sinned against than sinning may be questioned, for many others said very harsh things of him. He had, no doubt, his faults, but he well sustained in a moral, if not in a conventional sense, the honour of his ministry, and left a memory, notwithstanding his errors, on which it is pleasant to think, as of one who did a good work in Manchester by helping men to exhibit in their lives a better morality than he is said to have enforced in his preaching.

If in the early part of this century the Calvinistic Baptists did good service among the working people of Lancashire, so unquestionably did the Arminian Methodists, and, having more preachers of the right sort, they did it to a far greater extent. They not only excited by their preaching religious feeling in the hearts of the ignorant and vicious, but secured by their organisation the solidity and permanence of their numerous societies. In every populous town of Lancashire the moral and religious character of the working people has been greatly improved by their earnest, persevering, and appropriate instructions. What Lancashire would have been without their valuable labours, I leave to the consideration of those who know

the county, and know also its methodist chapels, methodist Sunday schools, and methodist institutions of various kinds. In this estimate I include the different offshoots of the methodist denomination who retain the doctrine of their venerable founder, as well as the adherents of the Conference which especially appropriates his honoured name. While it is not my purpose, nor indeed in my power, to give a detailed account of their work, it would be ungenerous or unjust to suppress the most decided expression of its inestimable worth.

Acting upon their system of a wide itinerancy, their great preachers have not remained sufficiently long in the county to be closely identified with its religious progress. If they had, there would have been many whom I should delight to honour by giving some account of their labours. It is, however, pleasant to say that one of their most eminent ministers was born, and educated, and called to the ministry in Manchester, and that he ever loved his native town. JABEZ BUNTING was the preacher of his time. He was much else than a preacher, and in saying, 'he was the preacher of his time,' I wish not to be misunderstood. He seemed to possess every qualification of a great preacher. I cannot think of any in which he was deficient. Among the Methodists, as well as among other Christians, there were contemporary with him more eloquent preachers, more intellectual preachers, more logical preachers, more instructive preachers, more insinuating preachers, more impressive preachers, and I know not how many more kinds of preachers who excelled Dr. Bunting in their especial gifts; but several of them were as remarkable for the deficiency of some qualifications as for the abundance of others. I know not any of them who to the same extent excelled in all the qualifications of a good preacher. He was not, like some of his contemporaries, the preacher of a class. All classes heard him gladly, for all could appreciate either the simplicity or the refinement of his preaching. For the ignorant or for the educated, for the novice or for the experienced, for the wearied tradesman or for the leisurely scholar, more acceptable preachers might possibly have been found; but as Jabez Bunting was not the preacher to any exclusively, but to all in an eminent degree, I delight to honour him as the great preacher of his time.*

In forming an estimate of the state of nonconformity in Lancashire, I ought not to overlook the progress of either the Welsh Dissenters or the Scottish Presbyterians in Liverpool and Manchester.

In Liverpool, where the Welsh-speaking people are much more numerous than they are in Manchester, the Welsh Methodists, Independents, and Baptists have large congregations, and exert important

* In noticing a few of the preachers of Manchester, I should like to have sketched my honoured predecessor the Rev. Dr. McAll. But as I only once heard him preach, and that more than forty years since, when he read his Missionary sermon in Surrey chapel, and as I have been often told by his admiring hearers that his printed sermons afford no help in forming an idea of his preaching, on account not only of his perfect elocution, but especially of his extraordinary power of extemporaneous address, which often far surpassed his written compositions, I have, unable to satisfy myself, relinquished the attempt in despair.

and salutary influence upon their countrymen. Many immigrants from the principality understand the English language, at least the language of English preachers, too imperfectly to feel much interest in religious services conducted in their dialect. The devotional feelings of a true Welshman can be forcibly excited only by the sounds of his own vernacular. Even an old Welshman who has long resided in England, and in buying, selling, and getting gain can talk English as fluently as his neighbours, thinks of sacred things as associated with the language of his childhood and his home. Everything spiritual and holy seems natural to him when expressed in his own tongue, but strange and inappropriate when uttered in the tongue of the strangers among whom he sojourns. Still more important is Welsh preaching to preserve the influence of evangelical religion upon the hearts of the young men and women, of whom great numbers come from Wales to find employment in Liverpool. These young people have from their early childhood been accustomed to Welsh preaching, Welsh singing, Welsh Sunday schools, Welsh Bibles, I might say Welsh religion. To them English, if they understand it, has a worldly sound, Welsh a heavenly tone and melody. If they found no sanctuaries of their own, few of them would be attracted by English preachers, and fewer still would gain any benefit from their preaching. We cannot, therefore, but congratulate our Welsh friends upon the establishment and prosperity of their congregations in Liverpool.

A Welsh Independent church was formed in Liverpool in the year 1800. It then consisted of only twelve members, who were accustomed to meet for worship in a licensed room in Cavendish Street until 1803, when they hired a small chapel in Edmund Street. In 1804 they had the happiness of securing the ministrations of Mr. John Jones, who, although he had received no regular training for the ministry, by his earnest and practical preaching, attracted large congregations of his countrymen and admitted them to the fellowship of his church. On his return to his native country, after nine years' exhausting labour, he was succeeded by the Rev. John Breese, a student of Wrexham academy, who with equal success carried on the work so auspiciously commenced. To accommodate the increasing congregation, the large chapel in Great Cross Hall Street was erected in 1817, of which chapel I need only observe that it still continues to be the religious home of many Welsh families.

Since its opening, three more chapels have been built by the Welsh Independents of Liverpool, one in 1827, one in 1840, and one in 1860. In Salem chapel, the most spacious of them, Dr. William Rees has collected a very large and respectable congregation. Through his eloquent preaching and high character, Welsh independency has attained in Liverpool a position unequalled in any other town in England.

The progress of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists in Liverpool has been very gratifying to their friends, as it has been zealously promoted by their popular preachers, whose frequent visits have collected and interested great numbers of their countrymen educated

in the Sunday schools of their native land. The Welsh Baptists and Wesleyans, although not so numerous in Liverpool as their Independent or Calvinistic countrymen, have contributed their proportion of good in preserving, by the hallowed influences of Christian truth, the piety and morality of their race from the many temptations to which they are exposed in the midst of an overgrown English sea-port.

In Manchester, Welsh nonconformity has not made the same progress as in Liverpool. This may be partly explained by the fact that the Welsh residents in the manufacturing towns are neither so numerous nor so influential as those in the commercial emporium. If, however, it be said that even proportionately to their numbers the Welsh in Manchester have not formed so large congregations as they have in Liverpool, it may be observed in explanation that Manchester has not been favoured with such preachers as John Jones, John Breese, or William Rees, and that those whom it has had have not remained long enough to secure a permanent influence for good. The Welsh Baptists and the Welsh Wesleyans in that town have been, and still are, small and feeble communities. The moral and religious character of Manchester has no doubt been influenced, though not to the same degree as that of Liverpool, by Welsh nonconformity.

In both towns the Scottish Presbyterians form a very influential part of the residents. In the last century religious Scotchmen, on coming to England, usually connected themselves with independent congregations, whose religious worship was conducted in the manner to which they had been accustomed in their own country. As they became numerous, and especially when instrumental music and some other unpresbyterian novelties were introduced into the independent chapels of the northern towns, they felt the need of presbyterian discipline, and of a more consistent adherence to puritanic forms. They thought also of the regular pastoral visitation of their early days, of the old psalms and tunes of their childhood, of the morning lecturings of their own kirk, and of the administration of the sacraments in the manner of their own country. With the Kirk of Scotland it was at first difficult to make arrangements for 'a supply of ordinances;' but with the Secession ministers the difficulty (if there were any) was easily overcome. Before the close of the last century, Scotch churches were erected in Lancashire, in connection with the Burgher synod, at that time more liberal than the synod of the Antiburghers. For a time this arrangement seemed to be sufficient, and Burghers, Antiburghers, Relief-men, and Kirkfolk, harmoniously worshipped together. The Antiburghers seemed at first not to like the union, and probably would have maintained their separation if they had been rich enough or liberal enough to build kirks for themselves. The Covenanters were the only Presbyterians who absolutely refused all religious association with their countrymen. After the three communities in Scotland, the Burghers, the Antiburghers, and the Relief, became the United Presbyterians, their union in England followed of course, and the old distinctions were soon forgotten.

The adherents of the Kirk, however, grew weary of their connection with nonconforming societies. When the question of the relations of the Church to the State provoked a violent controversy in Scotland, it disturbed the tranquillity of presbyterian societies in England. The adherents of the Scottish establishment, although occupying in England an anomalous position, contrived to obtain an irregular and partial recognition from their mother Church. So things continued in Manchester and Liverpool until the memorable disruption in 1843, when the friends of the Free Church resident in England took their position as separatists from what they called the residuary or Erastian Church, which assumed the honourable name of the Kirk of Scotland. Some expensive litigation followed respecting the right of the separatists to appropriate the buildings which had been previously recognised as belonging in some sense to the Church of Scotland. Although the adherents of the Free Church constituted the majority of their congregations, they were compelled to surrender to their opponents the sanctuaries for the erection of which they had contributed much the greater part of the money expended. In some instances, as in Manchester, the mortification was that the clause of their trust deeds which deprived them of their property was one which they themselves had introduced in their dispute with the older seceders, and by which they had excluded from their pulpits all ministers not agreeing with themselves, that is, not in communion with the Church of Scotland. They, however, acted nobly in their vexatious disappointment, and erected larger and better churches than those of which they had been deprived. It has thus come about that in the two great towns of Lancashire, presbyterianism flourishes under the several names of the Church of Scotland, the English Presbyterian Church, and the United Presbyterian Church.

Of these the *English* Presbyterians (all of them *Scotch*, and perhaps *more intensely Scotch* than either of the other two communities) and the United Presbyterians have collected small congregations in some other towns of Lancashire, as in Rochdale, Blackburn, and Warrington. The members of the Kirk, as if enfeebled by their anomalous connection with an establishment, have done scarcely anything but take away churches from other people for the extension of their denominational principles. Although the descendants of Scotchmen seem generally to forsake the churches of their fathers, the Presbyterians, divided by differences which Englishmen seldom understand, constitute an important and influential part of the Nonconformists of Liverpool and Manchester.

The societies of Covenanters, of Scotch Baptists, of Swedenborgians, of Cowardites, of Quakers in their present declining state, and of some smaller sects, however influential may be several individuals belonging to them, are in the aggregate of small importance as affecting the religious interests of the county, unless when acting in connection with the great community of Nonconformists they augment the power of its social or ecclesiastical movements. The same thing might be said of the Unitarians, were it not for the important position they occupy in Manchester and Liverpool.

Such is the Protestant Nonconformity of Lancashire. In comparison with the Church of England and the Catholic Church it may probably have something less than one-third of the influence which belongs to the ecclesiastical communities of the county. Considered in connection with the Catholics, possibly the whole body of dissenters from the Established Church may possess nearly half of the political strength of this great county. But the occasions are few in which Catholics and Protestant Nonconformists would combine for a common purpose. Even on those few occasions on which a large proportion of Protestant Dissenters would act in harmony with Catholics, there would be found an influential minority, mostly of Presbyterians and Methodists, who would unite with the Established Church in especial opposition to Romanists. Occasions may come which will for the time bring Catholics and Protestant Dissenters to act together, though never in cordial union; but other occasions are quite as likely to occur, in which the two parties will take opposite sides on great political and social questions.

I may be thought to have formed too high an estimate of the Catholic influence of the county. But if due consideration be given to the great wealth and territorial possessions of the old English Catholic families in some of the agricultural districts, as of the Townleys, the Traffords, the Gerards, the Blundells, and others, whose tenantry adhere faithfully to their lords, and to the considerable number of Catholic tradesmen in Wigan, Preston, and the towns of the Fylde, the estimate may not appear unreasonable. Undoubtedly the great wealth of the county belongs to the members of the Established Church, but the Catholics possess no inconsiderable share of it, and many of the nonconformist manufacturers in the hundreds of Salford and Blackburn can exert an influence, which I trust they will not use harshly or unjustly, not inferior to that of the lords of the soil. In the excitement of great questions they need, as well as their opponents, to respect the opinions and even the prejudices of their dependents.

It may be thought that Protestant Nonconformists are so alienated from one another by their sectarian—or, to use a milder epithet, sectional—distinctions, that their several parties cannot act in harmony for a common object. What, it may be asked, have Methodists in common with Unitarians, or Baptists with Scotch Presbyterians? They may have little of connection or sympathy, or even of acquaintance, but as they all sustain a common relation to the Established Church, occasions may and will occur in which common interests must be felt, and when they are urgent, the several parties will find some method of united action. In saying so, I do not wish to intimate that it is desirable for religious parties to be distinguished by their common politics; but, undesirable as it may be, it is in the course of events sometimes unavoidable.

Of the several dissenting communities, as compared with one another, the more aggressive and advancing in Lancashire at the present time seem to be the Methodists and the Independents. The Methodists made rapid progress in the first half of this century, but, so far as I can form an estimate, the Independents have in the last twenty-

five years made greater advances than their energetic rivals. They have certainly in that time built larger chapels and more of them, and in the more important towns they have collected larger and more influential congregations. One important difference may be observed in the recent movements of the two parties. The Wesleyans seem dividing and separating; the Independents uniting and consolidating. The Wesleyans have produced numerous offshoots, many of which cherish no kindly feeling towards their common root. The Independents have generally forgotten their old dissensions and rivalries, and have reconciled societies which, established in the same neighbourhood, often on account of small differences or personal considerations, had acted towards one another rather as opponents than as friends. They have raised and strengthened, not a governing authority, but a popular association, which can promote unity of action so far, and only so far, as it gains the confidence of the several churches. They have moderated extreme opinions in various directions, and come to a better, or at least a more tolerant, understanding respecting differences of opinion, discipline, and usage, which were formerly regarded almost as lines of separation between different sects. They have drawn into their communion a large proportion of the Calvinistic Methodists, and have begun with good promise to cultivate friendly relations, and to unite in one 'communion of saints,' with the Baptists whose opinions and practices most nearly resemble their own.

What may be the future of Protestant Nonconformity in Lancashire, much as I desire to be assured of its continued usefulness, honour, and prosperity, it is not for me to foretell or even to conjecture. In its principles I have confidence, not weakening, but becoming stronger with my advancing years. With some reverses and some failings, it has done a great and good work in Lancashire, and will, I believe, do a greater and better for the vast and growing population of that county. Much as I love it, I dare not say *Estó perpetua*, but I do say, May the truth that is in it prevail, and may the errors that attach to it be overcome. May that truth be established, and those errors be refuted, with as little of ill-feeling as possible. May the rivalry and strife of parties, so long as they continue, work for the instruction, and eventually for the peace, of all. May the Nonconformists of Lancashire, retaining their evangelical principles, and faithful to their hereditary traditions, as the friends alike of piety and of freedom, ever act worthily of their venerable fathers, their illustrious history, their rich inheritance, their great county, and their common faith!

APPENDIX I.

THE following documents will show the manner of appointing ministers under the Protectorate. There is in them no reference either to the opinions of the preacher or to the manner of his ordination.*

There were submitted to the Triers the Attestation of the election by the people in Manchester, and the Approval of the Classis.

I. *The Attestation.*

At an appointed public meeting at the Parish Church of Manchester, in the county of Lancaster, December 5, 1656, for electing of a minister of God's word there, We, whose names are hereunder written, being inhabitants and parishioners of the said parish, did elect Mr. Henry Newcome, clerk, to be minister of God's word there, in the place of Mr. Richard Hollinworth, lately deceased.

Signed by 130 Householdors.

II. *The Approbation of the Classis.*

REVEREND AND BELOVED,—This Classis, being informed that the congregation of Manchester had made choice of, and given you a call to be their pastor, in the room of their reverend and dear brother Mr. Hollinworth, deceased, have enjoined me to signify unto you that they do much rejoice in, bless God for, and well approve of the said choice: and desire that you would be pleased to accept of that call, being so clear, free, and full, as from God: assuring you that they will be very glad that Manchester may have such a pastor and this association such a member, and that they shall pray that you may come to that great people in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ. Having thus made known what I am commanded, I take leave after due respects presented to you; subscribing myself at the appointment and in the name of the Classis,

Your assured friend and brother in the Gospel of Christ,

WILLIAM MEEKE,

Moderator, *pro tempore*.

Salford, Dec. 12, 1656.

III. *The Commission for the Triers.*

BELoved BRETHRENN,—Whereas, Mr. Henry Newcome, minister of the gospel at Manchester, in the county of Lancaster, hath a grant to a presentation to the place aforesaid, and is therefore to be approved

* *Autobiography of Henry Newcome, Addenda.*

of by us (but cannot conveniently come to us) in person. We do therefore hereby desire you or any three of you, being together, to receive concerning him such a certificate as is mentioned in the ordinance for approbation of public preachers; and being satisfied with the sufficiency of such certificate, to make such further trial of the said person, concerning the grace of God in him, as also his knowledge and utterance for preaching the gospel, as you shall think fit. Upon all which, being satisfied in your judgments that he is a fit person to be approved of by us, then to signify so much unto us under your hands, and therewith to send up the aforesaid certificate. So, forbearing further to trouble you, we take our leave, committing you to the Lord.

Signed by the appointment of the Commissioners for approbation of Public Preachers,

IO. NYE, Regr.

Whitehall, Dec. 26, '56.

To the Rev. Mr. Richard Heyricke, Mr. Samuel Eaton, Mr. John Angier, and Mr. John Harrison, or any of them.

IV. *The Certificate which the Candidate was to present to the Triers with their Commission.*

We whose names are subscribed do, upon our personal knowledge of Mr. Henry Newcome, certify that he is a person of an holy and good conversation. And for the grace of God in him, as also for his gifts of knowledge and utterance, able and fit to preach the gospel.

THO. LANGLEY.

SAML. LANGLEY.

THO. EDGE.

WM. BYROM.

Upon this return was granted,

V. *The Approbation from the Triers.*

Know all men by these presents, that the 14th day of January, in the year 1656, there was exhibited to the commissioners for approbation of public preachers an order of the trustees for maintenance of ministers for the settlement of Mr. Henry Newcome in the curacy of the parish church of Manchester, in the county of Lancaster; together with a testimony in behalf of the said Henry Newcome of his holy and good conversation. Upon perusal and due consideration of the premises, and finding him to be a person qualified as in and by the ordinance for such approbation is required, the commissioners above mentioned have adjudged and approved the said Henry Newcome to be a fit person to preach the gospel, and have granted him admission, and do admit the said Henry Newcome to the curacy of the parish church of Manchester aforesaid, to be full and perfect possessor and incumbent thereof. And do hereby signify to all persons concerned therein, that he is hereby entitled to the profits and perquisites, and all rights and dues incident and belonging to the said cure, as fully and effectually as if he had been instituted and inducted according to any such laws and customs as have in this case formerly

been made, had, or used in this realm. In witness whereof, they have caused the common seal to be hereunto affixed, and the same to be attested by the hand of the register, by his Highness in that behalf appointed. Dated at Whitchall, the 14th day of January, 1656.

Io. NYE, Regr.

*VI. The Appointment by the Trustees for Maintenance of Ministers,
January 23, 1656.*

Whereas, the rectory of the parish church of Manchester, in the county of Lancaster, is appropriate to these trustees, upon whom the care of providing for the cure of the said parish church is incumbent. And Mr. Richard Hollinworth, one of the ministers in the said church, is lately deceased. It is ordered that Mr. Henry Newcome (approved according to the ordinance for approbation of public preachers, the 10th of January instant) be and is hereby constituted and appointed one of the ministers of Manchester aforesaid, in the room of the said Mr. Hollinworth. And that he do officiate in the said parish church, and preach unto and diligently instruct the inhabitants of the said parish: and that he shall have for his pains therein all stipends, salaries, pensions, and allowances whatsoever, to the said service and employment annexed or in any wise belonging or appertaining. And it is further ordered that the yearly sum of 94*l.* be from time to time paid to him, out of the rents and profits hereafter mentioned, viz. the yearly sum of 60*l.* out of the profits of the tithes of Manchester aforesaid, and 34*l.* out of the rents and profits of the rectory of Rochdale, in the said county of Lancaster, amounting in the whole to the said yearly sum of 94*l.*, to be accounted from January 10th instant, and to be from time to time paid unto him for such time as he shall officiate there, or until further order of these trustees. And Mr. Robert Stockdale, receiver, is hereby appointed and authorized to pay the same to him accordingly.

EDWD. CROSSET.

JOHN HUMPHREY.

RICHD. YOUNG.

RL. SYDENHAM.

JOHN POCOCKE.

APPENDIX II.

THE following letter of Isaac Ambrose and other ministers, copied from the original MS. in the British Museum by Joshua Wilson, Esq., illustrates the care with which the Lancashire Presbyterians of that time endeavoured to procure suitable ministers for the vacant churches and chapels within their boundaries. Ayscough MSS.

MR. WALES,—Our Colonel Rigby hath enjoined me to write to you a call unto these needful barren p^{ts}. And his desire is that you would please to settle yourself at Rufford. It is a place where his son-in-law and daughter are like to reside, and therefore he hath an especial respect unto it. He is pleased to allow you fifty pounds per annum. For Tockholes if you can provide another able honest minister he will (so that he may obtain you) allow him as much there. Her father desired it that you would speak to some other honest ministers (to the number of six at least) to come unto these parts and they shall have a suitable competency to their deserts. So desiring your furtherance I rest your loving friend and brother in the ministry,

ISAAC AMBROSE.

Preston, Oct. 19, 1643.

SIR,—We all desire your company and progress in the ministry amongst us in these parts. Here is a great work to do and the labourers are few : we doubt not but you might be an instrument of God's glory and much good if you accept of this call, and therefore (Good Sir) consider of it.

ISAAC AMBROSE.

NATHANIEL JACKSON.

NICHOLAS CUDWORTH.

WILLIAM CLARKSON.

PETER SMITH.

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